

ANCIENT HISTORY

From Prehistoric Times to
the Death of Justinian

By

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The Macmillan Company

New York

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PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

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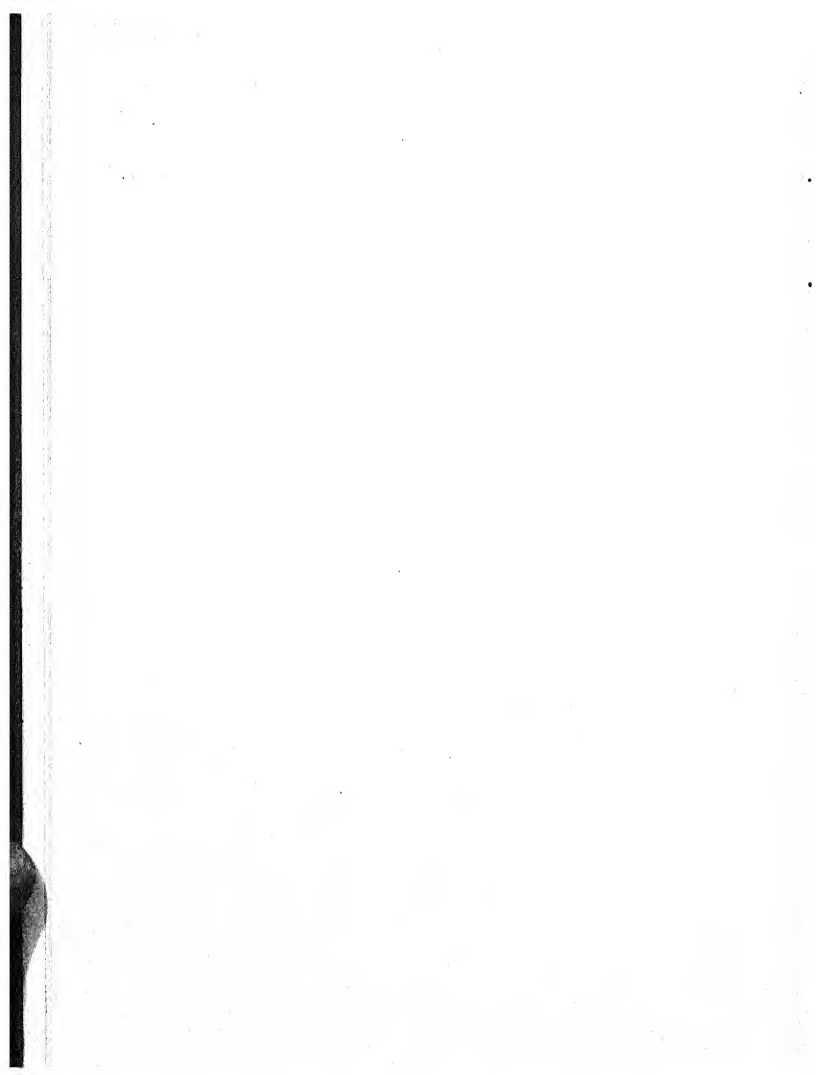
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CLARISSIMAE ET CARISSIMAE
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PREFACE

If we take ancient history to be the story of western man from his earliest beginnings to Justinian's death in 565 A.D., it is obvious that we have to deal not only with an enormous span of time and space, but with many and very different societies as well. Once the complicated millennia of prehistory are left behind, the study of the past does not become a relatively simple one of examining isolated worlds of Semites and Greeks, Egyptians, Iranians and Indians, Italians, Spaniards, Gauls, Germans and Britons, for their civilizations were inextricably mixed. It has been remarked that the method of natural science—where a botanist examines a sufficient number of plants and obtains uniformities—will not yield, as Toynbee seems to think it will, a better understanding of the subject. Civilizations cannot be handled arbitrarily in the manner of plants, for they consist of men and more particularly of the achievements of the mind and spirit. The history of mankind, we must insist, is primarily a record of ideas, particular ideas that caused particular growths. These were rarely conceived in the mind of a genius but more often were produced by a wide body of factors. In order to work through to an idea and understand it, it is necessary to grasp those factors—dates and names, wars and institutions, the struggle for daily bread no less than for justice, man's environment and inheritance, and his relation to himself, his fellows, and his God.

The facts and forces that make up ancient history are numerous enough to fill several volumes. I have limited myself to one volume in the belief that it should be possible to present most of the essential points within a reasonable compass. Instead of developing these at greater length—and a second volume could do little more than that—the next task, I believe, should consist of special studies, including art, philosophy, and literature (though not in mere snippets).

One of the most fascinating features of studying ancient man is the profusion of new material which accumulates year by year. There are, nevertheless, both large gaps in our knowledge and considerable uncertainty about every year and every event and institution and personality of antiquity. I have not known how to indicate this, except for a few words of warning in the text, for it would be unbearable to qualify each sentence with "probably" or "perhaps." The well-informed general reader and the student, on the other hand, may find it a positive advantage, as I have already intimated, to have

in one volume a connected account of those important matters that seem likely.

The story of man's hopes and achievements is bound to be incomplete unless we see something of his craftsmanship and emotions as expressed in art. I owe a great debt of gratitude to Miss E. Louise Lucas, Librarian of the Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, who has secured most of the photographs for me. I am also under a great obligation to Dr. Erwin Raisz of the Institute of Geographical Exploration, Harvard University, who has drawn most of the maps and diagrams. Photographs and drawings are intended to elucidate the text and carry an understanding of it further. I have added the paragraph headings to the text in the belief that they will prove a convenient guide.

It is impossible in a work of this kind to make detailed acknowledgments, but it will be obvious to any one familiar with the subject that I have drawn upon the researches of others. Some of the books which I have found most useful are mentioned in the bibliography, but to the list should be added articles, reviews, and reports. It is a duty, then, as well as a pleasure, to record my debt here. Certain specific acknowledgments, however, I may make. Chapter II has been read by Professor Frederick R. Wulsin, Tufts College; Chapter IV by Professor Richard A. Parker and Miss Caroline Nestmann, Brown University; Chapters III, V, and VI by Professor Abraham Sachs, Brown University; Parts V and VI by Professors Clark Hopkins, University of Michigan, and C. Arthur Lynch, Brown University. I tender them my warm gratitude for their great kindness. I am also very grateful for help on matters of detail to Professors D. A. Amyx, University of California; Carl W. Blegen, University of Cincinnati; Rhys Carpenter, Bryn Mawr College; George H. Chase, Museum of Fine Arts; Alison Frantz, American School of Classical Studies at Athens; B. C. Keeney, Brown University; Samuel Noah Kramer, University Museum; J. A. O. Larsen, University of Chicago; William C. Loerke, Brown University; Thomas Means, Bowdoin College; Benjamin D. Meritt, Institute for Advanced Study; C. R. Morey, Princeton University; George E. Mylonas, Washington University; A. D. Nock, Harvard University; L. A. Post, Haverford College; J. C. Proctor, S.J., College of the Holy Cross; Lucy Talcott, American School of Classical Studies at Athens; Homer A. Thompson, Institute for Advanced Study; Henry M. Wriston, Brown University; Rodney Young, University Museum. Professor John Rowe Workman, Brown University, has kindly helped mark the accents in the Index.

Professor Max Radin, University of California, has very kindly allowed me to draw on his article on Roman law in *Classical Journal* XLV. I am grateful to Professor A. H. M. Jones, University of London, for permission to draw on his remarks on the economic background of the Roman Empire

in *Journal of Roman Studies* XXXVIII. The chapter on Alexander is based in part on my *Alexander the Great* (New York, 1949), by permission of E. P. Dutton and Company. The Macmillan Company has given me permission to base some of my remarks on the distinguished writings—particularly the *History of the Ancient World* and *Hellenic History*—of George Willis Botsford, late Professor of History in Columbia University, to whom once again my debt is very great. Dr. W. W. Tarn, Inverness, has kindly allowed me to draw on his *Greeks in Bactria and India* (Cambridge, 1938). The University of Chicago Press has given me permission to base some of my remarks on H. Frankfort and Others, *The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man* (Chicago, 1946). Finally, I would mention the great kindness and skill of Mrs. James J. Fine, who once again has typed my manuscript and helped with the Index and proofs.

My deepest debt of all, to Celia Sachs Robinson, must remain, save for this brief mention, unexpressed, but I would ask her to join with me in dedicating this book to the great University which has been regarded for almost two centuries as a center of Classical studies.

C. A. ROBINSON, JR.

Providence, Rhode Island



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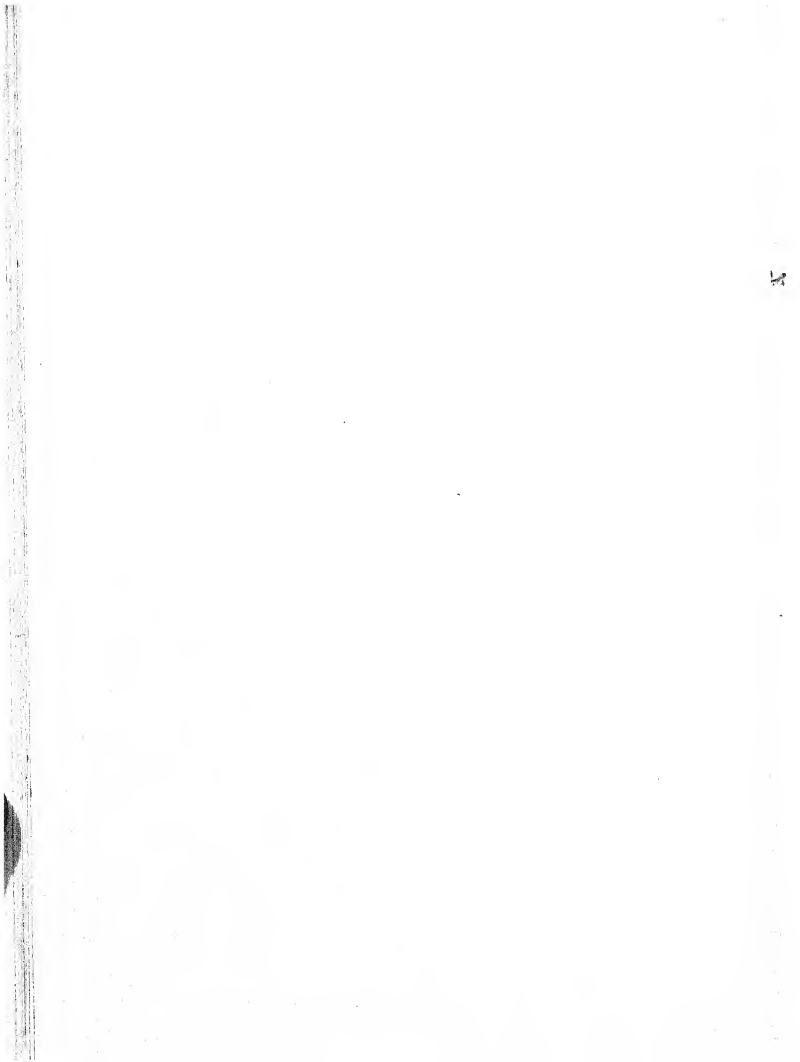
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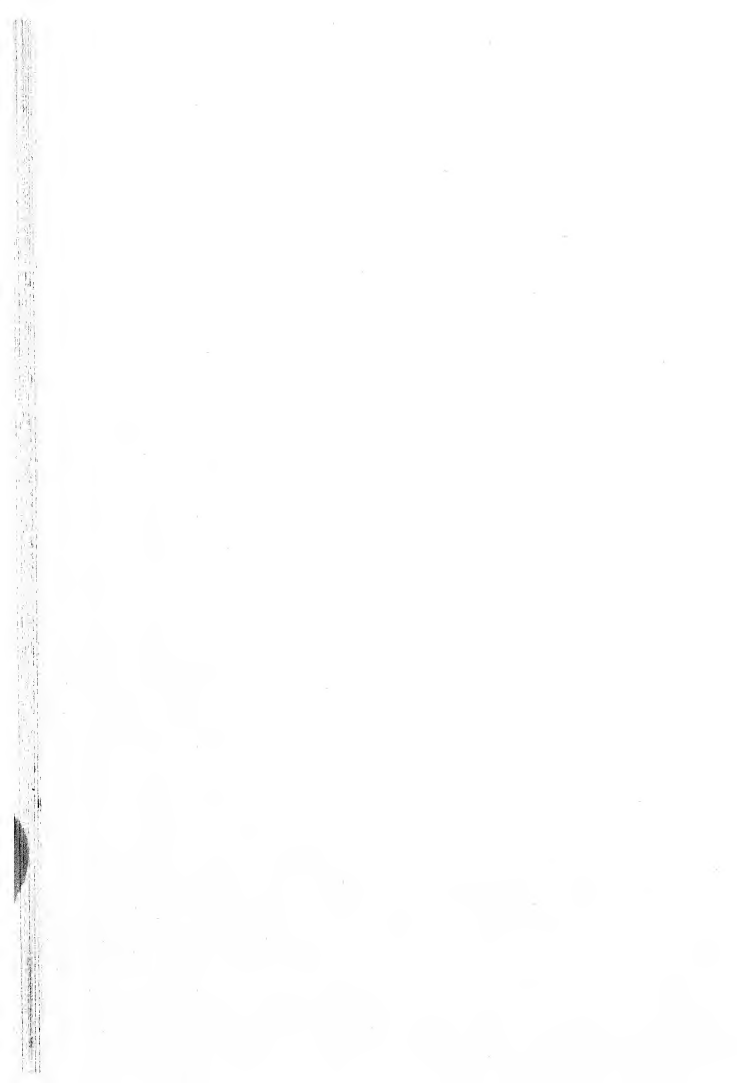
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PART ONE

HISTORY AND PREHISTORY



I

ANCIENT HISTORY

In his thrilling book, *The Universe around Us*, the famous British astronomer, Sir James Jeans, gives the following table:

Age of earth	about 3,000,000,000 years
Age of life on earth	more than 300,000,000 years
Age of man on earth	more than 300,000 years
Age of astronomical science	about 3,000 years
Age of telescopic astronomy	about 300 years

This array of figures, which is fairly conservative, reminds us vividly of the brevity of human life on earth and of the extraordinarily short time man has had to explore the universe with anything more efficient than his own eyes. Similarly it is true that the relation of recorded history (about 5,000 years in length) to the total span of human life is small indeed, and to this we may add that the period during which man has been curious about himself is even briefer.

Ancient history—the story of our own foundations from man's earliest beginnings to that borderland where antiquity probably ends (the sixth century of our era, let us say)—is far longer than the subsequent periods of European history, the mediaeval and modern. But of much greater importance is the fact that ancient history provides the opportunity to consider most of man's experiences at every level; one may study poor literature or good literature, realism in art or the primitive, despotism and democracy, high achievements of the mind and spirit, and decay. It is equally obvious that ancient history has long since ended; it has run its course; the passions which once fired men are dead; and now we can view the issues with a cool perspective. No other period of history is sufficiently long or complete to provide quite this opportunity.

If the chief purpose of studying antiquity is to help us in our personal and group life, there must be some moral, some philosophy of history, that we can wring from the past. Many people have attempted to state this, though few, if any, of their judgments have won wide approval. The crises of contemporary civilization, however, are so serious and so immediate that we have been forced to face up to the great questions of life as never before, perhaps, and it





is now possible to say, without much fear of contradiction, that no philosophy of history which is based on the material or tangible will do. Two illustrations will suffice to show how recently we have changed some fundamental convictions. During the depression of the 1930's it was easy enough to hear people say that democracy was all very well and good, but the unemployed were more interested in food and, if necessary, would revolt to get it. Yet, not much later, Poles and Serbs and Greeks and others willingly gave up everything, even life itself, to stave off oppression. And in 1949 Professor Arthur M. Schlesinger, Sr., of Harvard University published his brilliant *Paths to the Present*, which examines at length American politics and diplomacy (in its broadest sense) and devotes not a single chapter exclusively to our economic inheritance, whereas in the book's predecessor of 1922 America's past was largely explained in social or economic terms. So dramatically has our historical thinking evolved.

If we are to examine the driving force of history, we may begin by saying that there is no law of progress which compels the human race to improve against its own will and effort. Historical experience shows that the political welfare of a state is dependent upon the condition of the lowest class within its borders. It also shows that among the conditions which contribute most to the deterioration of mankind are the loss of freedom of the individual and of the local community, excessive government, the growth of cities to the injury of rural life, neglect of the cultivation of the nobler mental faculties by means of literature, art, science, patriotism, righteousness, and religion, and lastly the commercialization of the mind and the narrowing of the objects of life to the pursuit of wealth, comfort, and self-gratification. This is not to deny that greed—economic, political—has nevertheless brought individuals and peoples occasional power and the concomitant embellishments and refinements of life, but that is another matter. Our problem here is to discover, if we can, what it was that carried ancient man to high peaks and, conversely, how it happened that at times he failed and was ultimately overwhelmed by disaster. Put in this way, the value of ancient history clearly consists of both noble inspiration and terrifying warning.

The history of Rome, superficially at least, can be readily understood and should be studied by everyone for its lesson. On balance, it is the story of a remarkable city-state which seemed to pile success upon monumental success and yet, perhaps because of its failure to think, finally enmeshed itself and the civilized world in catastrophe. The history of Greece, on the other hand, is not for the man who must read as he runs, for it is subtler and in essence is a story of ideas, important ideas developing through the centuries and at every point hotly debated. If now we select from each of these peoples—the Greeks and the Romans—the century of their history which has the greatest lesson for us, we may be able to suggest an answer to the question we have proposed.

Of all the pre-Christian centuries it is the fourth which undoubtedly speaks to us most loudly. We should emphasize that Plato, Aristotle, and Praxiteles lived at this time, but nevertheless the picture is a black one of constant warfare, personal disillusionment, and economic depression. There developed, accordingly, the idea of union, and the period ended in the universalism of Alexander the Great, in a certain yearning which man has known at other times as well. And of all the centuries after Christ, it is the amazing second which has the deepest warning for us. Mankind had never been so prosperous, nor had peace ever been so long and profound. Yet this century, conspicuous for its lack of initiative (as the years had increasingly been since Augustus had won the throne of Rome in 31 B.C.), produced few great books, few new ideas in government, no new principle in art or science, no significant technological advance; and collapse lay immediately ahead. These apparent contradictions are further complicated by the simultaneous rise of Christianity. Many Romans were bewildered by the early Christians. How could people plot to create a state within a state? Now, from the second century onward, pagan letters declined because they stressed form rather than substance and were addressed to a narrow, educated circle, whereas Christian literature carried its message to all and was full of vitality. This was due to the fact that the Christians were engaged in competition or, as we might express it more exactly, in bitter strife with government, pagans, and heretics.

The decay of imperial Rome, that is to say, can be matched by simultaneous growth on the part of those people who had faith in themselves and their cause. Here, too, is a major key to an understanding of the achievements of the Greek city-state or indeed of any institution. Call it what one will—the search for new ideas, or strife at a high level, or the opportunity of initiative to solve one's own problems and hence society's—ancient history shows us that great success stems from faith based on man's confidence that he can improve himself.

Thus far, in the course of suggesting a point, we have drawn our parallels from the experience of the Greeks and Romans, but another great department of ancient history includes the Near East—the Orient, as it is often called for the sake of convenience, though what we generally mean by the Orient (India, China, and Japan) lay outside the growth of ancient European history. The Near East has its own peculiar, and very great, lessons for us, not only in religious development and imperialism but also by its wonderful adventures in culture. The Near East, moreover, stimulated the growth of Greek civilization, and then was brought within the orbit of the Greeks by the conquests of Alexander the Great. The political unity of the entire ancient world was achieved, however, by other Westerners, the Romans, but at the end their empire became Orientalized. Thus ancient history is a unit, chronologically,

politically, and geographically, for the area concerned is the Mediterranean coast and its neighboring lands, Mesopotamia and Iran to the east and the interior of Europe to the north and west (the front and rear endpapers show the area). The map on pp. 4, 5 suggests, moreover, how the ancient world was inevitably destined to receive not only waves of invaders from its hinterland of plains and deserts, but also cultural and commercial stimuli from far beyond its political limits.

Here is the world, here are the institutions, from which modern society has in part developed. Back of that world lies its own foundations, buried in the vast span of prehistory. To attempt an account of antiquity in one volume requires some temerity, just as the reader himself is as surely called upon to exercise vigilance toward what he reads. After all, the monumental *Cambridge Ancient History* runs to twelve volumes of text and five of plates, stops two and a quarter centuries short of this book, and contains hardly a page that cannot be questioned. The purpose of this book, however, is not to provide encyclopedic knowledge, but to stimulate further reading and debate.

The word "history," in its original Greek sense, it should be said, means inquiry, investigation, an activity that best describes the work of the historian. The first duty of the historian, in other words, is to gather together the facts that bear on the past, and then he must try to interpret them, in the hope that man will be able to learn by past experience. It would be catastrophic if every individual had to begin at the beginning and tackle each problem afresh. The career of Charles Evans Hughes, the great American Secretary of State and Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, is a case in point, for it has been said that his omnivorous reading habits while an undergraduate at Brown gave him "vicarious experience upon which he was able to draw throughout his life. He did not have to grope through every problem himself and learn every lesson at first hand; he could recall the issues and situations historical and fictional characters had faced before and he knew the consequences of their choices."

The facts available to the historian in his exciting labor are of the most varied kind, for he must recreate not only political, economic, and military history, but also social customs and institutions, philosophy, literature and religion, art and technology. In spite of the overwhelming evidence, there are frequently total, or almost total, blanks to fill; this requires all his ingenuity. Finally, the historian has two tasks that test his judgment. In the first place, he must evaluate his evidence and see what it is worth for its own sake and in its relation to other matters; this is particularly difficult when the chief source for an event is known to be untrustworthy. And, secondly, the historian must give the proper emphasis to his story—Periclean Athens, let us say, must loom larger than certain other periods of Hellenic (Greek) history without, however, preempting the field. This even means, in the case of a one-volume

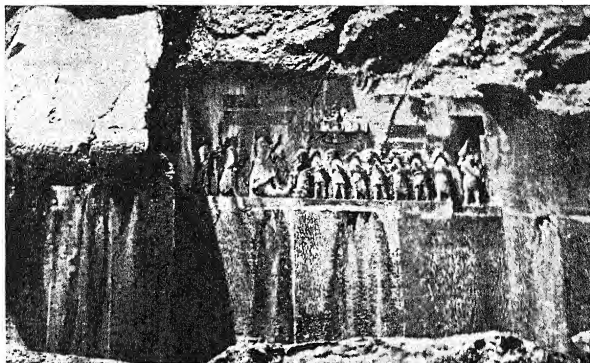
history whose aim is to give the story of ancient western civilization, that certain epochs, periods, civilizations are here, but only here, more important than others. It would be unwise, for example, to devote more space to the millennia of the Stone Ages than to the succeeding centuries, and it would be similarly unwise to pretend that the various periods of civilization have equal significance for our stated purpose. It seems hardly necessary to suggest again that a reader's first duty is to guard against the presentation and conclusions drawn by the historian; nor are any two persons likely to agree on what constitutes proper emphasis.

It is clear, however, that the history of Greece and Rome should loom largest in the study of antiquity. Many of the great achievements of the ancient Near East—those of Babylonia, for example, in science—have entered our life chiefly through the medium of Greece and Rome. More germane, probably, is Toynbee's remark that "the Hellenic Civilization is perhaps the finest flower of the species that has ever yet come to bloom . . . [it] still outshines every other civilization that has ever come into existence up to the present." But, to quote Toynbee again, the decisive factor is that "the surviving materials for a study of Graeco-Roman history are not only manageable in quantity and select in quality; they are also well balanced in their character." This cannot be said of any other ancient civilization.

By far the most important source of information available to the ancient historian consists of written records. These fall into three broad classes. The most reliable records, because contemporary and subject to public scrutiny, are inscriptions, thousands of stones on which have been cut decrees, treaties, and the like. Tons of papyri, the ancient writing paper, form a second class; these too are often contemporary and are chiefly valuable for the social and economic history of Egypt (the principal place of finding). The preservation of inscriptions and papyri is due to accident, whereas the literature of antiquity has been preserved, in part at least, because the monks of the Middle Ages, who engaged in the labor of copying and thereby preserved ancient culture, preferred this or that work. These copies on vellum or parchment—manuscripts, as they are called—obviously are not contemporary and often have mistakes, but together with inscriptions and papyri the mediaeval manuscripts constitute our chief written evidence for antiquity, even though they represent but a small fraction of the original total. The restricted scope of the available evidence and its fragmentary character are part of the challenging fascination of studying ancient history.

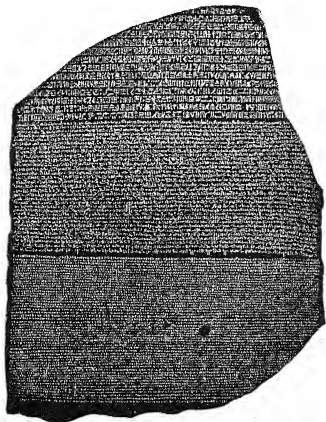
In recent years, however, our knowledge has been immeasurably increased by the new science of archaeology. Buildings, statues, utensils, documents are multiplied annually by many excavations in various lands, and the information they yield not only adds to our knowledge, but often also unsettles previous





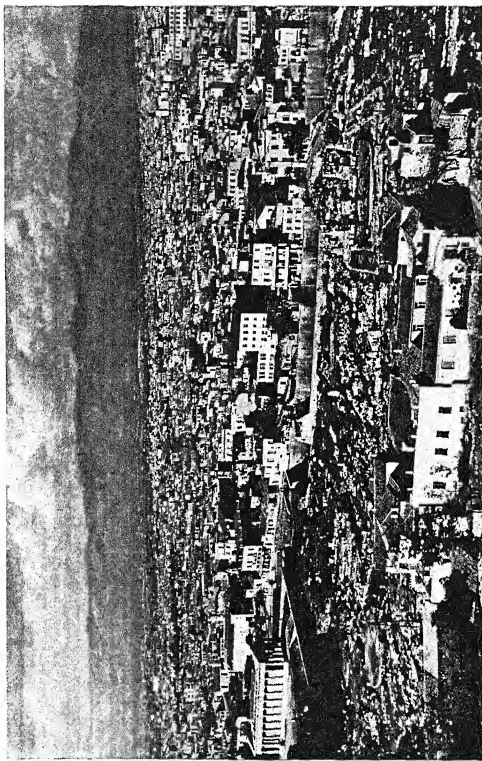
Photograph by George Cameron

The triumphal monument of Darius the Great on the cliff of Behistun in Iran; it is 155 feet above the road from Babylon to Ecbatana. The inscriptions in Persian, Babylonian and Elamite have provided the key to the languages of ancient Mesopotamia. See p. 35. Courtesy of the Oriental Institute, Chicago



The Rosetta Stone, key to the language of ancient Egypt. A decree by the Macedonian ruler, Ptolemy V Epiphanes (196 B.C.), it is written in hieroglyphic and demotic characters as well as Greek. The cartouches (ovals) contain the royal name. See p. 57. In the British Museum, London

Courtesy of the Oriental Institute, Chicago



View from the Athenian Acropolis across the Agora, or market place, to the temple of Hephaestus. The excavations of the American School of Classical Studies are recovering much of the topography of the civic center of ancient Athens, as well as thousands of inscriptions and coins, quantities of pottery, sculpture, etc. Our knowledge of the past derives from archaeology and written records.

opinions which we had considered to be true and opens up unsuspected vistas as well. The fact that the study of ancient history is far from static is another of its most fascinating features. When all is said and done, however, archaeology's chief contribution is an enrichment of our knowledge of the artistic and social life of the ancients, for it cannot hope to do more than supplement the written records. Nevertheless, this is of the highest importance.

In ancient times, as generally now in the Near East, man built his house of sun-dried bricks on a foundation of field stones. The field stones remain to tell us about the evolution of domestic and public architecture, but with the passage of time the bricks disintegrated into earth again, and instead of the debris being carried away, the old house was leveled off and a new one built on top of it. Thus a mound might rise, and in the various layers houses, palaces, jewelry, and other objects might be buried. Since clay pots were an ordinary household article, great quantities of pottery are always found on ancient sites, generally in broken fragments called potsherds, which enable us to give relative dates to all the other objects. By a careful study of the pottery, its fabric and decoration, and the strata in which it is found, as well as by comparison with other sites, a relative and fairly accurate dating has been worked out for it and thus for all the objects found with it. The presence of Egyptian objects, for example, in Minoan Crete, and vice versa, enables us, with the help of the Egyptian calendar, to speak approximately in terms of years B.C. for one period of antiquity. Absolute chronology is often more difficult to establish than the relative, but it is facilitated by king lists for Egypt and Mesopotamia, by the habit of dating years by officials (as by archons in Athens), by the ultimate Greek fashion of dating by Olympiads (the first Olympic games were reputedly held in 776 B.C.), and by the Roman custom of dating from the supposed foundation of their city (753 B.C.).

By a definition that has become conventional, a period is spoken of as historical when it has left records that can be read and understood. Thus we have been correct in speaking of written documents and archaeology as providing the evidence for the historical past, but obviously for prehistory the evidence is more restricted. A prehistoric period, by definition, is one that has left no written records or, at any rate, no written records that can be read and understood. The only things we have to go by are the objects made, or cultivated, by man, and consequently for prehistoric periods archaeology is history. This might suggest, at first glance, that a prehistoric period was very primitive, but often this was far from true. Minoan Crete, for example, represents one of the most sophisticated episodes in man's career, and the Etruscans loved luxury. Still, the farther back we go, the more primitive does life become, and finally we turn to geologists and anthropologists to tell us about glaciers and fossilized men.

II

PREHISTORIC MAN

Beginning more than half a million years ago, and during most of the time since—until about 8000 B.C.—man gathered his food wherever he found it, but a great revolution occurred some ten thousand years ago, when prehistoric man learned how to produce his own food. The two periods, preceding and following the revolution, are frequently called the Paleolithic (Old Stone) and Neolithic (New Stone) Ages, because of the different treatment of the stone tools and weapons, but it is merely a convention; what mattered was the domestication of plants and animals, or their absence. Another turning point followed very quickly (not long after 3500 B.C.), when man became civilized. He had had metal for some time, and the new epoch, at its beginning, is generally called the Bronze Age; but again this is only a convention, for what counts is the presence of cities. It was at this time too that man learned how to write, and with this we have moved into the historical period. To put it another way, almost 100 percent of man's existence on earth has been spent in the prehistoric period.

At least one thing that marks the difference between ape and man is culture—the possession of a common body of beliefs and habits, which in earliest days was practically equivalent to no more than the use of tools, fire, and language. Our evidence for tools and fire goes back to Peking man, and probably language is just as old, because the use of tools and fire could hardly be taught by one generation to the next without it. We may say, then, that culture is a distinguishing mark of mankind.

Equipped with tools, fire, and language, man began to dominate his environment, instead of having to accept whatever circumstances brought him. To fit itself into a new situation an animal has to go through the development of appropriate anatomical structures or physiological adaptations by means of natural selection, a process that may take thousands of generations. Man, if he is smart enough, can figure out the problem in a few days, months, or years, and come through with a perfect adaptation, conceived in his brain and executed with his hands. Though man's progress was very slow in the Paleolithic Period, it was nevertheless much faster, and more versatile, than the progress of the quadrupeds around him.

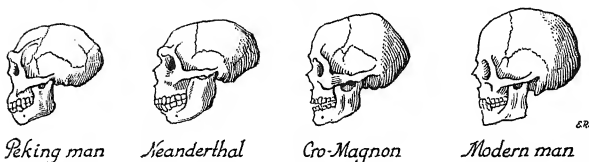
We can understand that man's lot was far happier when he learned to domesticate plants and animals (ca. 8000 B.C.) and to live in villages (ca. 6000 B.C.), but we cannot yet call him civilized. This sort of simple life—and the description would fit the North American Indian—can be led under the guidance of custom, with little need for decisive individual leadership. To explain the rise of civilization, or at any rate European civilization, we have to go to the Near East, where it had its roots. The Near East—Egypt and Mesopotamia—is dominated by great rivers, which can be, through their floods, either a disaster or a blessing. It is not too much to say that the necessity of irrigation led to European civilization, for if the floods were to be controlled, men had to live and work together. Irrigation works require planning, coordinated efforts, orders that are carried out. The bigger the works, the more necessary this kind of organization becomes; and it can only function when some capable person is in command and makes the decisions, without having to debate each point with all the old men in the village. This is the explanation, in part at least, for early monarchies. Monarchies in turn needed records and specialists, and so the whole cumulative apparatus of civilization—cities, manufactures, trade—came into being. It took man approximately half a million years to learn to produce his food, a couple of millennia more to reach the stage of village life (contrast the maps, pp. 20, 28), and at least two more millennia to become civilized.

1. THE FOOD GATHERERS

PREGLACIAL MAN. According to the most recent studies,¹ an amphibious quadruped left the water permanently a couple of hundred million years ago and made his home on land, in the trees. Much later, perhaps between one and a half and four million years ago, he came down from the trees, a far different creature, for now he walked on two legs and had hands with opposable thumbs. His thumbs enabled him to grasp and handle objects. Since his hands made it easier for him to find and eat his food, he had lost the snout which had been necessary before; the change in the shape of his head gave him better vision and increased his brain capacity. He had a sloping forehead and no chin, but speech of some sort was possible and thus he was able to remember and communicate past experience and present need. Slowly this animal evolved into a human being, *Homo sapiens*, but during the age of mammals—the Cenozoic geological period—he lived with others like himself in small bands, the smaller the better, probably, because of the restricted supply of wild food. He ate roots, game, eggs, fruits, nuts, and probably made use of sticks and unfashioned stones (*eoliths*, dawn stones).

¹ To discuss all the factors involved in the origin of man would be beyond the scope of this book. Our statement, however, does not exclude the divine direction of these factors.

THE ICE AGE. The later geological period with which we are concerned—the Pleistocene—is often referred to as the Ice Age, an enormous span of time when on four different occasions great glaciers covered much of Europe, Asia, and America. The first glaciation (the so-called Günz) occurred about 1,000,000 years ago; the second (Mindel), about 700,000 years ago; the third (Riss), about 300,000 years ago; and the fourth (Würm), about 100,000 years ago.² The last glaciation had two peaks and lasted from about 100,000 to 25,000 years ago, when the glacier began to recede northward. The final melting probably took several thousand years more. The long interglacial periods were, of course, warm, and it is likely that we ourselves live in one. Both the climate and the face of the earth changed greatly during the four descents of the glaciers and their retreat (see the map, p. 16). A tropical climate, when the elephant, hippopotamus, and rhinoceros roamed Europe, was followed by bitter cold and reindeer. At times the Mediterranean was a series of lakes, with bridges between Europe and Africa that facilitated the migration of men and animals. During the last 10,000 years, however, the surface and climate of the earth have changed very little.



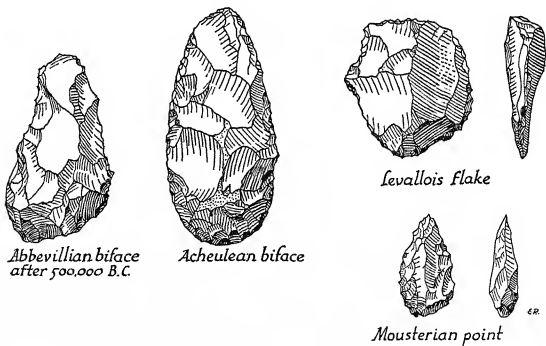
Evolution of Human Skulls

THE EARLIEST REMAINS OF MAN. If the evidence of *ooliths*—sharp, unfashioned stones showing signs of possible use—may be taken as proving the existence of preglacial man, it is not until we reach the Ice Age that we have remains of man himself and his simple works. Fossilized skeletons and stone tools have been found throughout Europe—particularly in England, France, and Spain—in South Russia, Africa, Palestine, and elsewhere in Asia. Some of these remains are found safely buried in caves, while others come from deserts, valley deposits, and river drifts far above the present courses of rivers. These latter have usually been moved great distances by the glaciers, and more often than not they have been badly broken by the weight of ice sheets a thousand feet thick. The ice-age remains that are intelligible have mostly been

² The glacial advances were probably simultaneous on both sides of the Atlantic. The equivalent American glaciations are known as the Nebraskan, Kansan, Illinoian, and Wisconsin. Toward the end of the last glaciation, about 20,000 years ago, Mongoloids crossed the Bering Strait from Asia to America to become the ancestors of the American Indians.

deposited by running water, which probably came from a glacier. This applies, for example, to the deposits found in river valleys and their terraces, which represent the old flood plain where the river once wandered. The river cut its bed deeper and left bits of the old plain far above its later course; the process might be repeated several times, as changes downstream altered the velocity of the current. The running water has, of course, tumbled, dulled, and broken the stone tools of early man.

One of the earliest examples we have of a man is known, from its place of finding, as Java man (*Pithecanthropus erectus*). Java man lived approximately 500,000 years ago; he was about five feet six inches tall, had a thick skull, a sloping forehead, and protruding jaws, but no chin. He walked with a shuffling gait, not quite upright, and may well be an ancestor of *Homo sapiens*. The slightly later Peking man (*Sinanthropus pekinensis*, p. 17), who resembled Java man in appearance, is almost surely ancestral to us. Peking man had stone tools and cooked his meat (including his fellows, for he was a cannibal) over a fire in his cave.



Stone tools, ca. 100,000 B.C. except as noted

STONE TOOLS. With a few exceptions—such as the Fontchevade and La Micoque caves in France, the contents of which have not yet been thoroughly studied—no home belonging to man has been found which can be dated to the 400,000 years (500,000–100,000 B.C.) between Peking man and the beginning of the fourth glaciation. Fossilized human remains have been discovered, however, scattered about, and a very large number of stone tools (about 100,000 for every human bone) that belong to this very early period. The

tools (p. 18) were first found at French sites—and are accordingly known as Abbevillian and Chellean and, to mention later varieties, as Acheulean and Levalloisian (see the chart, p. 16)—but examples occur as far away as South Africa. Certain tools are clearly hand axes, for one end is pointed and the other is rounded so that it may be held in the hand; they were used not only for cutting and chopping, but for scraping and picking as well. Primitive man obtained this ax by chipping a piece of flint or other stone; it was trimmed flat on opposite faces (hence the term “biface tools”). Cutting and chopping tools were also obtained by striking large flakes from a stone (hence the term “flake tools”). Biface and flake tools have been found throughout Europe, Africa, and Asia, though the Far East employed a different technique (see the map, p. 20). In time it was discovered that a much finer tool, with a far sharper edge, could be had by placing a piece of bone against a hard stone, such as flint, and then flaking off chips by pressure (instead of striking). Knives, hammers, cleavers, graters, scrapers were made in this way, and both sides were worked. Paleolithic tools were wholly those of the hunter and food gatherer. The men who made them ate nuts, seeds, roots, berries, fish and, probably, more meat than we do. It was their lot to follow the available food supply and gather food wherever they could; they were unable to modify nature to any appreciable extent.

NEANDERTHAL MAN. Between 120,000 and 70,000 years ago—that is to say, before and during the early part of the last glaciation—Europe was inhabited by a race of men concerning whom we know a good deal. In 1856 its best example was discovered in the Neander Valley in Germany (though similar examples occur as far away as Mount Carmel in Palestine) and hence the people are spoken of as Neanderthal men (p. 17). Neanderthal man was between five feet one inch and five feet five inches tall, had a sloping forehead and an almost chinless lower jaw, a brain larger than the modern average, and a shuffling gait; he did not stand fully erect. He lived in the mouths of caves, after the advent of the glacier, and had flint and bone tools, such as axes, knives, scrapers, and borers. He used fire and clothing and, moreover, buried his dead with tools in the floor of the caves, from which we conclude that he had a primitive religion or belief in spirits and an afterlife. It is conventional to speak of his culture as Mousterian, since so many of his tools were found at the French site, but this must be regarded as a very loose designation, for the culture, like the men themselves, was greatly mixed. Neanderthal man was probably one of our ancestors, but eventually he was completely absorbed by others.

AURIGNACIAN MODERNS. *Homo sapiens*—the “wise man,” modern man—made his appearance about 70,000 years ago during the last glaciation, and is broadly described as Aurignacian, after the cave of Aurignac on the Upper

Garonne River in France. It is possible that present-day man has Neanderthal man for one grandfather and the Aurignacian *Homo sapiens* for the other. Despite the great difference between Neanderthal man and modern man, two populations that meet always mix; and we find an intermediate stage—a mixing of Neanderthal and modern forms—in certain skeletons from Galilee in Palestine. *Homo sapiens*, as we know him today, probably has some Neanderthal ancestry and an even larger share of Aurignacian *Homo sapiens*. Aurignacian

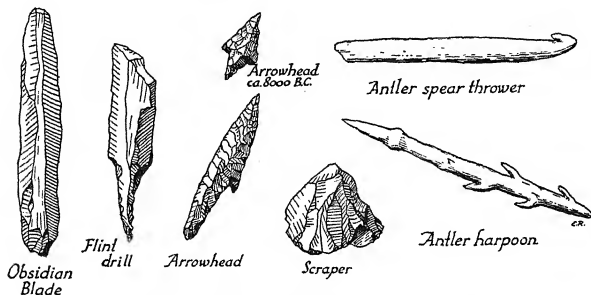


Distribution of Tool Cultures, after 500,000 B.C.

man has never been wholly superseded, and his descendants may be found in parts of Wales, Ireland, France, Spain, Portugal, Algeria, and elsewhere. He was of lighter build than Neanderthal man, but taller (about five feet six inches) and had a higher skull. His arms were very long, the nose broad, the jaw prominent, the chin weak. Probably the most famous branch of the Aurignacians was the Cro-Magnon people (p. 17), so called after the cave of that name in the Dordogne district of France, but other breeds of men shared the world with them. One such was a negroid people who are represented by skeletons from the Grimaldi cave on the northern Italian coast.

LIFE. The Aurignacians ate wild fruits and vegetables, bison, reindeer, and other meat, and varieties of fish that they caught with harpoons of horn or bone. The reindeer provided them with bone and horn; the mammoth, which

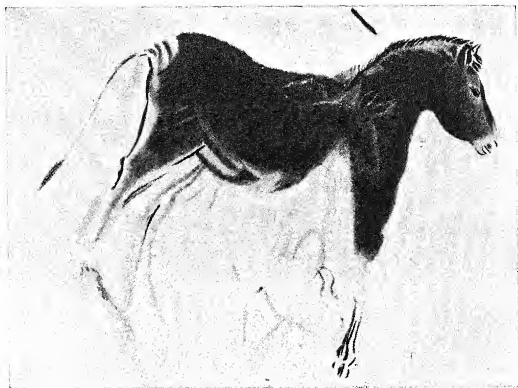
is now extinct, with ivory. In their career of killing animals and other men they were aided by throwing sticks for spears (below). With bone needles their women sewed clothing of skins and furs, and occasionally adorned themselves with necklaces and other jewelry of shell and ivory; animal fat was burned in stone lamps; fire gave them warmth. Beneath their hearths they might bury their dead with implements of this life for use in the next, and occasionally they painted red ochre on the dead body, the idea doubtless being to suggest blood and the hope of life returning to the deceased. In cold weather they lived in the openings of caves, but during warm spells they moved outside and scooped out holes in the earth and built huts of brush and skins.



Tools and implements, ca. 70,000 B.C. except as noted

TOOLS. One localized Aurignacian culture—the Solutrean—developed a remarkable tool industry. Fine, sharp blade tools were struck from flint and obsidian, a natural volcanic glass. Among their stone and bone implements are knives, chisels, drills, scrapers, daggers, spears, arrowheads, pins, fish-hooks, harpoons, beads.

ART. Another localized Aurignacian culture, the so-called Magdalenian, is notable for its great achievements in art. In point of time the Magdalenian extends approximately from 30,000 to 17,000 B.C. Occasionally the artists made sculptures of people, especially of seemingly pregnant women, who represent, perhaps, goddesses of fertility. The figures are not very successful as works of art, but the geometrical designs and engravings of animals on bone, horn, and ivory show skill and taste and a real feeling for the essential quality of the particular animal. Even more extraordinary, however, are the amazingly realistic paintings of bisons, bulls, mammoths, reindeer, bears, boars, the woolly rhinoceros, wild goats, horses, birds, and fish on the walls and ceilings of their caves. The most famous of these caves are in the



Courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History, New York

A polychrome picture of a horse and hind in the cave of Altamira, Spain. A magnificent example of the wonderfully naturalistic art of the Paleolithic Period



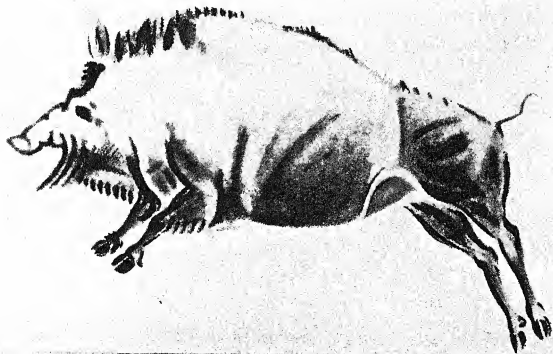
Courtesy of the Viking Press

The huge cave, discovered in 1940 at Lascaux in southwestern France, has the majesty of a sanctuary and shows Paleolithic art (from the time of the last glaciation) as never before. A head is here illustrated of a bull, 18 feet long, drawn and shaded in black; the white patch on the neck is the scar left where a flake of rock has scaled off. The cave has well-preserved paintings and engravings of 60 horses, 2 wild asses, many oxen, bison, deer, ibexes, a rhinoceros, wolf, bear, bird and "unicorn." From an untouched photograph by F. Windels, *The Lascaux Cave Paintings*



Courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History, New York

A rhinoceros outlined in red. In the cave of Font-de-Gaume, France. The full interpretation of this art and its dating to within a few millennia are two of the many problems still facing modern scholarship



Courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History, New York

A spectacular picture of a galloping wild boar, at Altamira. Paleolithic artists were doubtless well acquainted with the large animals they loved to draw

Dordogne district of France—particularly those of Font-de-Gaume and Lascaux (a recent discovery)—and at Altamira in Spain (see map, p. 16). The artists of these wonderfully naturalistic animals, which are so full of life and energy, frequently engraved the outline with a sharp instrument and then filled in the picture with various colors that are still well preserved. Though the people lived in the front of the caves, they made the pictures far to the rear, where it was dark and mysterious. Lamps gave them light in their work, but even so, they often deliberately drew one picture over another. Because of this, and the curious location, it has been suggested that it was not the picture, but the act of painting, that counted. That is to say, the people believed in magic, and somehow had the idea that by painting pictures they might ward off dangerous animals or have good luck in increasing their food supply.

THE FOREST FOLK. When the last glacier left Europe 20,000 years ago, the continents and climate of the earth soon became as they are today. The growth of the thick, continental forest, however, caused life in western Europe to decline. Hunting was so difficult that many men made their homes along the Atlantic coast from Portugal to Scotland and Denmark. The sea became the chief source of food, and as a result the coasts (particularly in Denmark) are strewn for miles with ridges full of oyster shells and bones (map, p. 26). The men who left these heaps of rubbish are sometimes called the kitchen-midden people, after the Danish word for kitchen leavings, but the expression "Forest folk" better describes the inhabitants of Europe at this time. One of their summer camps, the Maglemosean area in Denmark (ca. 8000 B.C.), was a huge peat swamp, which has fortunately preserved many of the objects dropped into it, including even wooden paddles and sled runners. Meanwhile, the friendly and helpful dog had been domesticated. Somehow, too, probably by accident, people learned that the clay lining, which might be placed inside a crude basket or leather bowl to prevent it from leaking, would harden when set over a fire, and from this the all-important discovery of pottery was made.

END OF AN ERA. At the same time an advance in the manufacture of stone tools was taking place. If we were to speak in conventional terms, we would say that the Paleolithic Period, having gone through an intermediate phase known as the Mesolithic, was now yielding to the Neolithic. The new fact in man's life, however, was far more fundamental than that. Hitherto man had obtained his food by gathering it where he could. He was soon to learn to produce it. How this revolution occurred cannot be stated precisely, but perhaps the change in climate, which created the Sahara desert after the recession of the fourth glacier, forced many men and animals to the Nile Valley. In similar fashion men and animals fled the Arabian desert to make their homes in Syria, Palestine, and the Tigris-Euphrates Valley. Presumably men ate wild grains as before, but having a narrower range—being more confined in their

wanderings—they were able to observe growth where grain was discarded. In some such way agriculture began. Perhaps, too, the restriction of the available supply of meat tempted men to consider the advantage of guarding closely, and then of domesticating, certain animals. With this we have reached a new era in man's development.

2. THE FOOD-PRODUCING REVOLUTION

THE STOCKS OF MANKIND. Nothing whatever can be said about the racial origin of man, except that all men belong to the human species. Recent analyses suggest, however, that man derived from a basic long-headed individual, who was subsequently crossed with Neanderthal man. Mixed from the very beginning, the human race evolved three main stocks, each of which was further mixed: the Caucasoids, Negroids, and Mongoloids. At the opening of the new era in man's development, the Caucasoids ("whites") were certainly the chief stock in Europe. These, in turn, may be divided into three large groups who, hopelessly mixed at the beginning and increasingly so with the years, still dominate Europe (map, p. 26). The Nordics—a tall, blond, long-headed people—occupied northwestern Europe. The Alpines—a stocky, brunette, round-headed people, represented today by Celts and Slavs—made their homes in the center of the continent. The Mediterraneans—a short, dark, long-headed people, with a slight Negroid tendency—settled in the Mediterranean basin and beyond, as far as the British Isles. It was probably the Mediterraneans who produced the first food, built the first villages, and created the first civilization, in Mesopotamia and Egypt.

THE EFFECTS OF THE REVOLUTION. The discovery in the Near East of agriculture and herding inaugurated a revolution of far-reaching proportions (ca. 8000 B.C.). It was not enough to drop seeds into rich soil at the right time, for if you wished the harvest, you had to remain in the same place. For a roaming existence, accordingly, was substituted a sedentary one. This inevitably led to the concept of property—at least to family or village holdings—and at the same time there arose the need of customs, rules, laws to regulate conflicting claims and interests. Someone had to settle disputes and administer things in general, and since a fertile community was eyed enviously by others, it was only natural to select one person, probably the smartest, as the leader. Moreover, it was found that the old hunting deities and their priests did not suffice for the problems of agriculture. Sunshine was necessary and a drought was to be avoided, if the planting and cultivation of the crops were to be brought to a successful harvest. New gods must be found, and buildings must be built for them; new priests, too, were required to propitiate by sacrifice and festival the dark forces of nature that held men in their grip. These were clever, able persons—these priests and headmen—and they were important to their com-

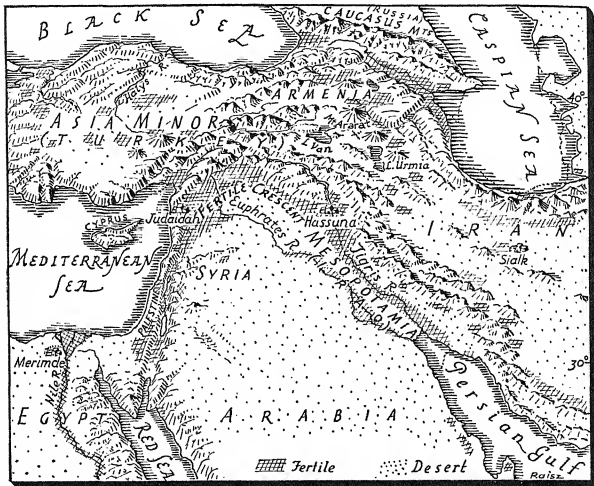
munities; inevitably they secured the best land for themselves and increased their power proportionately.

LIFE. The Neolithic Period, with its discovery of agriculture, clearly made life more complex. At first it was the duty of women to take a crude hoe and cultivate a small patch of land, but the domestication of the ox changed this, for women were not strong enough to handle a plow. That is to say, though wheat and barley were first cultivated by women with a hoe, the domestication of the ox and the invention of the plow created a new job for men, who now had to abandon hunting for the life of a farmer. The domestication of other animals—the sheep, goat, and pig, and later, the donkey and camel (the horse was domesticated later still; the dog, long ago)—provided people with milk, meat, clothing, and fat for fuel, and allowed some men to become nomadic shepherds. More seeds were planted, and before long man was cultivating not only wheat and barley, but also oats, rye, millet, lentils, fruit trees, the olive, and the grape. The more certain and greater food supply caused an increase in population, and permitted men to pursue different careers. Neolithic communities were able to get on with very little specialization, and yet, not everyone needed to be a farmer; indeed, the farmer could not exist without a plow, and accordingly some men took their picks of reindeer horn and descended into the shafts and galleries of flint-bearing chalk. Other men worked the stones into finished articles and bartered them for food. Now the axes, knives, hammers, chisels, hoes were ground and polished on a whetstone. The old-time flint axe was too brittle to chop much wood, whereas the ground stone axe led to carpentry.

TRADE. To provide and exchange these necessities, men learned to make a boat and then a sled, which developed into a wheeled cart. Regular overland routes grew up, while boats plied the Mediterranean, the Red Sea, and the Persian Gulf. Amber from the Baltic and obsidian from the Aegean island of Melos testify to widespread trade.

POTTERY AND TEXTILES. The idea of making pottery was probably hit upon independently in different places, but this discovery, which ranks in importance next to agriculture and the taming of animals, was carried to a high peak during the Neolithic Period. At first, to be sure, it was very crude, and during the entire Period it was shaped by hand, for the invention of the potter's wheel was to occur in the succeeding Bronze Age. Gradually, however, finer shapes and texture were obtained, especially after it was learned that it was better to bake a pot in an oven rather than in an open fire. The decoration also improved, from incised or painted linear designs to spiral and geometrical motives. Closely allied to the manufacture of pottery was another great development of the Neolithic Period, the textile industry. The ability to spin and weave flax and wool meant better clothing, baskets, fish nets.

THE FIRST VILLAGES. To build their simple houses men made use of whatever material was readily available—stone, mud and reeds, sun-dried bricks. Just as it was convenient to build a house near your field, so in time men found it both convenient and safer to congregate in villages. It is not until approximately 6000 B.C., however, that we find traces of villages (see the map, below, where, it must be emphasized, Merimde lies west of the Delta). These were few and far between, though undoubtedly influences radiated from one to the



The Earliest Villages, ca. 6000 B.C.

other. The earliest villages were located in northern Egypt and along the so-called Fertile Crescent, the stretch of easily cultivated land that extends from Palestine through Syria to Mesopotamia and beyond. The great pressure of cooperative living—the stimulus provided by the need of irrigation, let us say—did not exist at Merimde, Judaidah, Hassuna, and Sialk, and for that reason cities and civilization were to develop at other sites in the Near East.

THE SWISS LAKE VILLAGES. From the Near East the idea of food production and villages spread to western Europe, where the lake villages of Switzerland have a particular interest, both because of their peculiar construction and the abundant evidence. In the winter of 1853–54, during a severe dry spell, the

lakes of Switzerland reached a very low level, and there were exposed thousands of piles, or stakes. At Wangen alone 50,000 piles have been counted. Between 4500 and 2500 B.C., when these villages flourished, men sought the safety of the Swiss lakes, and at a distance from the shore drove wooden piles, 20 feet long, into the bottom; on these piles they built wooden platforms for their square houses. Cloth and grain, stone tools in wooden and antler hafts, and other objects that were dropped into the lakes became water-logged and so were preserved. The houses were often near enough to land so that a bridge would connect, but the bridges were removable and doubtless were taken up at night. The people also had boats. With hooks of bone and in nets they caught fish from the boats or through trap doors in their houses; on the shore they had their gardens.

MEGALITHS. Even more imposing—indeed, among the most imposing monuments in the world—are the huge stone remains, megaliths as they are collectively called, from the late Neolithic Period. These are found especially in France, England, and Scandinavia, but also in Ireland, Spain, Malta, Syria, and elsewhere (see the map, p. 26). Huge stones, set on end, are known by the name of menhirs and are a dramatic tribute to the transportation and engineering skill of the day. Some of the menhirs in Brittany stand 35 feet high, although one that has fallen down and is broken measures 65 feet. The most famous example of stones set in a circle (cromlech) is at Stonehenge in England and is 100 feet across. Nearby is what appears to be an avenue, two miles long. At Carnac, in Brittany, is a famous example of parallel rows of 3,000 stones, over two miles in length. Powerful people were buried in great chambers known as dolmens—stones set vertically and capped by a huge horizontal slab.

CIVILIZATION. As the Neolithic Period progressed, someone in the Near East, about 5000 B.C., first beat copper out of its ore. The copper was hardened by hammering it cold; this caused crystallization and gave a better cutting edge. Still, it was relatively soft for general use, and stone tools, therefore, continued to be popular. The transitional period of copper and stone is spoken of as the Chalcolithic Age. The Bronze Age began when people learned to mix tin with copper, thus obtaining bronze, a metal far superior to stone. The discovery and working of metals were, however, of secondary importance for the development of man. What really mattered was that in the river valleys of Egypt and Mesopotamia men had to build dikes and irrigation canals to live. It is very interesting that it was in irrigated river valleys that the neolithic culture developed into civilization, while people remained savages, though village farmers, in many other parts of the world. The necessity for large-scale political organization to handle big irrigation projects explains, at least in part, the rise of civilization. Government, specialized manufactures, trade,

and cities grew from the need of coöperative living. Before the end of the fourth millennium B.C., moreover, a Sumerian in Mesopotamia probably learned to draw a picture for an object; then he learned to make a picture for an idea and finally for a sound or syllable. The Sumerians wrote their symbols on clay tablets with a rectangular stylus. At the same time Egyptians were writing in ink with a reed stylus on strips of a reed called papyrus.

The rise of government and cities, accompanied by the use of bronze and writing and the potter's wheel, meant the rapid development of civilization in the Near East. Western Europe, with its forests and swamps, fell far behind and was not to be heard from again for several thousand years.

PART TWO

THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST

III

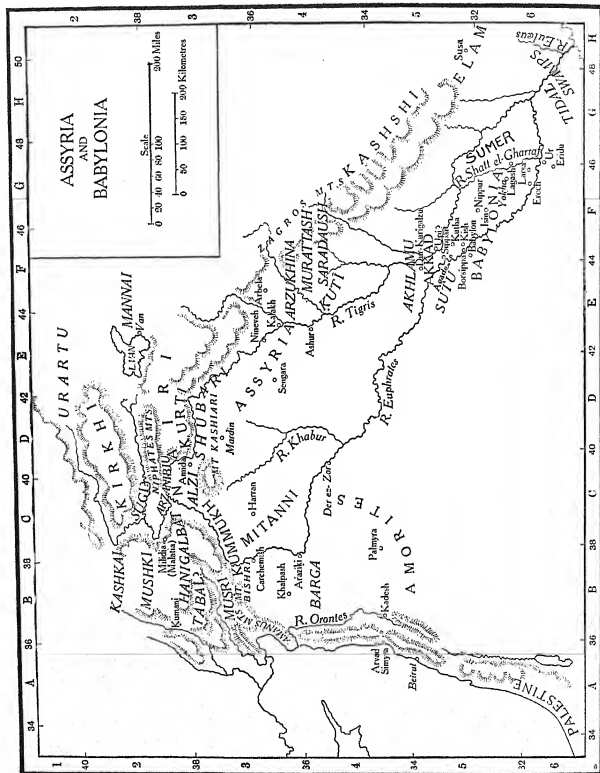
SUMER, AKKAD, AND BABYLON

1. THE TIGRIS-EUPHRATES VALLEY

While the forests and swamps were bringing progress in western Europe to a stop at the close of the Neolithic Age, the fertility of the river valleys of the Near East accelerated man's rapid development. In one of these valleys, that of the Tigris-Euphrates, civilized life began at a very early date.

GEOGRAPHICAL FEATURES. Across the Red Sea from Egypt is the sandy desert of Arabia, bounded on the northwest by the hills and mountains of Syria, and on the northeast by the Persian Gulf and the Valley of the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers (cf. map, rear endpaper). In the south this valley is separated from Syria by the northern end of the Arabian desert (here called the Syrian desert). In the north, however, the Tigris-Euphrates Valley and Syria are joined by arable land—forming a semicircle or, as it has been called, a Fertile Crescent (cf. map, p. 28)—that extends from the head of the Persian Gulf northward through Nineveh, one of the capitals of ancient Assyria, and then bends westward until it reaches the Mediterranean coast; thence it continues south through Syria and Palestine toward Egypt. It will be seen from the map that this Fertile Crescent has mountains behind it, to the north, and faces, or is open to, the south, a region of grasslands, desert, and oases. From immemorial times the northern mountaineers and the southern nomads of the desert have struggled for possession of the intervening Fertile Crescent. And from early days this whole area, Fertile Crescent, desert, mountains, and river valley, has been occupied by the Semites—a group of peoples known as Arabs in the south; Phoenicians, Canaanites, Hebrews, and Moabites in the west; Aramaeans, or Syrians, in the north; and Akkadians, Babylonians, and Assyrians in the east.

The Tigris and Euphrates Rivers rise in the northern Armenian mountains and, after a westerly course, turn southeastward to flow a total of a thousand miles and more to the Persian Gulf. Along the middle course of the Tigris, chiefly on the east side, was the undulating plain of Assyria (with the Zagros mountains to the east), while farther down the river, again on its east side, lay the mountainous land of Elam around Susa (in the modern province of Luristan in Persia or Iran). On both sides of the lower Euphrates, however,



the valley is uniformly flat. In ancient times this region was called Babylonia.

The whole area between the rivers—Mesopotamia, that is to say—is now known as Iraq, with its capital at Baghdad. At this point the rivers are about twenty miles apart. So much silt is carried by the Tigris and Euphrates in their march to the Gulf that today they have but one mouth, whereas in early antiquity they emptied separately into the sea. On the other hand, this silt accounts for the extraordinary fertility of the valley, for each spring the rivers overflow, inundate the land, and spread the rich silt everywhere. Early man learned that by building dikes and irrigation canals, and keeping them in repair, a fearful flood could be turned into a valued blessing, but if this was to be achieved, a strong government was necessary. The very flatness of the land, moreover, and the ease of river transport, facilitated trade, especially northward and then westward along the Fertile Crescent to Syria. While the absence of natural barriers along the frontiers enabled influences of one kind or another to travel far beyond Mesopotamia, at the same time it invited invasion, warfare, and unification.

HISTORICAL SOURCES. Today this country is desolate, for it has had little care for centuries. It is seamed with the ruins of ancient canals and dotted over with mounds. Before the middle of the nineteenth century archaeologists began to excavate these heaps and found them to be the ruins of ancient cities; and ever since that time archaeological exploration has continued to add vast sums to our knowledge of the land. Since Mesopotamia has no stone or suitable timber, the people in ancient days were compelled to use brick almost exclusively for building houses, walls, palaces, and temples. Eventually the bricks crumbled and formed a mound, but the debris has covered not only the buildings, but also the other material remains of ancient life. For example, libraries have been found, consisting of books whose pages are thin clay tablets; the fine clay round about was to be used for every purpose, obviously. Many other documents are on clay cylinders. Writing—consisting first of pictographs, and then of word signs and syllabic signs—was invented in the fourth millennium, probably by the Sumerians, who were early inhabitants of the valley. The characters consist of triangular or wedge-shaped elements (cuneiform writing, from the Latin, *cuneus*, a wedge).

The recovery of the civilization of ancient Mesopotamia is very largely dependent, of course, on our ability to read its various languages, and this monumental task was achieved in the nineteenth century, chiefly by the German scholar, Georg Grotefend, and by the Englishman, Sir Henry Rawlinson. Their work was facilitated by the fact that Darius I of Persia once cut on the Behistun Rock (p. 11) in his country a long inscription, not only in Persian, but also in the Babylonian and Elamite languages. When the signs for certain proper names in the Persian text had been established, it was discovered that

ancient Persian is akin to the language of the sacred *Avesta*, a collection of hymns and prayers which was put together early in our era and is still read. This made possible eventually a translation of the Persian inscription, and by the aid of it a translation of the two other texts. Since the languages of the Tigris-Euphrates Valley have now been deciphered, it has become possible, with the additional aid of archaeology, to write the history of the country.

2. THE LAND OF SUMER AND AKKAD

Before 3000 B.C. a gifted people known as Sumerians—the precise date, whence they came, whether or not they were Semites are uncertain (though their language was not Semitic)—moved into the southernmost part of the Euphrates Valley, at the head of the Persian Gulf. The region became known as Sumer, while the country immediately to the north, which was certainly Semitic, was called Akkad. The ancient land of Sumer and Akkad was in time called Babylonia.

THE SUMERIANS. In the fourth millennium B.C., at the very dawn of history, the Sumerians created the first civilized, urban life, as far as we know. Not only did they probably invent cuneiform writing, a calendar, and a system of weights and measures, but they also planned large-scale irrigation by means of canals, plowed the land, organized religious and political institutions, and carried on trade with India, Syria, and Egypt. As a result, the population of Sumer increased, and villages grew into proud cities, such as Eridu, Ur, Lagash, Umma, Larsa, Erech, Isin, Nippur, Kish, and others. The cities strove to maintain their independence and remain sovereign, each under the rule of its local priest (*ensi*). Organized life made possible the construction of large temples which, because of the danger of floods, were often reared on artificial mounds. In addition to copper alloys, the Sumerians used gold and silver, and shaped their pottery on a wheel and baked it in an oven.

It seems rather extraordinary that, when we first meet the Sumerians, they already have a developed idea about themselves, their government, and the universe. The Sumerians believed that the universe is governed by intangible forces, more powerful than man. As the Gilgamesh Epic puts it: "Mere man—his days are numbered; whatever he may do, he is but wind." Man had been created to serve the gods, and since the only sovereign state in the universe consisted of the assembly of the gods, it naturally followed that man's state on earth belonged to the gods. The Sumerians apparently accepted it as self-evident that the gods should own the land; in particular, they must have temples and temple lands. Just as all people labored on behalf of the gods, in order to give them leisure, so the priests, the special servants of the gods, ranked high in their estimation. Highest of all was the chief priest, or *ensi*, whose duty it was to maintain law and order.

At the very beginning of history, then, the Sumerians had created theocratic city-states. In essence their government was a simple democracy, for all great questions—such as those touching war and peace—were decided by the general assembly of adult free men. Routine matters were entrusted to a council of elders, one of whom might be selected by the assembly as king for a limited period for a specific crisis. Women, children, and slaves did not count in the conduct of the government, and yet all human beings and animals, as well as inanimate objects, natural phenomena, and even abstract ideas constituted the state. Difficult as it is to grasp the Sumerian conception of the state, it becomes clearer when we recall that early man considered inanimate substances, such as salt and grain, as being full of life, each with its own personality.

From this concept of the state, servant of the gods as it was, there followed the notion that the only citizens of the universe were the gods. It was the assembly of the gods that discussed all proposals pertaining to man and reached fateful decisions. The chief god, and therefore the head of the assembly, was Anu, the sky god; all other gods derived their authority from him, and consequently the affairs of men followed a pattern, anarchic though they might seem to human eyes. As Anu represented authority, so Enlil, god of the storm and the second most important god, stood for force. It was Enlil who carried out the decisions of the gods; the thunder and lightning over the Mesopotamian plain was Enlil, and also (which is somewhat more difficult to comprehend) it was Enlil, not simply barbarian mountaineers, who destroyed your city. Next to these two gods of sky and storm stood Mother Earth (Ninmah) and the active force of creation, Water (Enki). These and other gods governed the world state. Man had no power over them, but stood in the same relation to them as slaves did to free men in human society. Nevertheless, it was possible, and indeed important, to pray to the gods, especially to minor deities whom you might claim as your own. For this reason every house had its own chapel. In your relationship with your personal god, the chief thing was to be obedient, for if you served him well, he would reward you.

This is but another way of saying that justice was bestowed as a favor, not as a right. As the state became larger and more complex, however, there developed the idea that man had a right to justice. Law codes answered this demand, but only in part, for injustice remained. The Sumerian explains to us that the ways of the gods are strange, and the most we can do is to hope.

The city-state, we have remarked, had as its purpose the service of a god. But just as one god gained power over other gods, so rulers on earth might conquer others. A human ruler did this, because the assembly of gods willed that one of their number should govern a wider realm. When this happened, the successful conqueror was known as a king (*lugal*), and the god of his city became the chief god of the land, though he did not supplant the other deities.

The land of Sumer during the third millennium saw much warfare between the theocratic city-states, punctuated by periods of relative peace when one city or another conquered its neighbors and built a nation or empire.

EANNATUM. About the middle of the third millennium a ruler of Sumerian Lagash, Eannatum, conquered Ur, Kish, and perhaps Elam, but apparently he was especially pleased by his defeat of the people of Umma, hereditary foes who lived just across the canal, the "Lion of the Plain," as it was called. To commemorate his victory, Eannatum set up a boundary stone (a stele or sculptured slab of stone), which is known from its tragic subject matter as the Vulture Stele; on it we see the king and his troops setting off to war, and the ensuing destruction of the enemy, with vultures or eagles carrying away their dead—this is probably the first example of a story in the history of art. Precisely how much of the land of Sumer and Akkad was conquered by Eannatum is unknown, but there is no doubt that this early ruler created a large empire for the time, albeit a temporary one. The people of Umma were not denied their revenge, however, and ultimately they overthrew the humiliating Vulture Stele, which accounts for its fragmentary condition today.

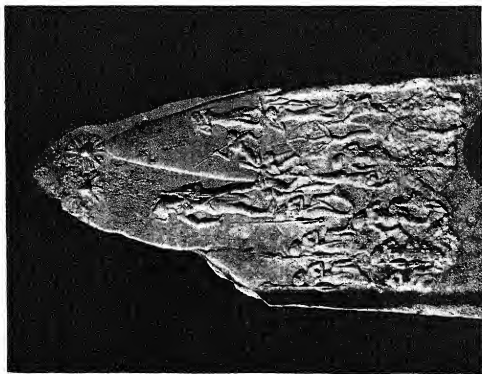
URUKAGINA. A successor of Eannatum at Lagash, Urukagina, stands out in this age as a social reformer, who tried to protect his people from the civil and military officials and the priests. Calling himself "King of Lagash and Sumer," Urukagina brought to his state a brief period of prosperity and power. In addition to building temples, canals, and reservoirs, he created perhaps the oldest known prototype of a code of laws, which is remarkable for its spirit of justice. For example, the high priest of a temple estate could no longer tax a widow or orphan. It was the business of government, moreover, to provide the dead with food and drink in their graves, so that their souls might journey successfully to the lower world. And if a rich man wished to buy something belonging to a poor man, he had to "pay in silver" as much as was demanded, or not be angry if his offer was refused. Thus Urukagina gave the inhabitants of Lagash a measure of freedom and security.

LUGAL ZAGGISI. It is possible that Urukagina's reforms produced discord and weakened his position. In any case, he was overthrown not much later by Lugal Zaggisi of Umma. The historical tablet, which tells how Lagash was despoiled, concludes, "But as to Lugal Zaggisi, the ensi of Umma, may his personal deity bear this crime on her neck." Lugal Zaggisi, now a powerful king, transferred his capital to Erech, a city famous for its temple to Eanna, the "house of heaven." Many gods were recognized, revealing a systematic pantheon, but it was the cult of Inanna, goddess of love and war and the Sumerian counterpart of Ishtar, which dominated the religious life. Under Lugal Zaggisi Sumerian influences continued to travel far and wide; in fact, he even boasted that his empire extended to the Mediterranean.

THE AKKADIANS. SARGON (CA. 2350 B.C.). Probably it was inevitable that in time the Sumerians should be overwhelmed by their numerous Akkadian neighbors to the north. The land of Akkad boasted many cities, and in particular Babylon, Kish, Kutha, and Sippar. About 2350 B.C. a remarkable man of humble origin, Sargon (or Sharrukin) by name, seized the power in his native Kish. Various romantic stories have survived concerning his origin, which at least tell us something of what people liked to believe at that time. It is said that Sargon's mother was a lowly woman and that he never knew his father. He was born in concealment, cast adrift by his mother on the Euphrates in a reed basket, was rescued by an irrigator and reared as a gardener. But Ishtar, the great Semitic goddess, loved Sargon, and he became king for fifty-five years.

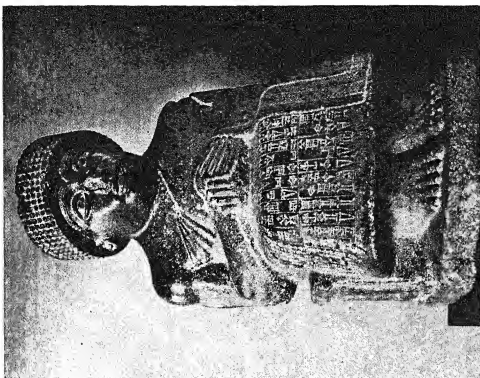
In any case, after becoming king of Kish, Sargon overthrew Lugal Zaggisi, extended his sway over all Akkad, conquered Sumer and as far east as Susa in Elam. For his capital he founded Agade, just below Sippar; he consecrated the boundaries of his city by tracing its outer walls with soil taken from Babylon. The Babylonian Chronicle tells us that the new "king of universal dominion crossed the sea of the west," which perhaps means that he crossed the Mediterranean to Cyprus. One of Sargon's inscriptions states that he conquered "as far as the cedar forests and the silver mountains." The cedar forests are the Lebanon mountains in Syria; and the silver mountains refer to the Taurus range, especially the region near the Cilician Gates (cf. map, rear endpaper). Sargon's long and glorious reign over this great empire caused Sumerian influences to travel widely, for the civilization of Akkad was based upon that of Sumer. Backward Syria and far-off Cyprus benefited thereby, and the products of the two areas were exchanged. At home Sargon built temples to the gods and a great palace for himself; after death he was regarded by the people as a deity.

NARAM SIN. Every king of Akkad, like those of Sumer, had constant rebellions to suppress during his lifetime, and upon his death it often happened that his conquests fell apart. Sargon, however, was able to bequeath his empire, if somewhat contracted, to his successors. One of these, Naram Sin, "the beloved of the moon god" and probably Sargon's grandson, built an empire that extended perhaps from Armenia to the Persian Gulf and Red Sea, from Elam and the Zagros mountains to the Mediterranean coast. Styling himself "King of the Four Regions of the Earth," Naram Sin once set up a remarkable stele which has been found in Susa, the capital of Elam. The king has just won a great victory, and in his military habit is climbing a mountain, followed by his soldiers. The enemy have been slaughtered; one is pulling a spear from his throat, another begs for mercy. Terrible though the subject matter is, the stele itself is full of wonderful movement. Naram Sin gained a great reputation as



Photograph by Girandon

Stele of Naram Sin, "King of the Four Regions of the Earth." A tragic, but extraordinarily fine, memorial of a victory won by the grandson of Sargon of Akkad, ca. 2300 B.C. In the Louvre, Paris



Photograph by Alinari

A basalt statue of Gudea, the ensi of Lagash and patron of the arts. In the Louvre, Paris

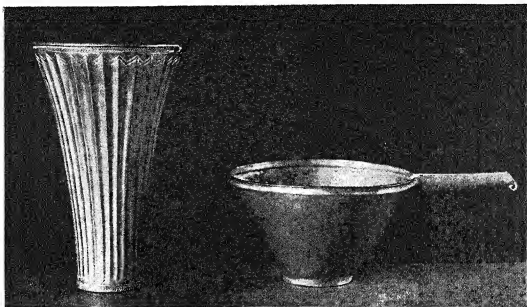
a builder of temples, but probably the most striking remains of his reign are beautifully engraved cylinders.

THE GUTI. GUDEA. Not long after 2300 B.C. the land of Sumer and Akkad was invaded by the Gutí, warlike and cruel nomads from the Zagros mountains. For a century and more the Gutí oppressed the conquered, who referred to the hated dynasty as "the dragon of the mountain, enemy of the gods." Lagash, however, was able to maintain a limited independence under its ensi, Gudea. Reputedly a pious man, and certainly a remarkable one, Gudea during these harsh years supported art, literature, and religion, and as a result obtained posthumous deification.

UR'S SUPREMACY (CA. 2150-2050 B.C.). UR-NAMMU. It was the Sumerian city of Erech, however, which took the initiative in driving out the Gutí. This led to a renewal of Sumerian political power and to the highest achievements of Sumerian civilization. For approximately a century (from about 2150 B.C.) Sumer led the surrounding lands in the arts, in trade and commerce, and in the promotion of agriculture by well-regulated irrigation. The leading city was Ur, where a new dynasty had been established by Ur-Nammu, "King of Ur, King of Sumer and Akkad." The Sumerians, led by the citizens of Ur, were probably the most talented and humane of early peoples. Apparently they never conducted war for war's sake, but confined their energy as far as possible to the conquest of agricultural areas. Whether we look at the monumental achievement of their irrigation system or at their sculptures, temples, palaces, libraries, we are astounded by their industry, skill, and taste. Sir Leonard Woolley's excavations at Ur, including its early royal cemetery, suggest that the period of Ur's supremacy may best be described as a wonderful adventure in culture.

Great as the material achievements of the Sumerians were, their religious writings, where the chief characteristic is a genius for religious speculation, were even more influential. Their liturgical literature produced the elaborate daily services of a formal and musically intricate religion. Drum, flute, or lyre accompanied the hymns, which generally contained a lamentation on some specific calamity or upon the ordinary troubles of mankind. The liturgies allude also to the Word of Wrath, for it was believed that sin causes the gods to send affliction upon mankind by means of their Word—an angry spirit, as it were, which visits men. Probably the most profound idea in the liturgies is that of the great mother goddess, the sorrowful mother who grieves for the woes of humanity and is the steadfast suppliant of mankind before the angry gods.

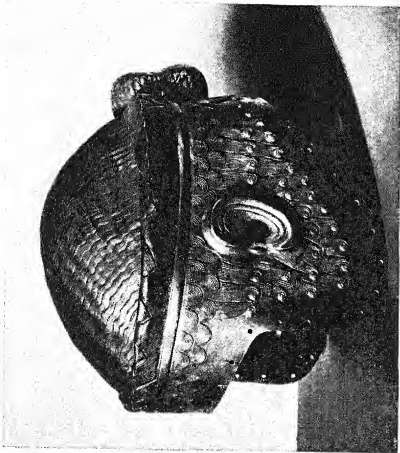
SHULGI. Ur-Nammu, founder of this extraordinary dynasty at Ur, also laid the groundwork of the Sumerian code of laws. The code was developed further by one of his successors, Shulgi, and became the model of Hammurabi's famous Code. The Sumerian code is not so well thought out as the later Baby-



Queen Shub-ad's fluted gold tumbler and spouted gold libation cup, in the University Museum, Philadelphia. Remarkable examples of Sumerian art have been recovered by the joint excavation of the British Museum and the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania in the Royal Cemetery of the First Dynasty of Ur; first half of the third millennium B.C.

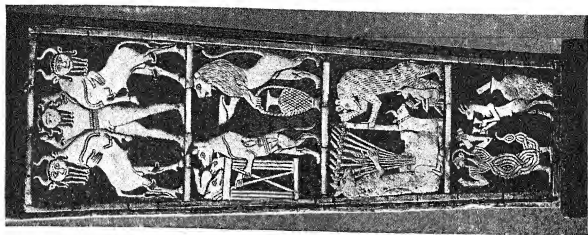


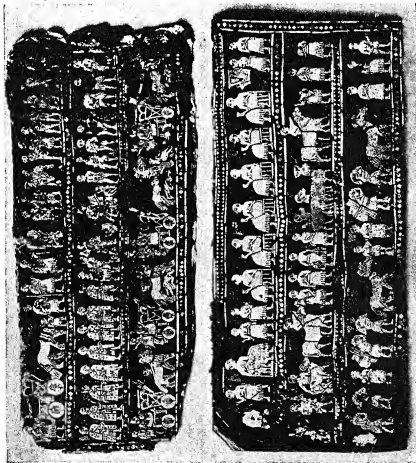
A magnificent bull's head, of gold and lapis lazuli, projecting from the sounding box of a lyre found in the Royal Cemetery of Ur (cf. the lyre, p. 44, top right of lower panel). In the University Museum, Philadelphia



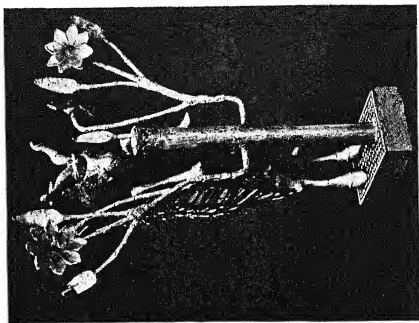
The marvelous helmet of Meskalam-dug, from the Royal Cemetery of Ur. It is of 15-carat gold, in the form of a wig; the locks of hair are hammered out in relief, the hairs are chased. In the Baghdad Museum

Mosaic shell plaques on a background of lapis lazuli decorating a lyre, from the Royal Cemetery of Ur; mythological scenes. The lyre—with its decorations of gold and silver, lapis lazuli, white shell and red limestone—was originally 49 inches high and was recovered almost intact. In the University Museum, Philadelphia

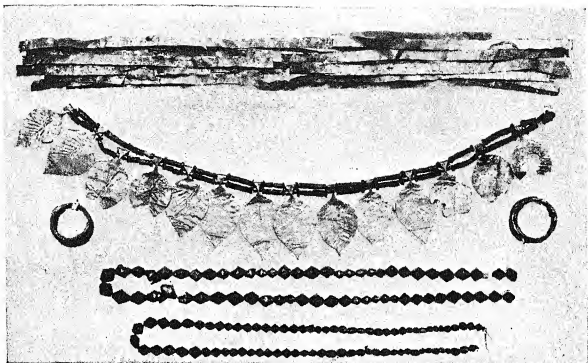




Two sides of a mosaic box, originally atop a ceremonial standard. Above: War. Naked prisoners are brought before the king. Here is the earliest known army: note the battle axes, spears, helmets, kilts, capes, and chariots with an extra supply of javelins. Below: The Victory Banquet. Food and booty are brought to the king and his generals; they wear sheepskin kilts and drink to the accompaniment of music and singing. From the Royal Cemetery of Ur, now in the British Museum, London



The Ram of the Goats in the bush. One of a pair of composite statuettes, found by Sir Leonard Woolley in the Royal Cemetery of Ur. The animal's face and legs are of gold; the belly, silver; most of the fleece is of white shell; the locks on neck and shoulders, the beard, horns, and pupils of the eyes are of lapis lazuli. In the University Museum, Philadelphia



Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

Gold and lapis lazuli jewelry belonging to court ladies of Ur. In the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York



A rein-ring of silver and a donkey "mascot" of electrum, from the Royal Cemetery of Ur. The object was originally lashed to the pole of a chariot belonging to Queen Shub-ad (cf. the chariots, p. 44, bottom of upper panel, and note, incidentally, how the asses become excited as they get into battle). In the British Museum, London

Ionian, but it is more humane. For example, according to Sumerian law, if a woman commits adultery, she is not even divorced, but the husband may marry a second wife, and the first wife loses her position. By Hammurabi's Code, however, she and the correspondent are slain.

In the course of a long and prosperous reign Shulgi, now described as "King of Ur, King of the Four Regions," extended his empire far westward along the Fertile Crescent. In the not distant future, however, the dynasty fell, and with it ended Sumer's active career in history.

3. BABYLON

THE AMORITES. Sumer's supremacy was first weakened in a long series of wars with Elam, which won its independence about 2050 B.C. Shortly thereafter the Sumerian empire northward was destroyed by an invasion of Semites from the west, known as Amorites. The Amorites conquered the land of Akkad, established Isin, Larsa, and later Babylon as their capital, and then engaged in long warfare with Elam, in the course of which Ur was finally destroyed.

HAMMURABI (CA. 1800 B.C.). The sixth Amorite king of the new Babylonian dynasty was one of the remarkable rulers in history, the famous lawgiver Hammurabi, who governed for forty-odd years, beginning about 1800 B.C. Among his early achievements were the defeat of Rim Sin, king of Larsa, and the incorporation of Sumer in his realm; but with the years he steadily advanced his political dominion, until it included Assyria and northern Syria. So powerful and influential was the rich new empire that the land about its capital—the former land of Sumer and Akkad—became known as Babylonia. Babylonian culture, however, was largely an adaptation and elaboration of the Sumerian. Herein lay both its strength and its weakness. Sumer's literature had long since been translated; her writing, calendar, and other ways of civilized life had also been adopted. In short, Babylonian civilization—partly original, partly an adaptation—was the finest yet produced in the lower Tigris-Euphrates Valley. Moreover, it was Babylon's destiny to pass elements of her civilization on to other lands, westward, and so ultimately to us. But the Sumerians were dead, or, at any rate, they had been absorbed by the newcomers, and the basis of their life had been destroyed. Their culture could fertilize others and thus attain a high peak, but their Babylonian successors came in time to rely on the past, to accept its ways, and even to delight in them. This is the earliest moment in the history of man where we are able to watch in some detail a people reach a great height and then, with a strange conservatism, refuse to experiment further. In the case of Babylon, as in all subsequent examples, the result was fatal.

BABYLON'S DECLINE. The First Dynasty of Babylon, as it is called, lasted

about a century and a half. During the course of the seventeenth century, however, it lacked the vitality to ward off its enemies—first, certain raiders from the Land of the Sea (as they were described) who seized the southern part of their country, and then the northern Hittites from Asia Minor. The devastating Hittite incursion was very brief. The fall of the Babylonian dynasty came about when another people, the Kassites, drifted in from their homes in the Zagros mountains and then made themselves supreme in the Valley. The Kassites spoke a language that contained Indo-European words; that is to say, their tongue was in part related to that large body of languages which was carried by invaders, before and after 2000 B.C., into Europe and India and which developed into Greek, Latin, German, Persian, and other languages. The leader of the Kassite invasion, Gandash, seized Babylon and set up a dynasty, which endured for six centuries. The new state was smaller than Hammurabi's and contributed little to the development of civilization. Not until the rise of the strong Assyrian Empire in the ninth century B.C. did the Tigris-Euphrates Valley again play a dominant role in world politics.

4. BABYLONIAN CIVILIZATION

Europe derived many of the essential elements of civilization from the Near East, and the greater number of these came from Babylon. Through their trade and commerce the Babylonians spread their science, art, and beliefs over a large part of the ancient world. The Syrians adopted from Babylon most of their ideas and arts, including the cuneiform script, and the Babylonian language became the language of diplomacy, not only over all Syria, but even of the Egyptian court in the fourteenth century B.C. From Syria the culture of the Babylonians was carried to Asia Minor and to Europe. The Etruscans learned from them the use of the arch, and of divination, and passed this knowledge on to the Romans. The Greeks borrowed their system of weights, their calendar, and some of their astronomy. The Hebrews received many elements of religion from them. The division of the day into twelve double hours and the twelve signs of the zodiac are theirs. Babylon, quite obviously, ranks very high in the history of civilization.

Babylonian culture, being based on the Sumerian, was an elaboration of a way of life that had been built up slowly through the centuries. Since there was a remarkable continuity to that life, it is probably often correct to fill gaps in our knowledge for one period by survivals in another, and thus obtain a reasonably full picture of the whole. On the other hand, it was Babylon's triumph—and more specifically, Hammurabi's—not only to bring this civilization to a great height, but also to protect it and nourish it by political stability.

GOVERNMENT. At the head of the state stood the king, an autocrat who ruled with the blessing of the gods. His capital was Babylon, the Gate of the

Gods, and the city's patron god, Marduk, was the chief deity of the land. The king was surrounded by a large bureaucracy: ministers, judges, and various officials for the collection of taxes and tribute, for the maintenance and control of canals, and for the regulation of business matters. Business agreements of every kind had to be in writing to be valid, and since thousands of these have survived, we have a detailed picture of economic life in those days. Another group surrounding the king consisted of the priests; as judges and interpreters of the official religion they wielded great influence, and as the largest property holders, after the king, they enjoyed tremendous economic power. Military officers formed another important group. The army was equipped with bows and arrows, spears, swords, and shields. It consisted of both citizen soldiers and professionals; the latter received lots of land from the king, which they could bequeath to their sons on condition that they too rendered military service—a curious practice inherited ultimately by the Roman Empire.

SOCIETY. The king and his civil and military officials, the priests, the landed proprietors, the rich merchants, and manufacturers formed one of the three classes recognized by Babylonian law. The second class consisted of laborers and farmers; many of the latter were tenants who paid a share (perhaps a third) of the produce to the owner. The lowest class in Babylonian society was made up of the slaves, persons who had been captured in war or had lost their freedom through debt. The law protected them very carefully. Though the slaves were chattels, they could own property and eventually buy their freedom; they were also allowed to marry a free woman, and the offspring of such unions were free.

The basis of this society was the family, and it seems rather extraordinary for so early a day that the position of woman was better than in many subsequent periods. The courts recognized women as free individuals, who could own property, legally marry and even obtain divorce. Divorce was easier for a man, but if a man was rich enough to afford concubines, his wife took precedence over them, and on his death the concubines became free.

AGRICULTURE. Agriculture provided the chief means of livelihood in Babylonia. Much of the land was owned by the king and his officials and by the "gods"; that is to say, the temples, or rather the priests of the temples, actually held large areas in the name of the gods. Small freeholders and tenants were required to keep nearby canals in order, for these were necessary both for irrigation and transport. If a man failed in his duty, he was fined for any harm he might cause his neighbor; on the other hand, if a debtor's land was unavoidably flooded, he was excused from paying his debt that year. On the farms, large and small, were grown various fruit trees—especially the date palm—vegetables, wheat, barley, and spelt. The common animals were oxen, cattle,

pigs, goats, sheep, and donkeys; the camel was a relative late comer, and so was the horse, which was used chiefly for military purposes.

INDUSTRY AND ART. Skilled industry was carried on by craftsmen and their apprentices. The law regulated their wages and the prices of their manufactures. From their shops came finely woven and brilliantly colored linens, muslins, and woolens; gold, silver, glass, and bronze wares, and excellent furniture. Probably the chief industry was brickmaking, but the Babylonians became famous for their ivory carvings and for beautiful objects of lapis lazuli. Because official correspondence, business agreements, sales, and wills were voluminous, it was customary to sign documents with engraved cylinders of semiprecious stones; thousands of these seals, often of exquisite beauty, have survived. Large sculpture in stone, on the other hand, is rather timid in execution—the artists were relatively unfamiliar with stone, since it had to be imported—and shows squat, unlikelike figures.

TRADE. Babylonia had no coinage, and accordingly goods were exchanged by barter or on the standard of established weights of metals. The standard weight was the talent, which was divided into sixty minas. The mina weighed about a pound and contained sixty shekels. The notation chiefly used was sexagesimal (based on 60 as a unit), although the decimal system was also known. Rich merchants and priests acted as bankers, arranged credits and loans, and charged interest at 25 percent a month. Partnerships were formed to carry on an extensive trade with Syria.

ARCHITECTURE. A great city such as Babylon was a luxurious metropolis. Beside the narrow streets rose the houses of ordinary people. Rather surprisingly, perhaps, the houses presented a drab, monotonous stuccoed exterior to the passer-by, but within they were comfortable. They were built around an open court and were often two stories high; in that event, the bedrooms were in the upper floor, while below were located the living rooms and a chapel, with its burial vault. The houses were constructed of brick and had flat roofs resting on cedar beams. Larger buildings, such as a palace or temple, were magnificent to behold. The Babylonian architects knew the column, the true arch, and the vault; and they reared their large structures on a huge platform or terrace, often covering several acres, in order to protect the building from the dampness of the earth. A temple—such as that of Marduk at Babylon or of Nannar, the moon god, at Ur—was constructed of baked and unbaked brick, with a facing of colorful glazed bricks, and was dedicated to the city's chief god. It contained a school and rooms for worship, but its striking feature was the ziggurat. This was a series of terraces, reaching a height of perhaps seventy feet, at the very top of which was the god's sanctuary.

RELIGION. The Babylonians had a gloomy view of the next world, which they imagined as a huge cave full of dead persons leading an unhappy, color-

less existence. Although they believed that proper burial and sacrifices could ease the lot of the dead, their religious practices were chiefly directed to this world. To secure a happy and prosperous long life it was necessary to perform certain sacrifices and celebrate festivals. Various forms and rules must be observed, and for that reason priests, who were wise in such matters, were indispensable. Everywhere were spirits, demons, gods, some friendly, some not, but all needing man's attention. Every locality and every association of men had its gods. More important was the leading deity of a city-state, and greatest of all was the god of the imperial capital, Babylon. The gods had female consorts; just as Marduk, the patron deity of Babylon, was the greatest of gods, so the Semitic mother goddess, Ishtar, a goddess of fertility, became the chief female deity and was identified with the planet known to us as Venus.

A large literature, written by priests and stored in libraries, dealt with religion. It prescribed in detail the ceremonies of worship, the forms of magic for repelling evil spirits, the prayers for soothing the anger of the gods and for winning their favor. All strange occurrences and all abnormalities had to be explained, for they might contain a message from the gods. Many ways for discovering the will of the gods (divination, as it is called) were invented. Most important was the examination of the liver of an animal offered in sacrifice. The liver was marked off into parts and searched for irregularities; its study became in time an elaborate and complicated system. Dreams also had to be explained, and the actions of birds and animals. Moreover, the Babylonians believed that the will of the gods could be discovered and the future foretold by the study of the heavenly bodies, especially of the sun, moon, and five known planets. In this way they created astrology.

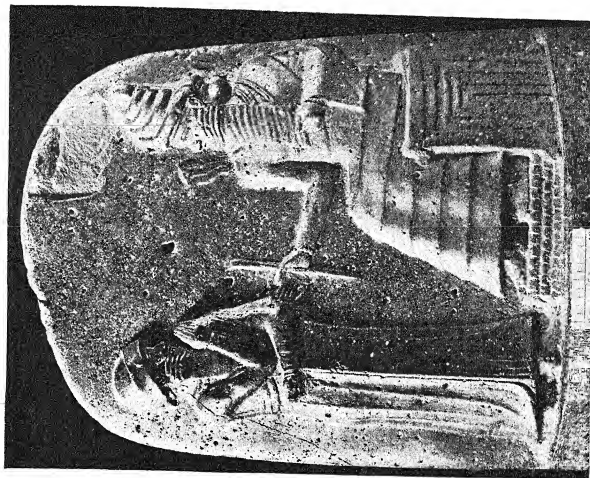
LITERATURE. Many of the religious texts were composed in Sumerian, which, because of its antiquity, had an appeal for the upper classes. Sumerian, however, was now a "dead language," and grammars and dictionaries were necessary for its study. Schools were conducted in the temples, where boys learned reading and writing, arithmetic and geometry. Mathematical and medical texts were written; indeed, Hammurabi's Code regulated the fees a surgeon might charge and prescribed severe penalties for gross negligence. Babylonians with a liking for geography drew maps and city plans on clay tablets, several of which have survived. It is, however, by the protests of reforming spirits and the striking conceptions of the purer minds that we gain an insight to a people. Here we must rely chiefly on the religious texts, the myths, prayers, hymns, and psalms which emphasize the necessity of being good and hold out practical rewards in this life.

Much of Babylonian poetry is epic in nature—that is to say, the poems are of considerable length and celebrate in narrative form the deeds of real or legendary heroes. The famous Epic of Gilgamesh, which was composed about



Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

A beautiful Babylonian cylinder seal of bluish chalcidony, ca. 1500 B.C., together with its impression. In the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York



Photograph by Giraudon

The top of the stele of Hammurabi, King of Babylon. Shamash, the Sun God, is seated on a throne and hands the great Code of Laws to Hammurabi (ca. 1800 B.C.). The Code, comprising more than 3,600 lines, occupies the rest of the stele. In the Louvre, Paris

2000 B.C. from earlier stories, tells how a legendary king of Erech sought immortal life. Gilgamesh was a Mesopotamian Odysseus, who journeyed far and endured much. Although he ruled 126 years, according to an ancient king list, he did not want to die and sought the secret of immortality. The poem is essentially a protest against death. If indeed this is a world of justice, how does it happen that you must die, even though you have done no wrong? The Epic provides no answer to this great question. The poets also delighted to tell of the creation of the world by one of their gods, and of a great flood and the building of the ship in which one human family alone was saved. Some of these stories are also told in our Bible, but we should note that the Babylonian hero of the flood is characteristically saved by the favoritism of a god, whereas according to *Genesis* Noah was delivered by his own merits.

SCIENCE. By 1800 B.C. the Babylonians had a highly developed algebra and made significant advances in astronomy. They divided the year into twelve months of 29 and 30 days each. This gave them a year of only 354 days, and they made the correction by inserting an additional (intercalary) month whenever necessary. The day they divided into twelve double hours, each 120 minutes long; to measure the hours they invented water clocks and sundials.

HAMMURABI'S CODE. Probably the most important achievement of the Babylonians was the creation of a written law, which governed man's relations with his neighbor and the state. The developed law as we know it in Hammurabi's famous Code was based on the Sumerian—particularly on the work of Ur-Nammu and Shulgi—and shows a high sense of justice, though many punishments were severe. Our knowledge of the law derives chiefly from an inscribed slab of black diorite, about eight feet high, known as Hammurabi's Code. It was found by the French archaeologist De Morgan in 1901 at Susa, whither it had been brought by an Elamite king in the twelfth century B.C.; it is now in the Louvre Museum in Paris. The Code consists of more than 3,600 lines, which go around the slab. We see, at the top, King Hammurabi in an attitude of adoration before Shamash—the rays behind his shoulders proclaim him the great sun god. Shamash is handing the Code to Hammurabi, which serves to emphasize the divine origin of the laws.

The civil and criminal laws of Hammurabi regulated practically everything in life. The laws applied to personal property, real estate, business, trade, agriculture, inheritances, and adoption; they controlled the price of labor and animals, purchases, sales, contracts, leases. The rights of women, children, and slaves were carefully protected, and, as we have seen, women were able to marry, transact business, inherit and bequeath property. There were penalties for injuries to property and to the body; in general, the law made a distinction between the three classes of society, so that a poor man hurting a noble received a more severe penalty than in the opposite case. The basis of

criminal law was that of retaliation (*lex talionis*), or, as we might express it, "an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth." For example, we read in Hammurabi's Code that if a man destroys the eye of another man, his own eye must be destroyed. At first the courts administering the law had been located in temples, but by Hammurabi's day civil courts had almost supplanted the priestly. Cases were tried in their local communities of origin, but appeals to the king were allowed.

The Tigris-Euphrates Valley had created a rich and complex civilization. Another river valley, that of the Nile, could make a similar claim.

IV

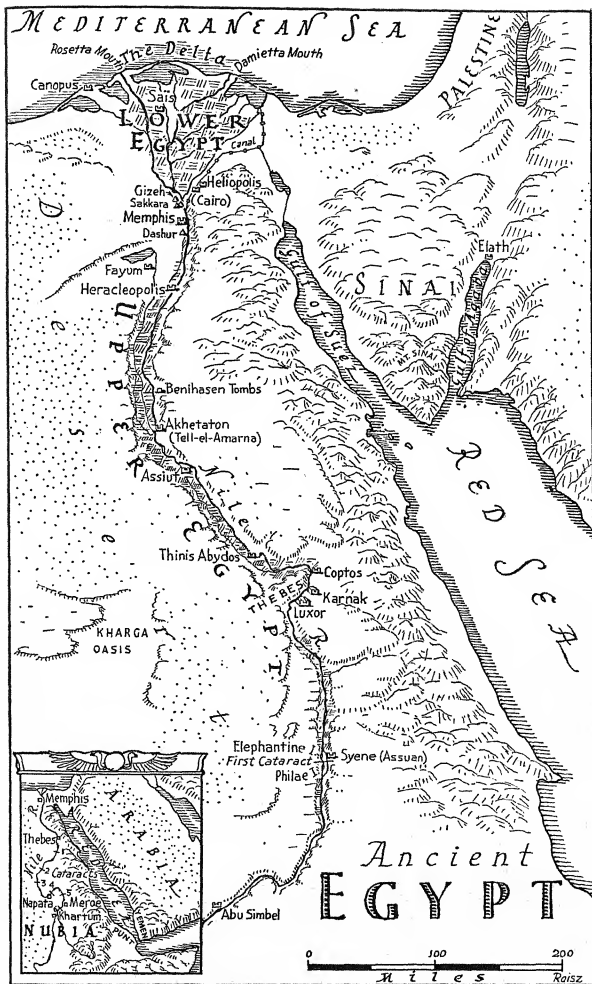
EGYPT

1. THE VALLEY OF THE NILE

THE LAND AND ITS PEOPLE. The Nile River, on which the life of Egypt has always depended, rises in central Africa and the mountains of Ethiopia. After a northward journey of several hundred miles it passes through Nubia (the modern Sudan), where its course is interrupted by six cataracts or rapids. The northernmost of these cataracts is counted as the first, and it is here that Egypt begins. From this point—the site of Syene (modern Assuan)—to Memphis (near modern Cairo) it is more than 600 miles. For most of this distance the valley is less than ten miles wide, though at places the limestone hills, which hem the river in, recede and the valley attains a width of thirty miles. The whole area, from Syene almost to Memphis, is known as Upper Egypt.

Below Memphis the character of the Nile changes, for it divides itself into several channels through which it flows 100 miles to the Mediterranean Sea. This land, which is swampy near the coast, is known as Lower Egypt; in appearance it is a triangle, resembling the fourth letter of the Greek alphabet, and hence it is often called the Delta. The total habitable land of Upper and Lower Egypt is very small—only about 3.5 percent of the land will support population—and doubtless in antiquity, as today, over 99 percent of the population were compressed into this small area. Today, at any rate, there are more people to the square mile in Egypt than in either Belgium, the most densely populated nation of Europe, or Java. There was a similar crowding of people in ancient times, with its inevitable results. Just as the Arab world regards modern Egypt as “progressive,” so in ancient Egypt the conservative checks of desert life were missing. The concentration of people in antiquity made for sophistication and intellectual progress; it meant that the Egyptian, determined though he was to keep old ways, was also willing to accept the new.

The Delta enjoys a moderate rainfall, but it almost never rains in the rest of Egypt. The land would be a desert, were it not for the fact that each summer the Nile, swollen by tropical rains and melting mountain snows, overflows the valley. When the water returns to its channel in early December, it



leaves the land fertilized with a rich coat of earth. The silt which has been deposited enables a man to raise each year one or two crops of grain, grasses, flax, and vegetables, provided that he continues to irrigate the land. To do this, it was necessary for the ancient Egyptian to lift water from the Nile or wells and carry it across the fields by a complex system of canals. Our picture, it must be said, is an ideal one, for in certain years the Nile's overflow might be very small, bringing famine in its wake; or it might be a rushing flood, destroying canals, dams, and even villages.

Important as the Nile has always been to Egypt, the ancient Egyptian regarded the sun as even more vital. Here was the true source of life. Each day, after an absence which seemed to resemble death, the sun rose again in the region of rebirth and renewed life, just as the river itself renewed life every year. Renewal of life could constantly be seen, and inevitably, perhaps, it suggested to the Egyptian the idea of victory over death. The uniformity of the landscape made its own impression on the people, too. Here were the river and its two banks, exactly the same, the green cultivated fields stretching away, then the desert and finally the mountains to east and west. It gave the Egyptian a sense of symmetry and balance which is noticeable, for example, in his art. Moreover, anything that was different in this monotonous scene—such as a crocodile on the mudflats—immediately became inordinately full of life and helped the Egyptian acquire an animistic outlook on nature. He was ready to personify anything, not as a great god, to be sure, but at least as a force to be reckoned with.

As in the case of the Tigris and Euphrates, the Nile was a mighty factor in the unification of the country and in the growth of domestic trade. Unlike Mesopotamia, however, Egypt is relatively isolated and protected from invasion. The cataracts of the river—and beyond them, the tropical jungles—impede invasions from the south, while to the east and west of the mountain ranges that line the Nile are large deserts. To the north, of course, is the Mediterranean. Cut off by sea and deserts from other people, the Egyptian looked upon himself as a race apart and took an isolationist pride in his country. Though an invasion from the north, across the sea, might succeed, a strong, centralized government could usually defend the land with considerable ease. The mountains, moreover, produce an abundance of building stone, while gold can be had in Nubia and copper in the Sinai peninsula; the one conspicuous lack is wood. Protected by nature from enemies and blessed with varied resources, the ancient Egyptians were more self-contained than most people have been, but the need for the "cedars of Lebanon" brought them to Syria and consequently into the stream of influences emanating from Mesopotamia.

HISTORICAL SOURCES. Egypt's dry climate has preserved most fortunately

the works of ancient man. The modern traveler in this hot and sunny land is astonished at the great number and size of the Egyptian monuments: obelisks, colossal statues, vast temples, and pyramids. Nowhere else did ancient men build so magnificently, and nowhere have their works been so well preserved. Archaeological excavations have recovered further quantities of ancient remains, including tons of papyri. The archaeological evidence, together with the writing—not only on papyri, but also on the walls of monuments, etc.—provides us with an intimate knowledge of everyday life in Egypt.

The key to the Egyptian language dates back to 1799, during Napoleon's campaign in Egypt, when some of his men, who were digging the foundation of a fort near the Rosetta mouth of the Nile, found a stone of black basalt, three feet nine inches long, two feet four inches wide, and eleven inches thick. The officer in charge saw that one side of the stone had Greek letters on it and also some lines of strange characters which might be writing. When Napoleon heard of this, he turned the stone over to the body of learned men who had accompanied him to Egypt. Then, after the successful operations of Sir Ralph Abercromby in Egypt in the spring of 1801, the Rosetta Stone, as it has always been known, was sent to the British Museum in London (p. 11).

The inscription on the Rosetta Stone is written in two languages, Egyptian and Greek. The Egyptian portion consists of hieroglyphic and demotic characters. The hieroglyphic characters were the old priestly picture writing which was employed from the earliest dynasties in nearly all state and ceremonial documents that were intended to be seen by the public. The demotic characters were the popular, abbreviated, and modified form of the hieratic or cursive form of hieroglyphic writing. The presence of Greek on the stone is to be explained by the fact that the inscription dates from the time of the Macedonian conquest. It represents a decree by the ruler, Ptolemy V Epiphanes (196 B.C.), who employed both the Greek and Egyptian languages so that all his subjects might read it.

A significant step in deciphering Egyptian was taken when it was noted that the ovals, or cartouches, in the hieroglyphic inscription occupied a position analogous to those portions of the Greek inscription which contained the name of Ptolemy. The same seemed to be true of another bilingual inscription, an obelisk from Philae, where both Ptolemy and Cleopatra are mentioned in the Greek. The two names, Ptolemy and Cleopatra, have enough characters in common to prove that the cartouches of the hieroglyphic inscriptions contain the royal names written phonetically. This proved to be the decisive discovery in the decipherment of the Egyptian language. After many years of labor, chiefly by a French scholar named Champollion, it became possible to give the correct alphabetic values of other Egyptian signs. A knowledge of Coptic then made possible the translation of the ancient Egyptian language. Coptic is a

name meaning "Egyptian." The Egyptians who became Christians after the preaching of St. Mark in Alexandria are called "Copts," and a knowledge of their language has never been lost.

In their earliest writing the Egyptians represented objects by pictures; a disk, for example, stood for the sun, a crescent for the moon. From pictographic script they passed to ideographic and syllabic stages, and before 3000 B.C. they had invented letters representing each a sound. But they were too conservative to adopt an alphabet exclusively, and continued to use pictures, symbols, and letters in hieroglyphic, hieratic, and the late form of writing known as demotic. At an early date, moreover, the Egyptians developed a lunar calendar, but in approximately 2850 B.C. the civil calendar of 365 days was introduced. The accuracy of the Egyptian calendar, combined with the vast amount of writing and the numerous archaeological remains, accounts for our detailed knowledge of ancient Egypt. Finally, we also have accounts of Egypt from Greek historians and, more particularly, from Manetho (early third century B.C.), an Egyptian who wrote in Greek. Manetho's valuable history is lost, but it was incorporated in the works of later writers; it has become conventional to follow his division of Egyptian history into dynasties or families of kings.¹

PREDYNASTIC EGYPT. A strongly unified Egypt, we have said, made invasion difficult, but in early prehistoric days the country consisted of separate communities. Libyans from the northwest and Semites from the northeast—and possibly Negroes from the south—entered the Valley of the Nile during that dim past to form the mixed, though distinctive Egyptians. Remains from the Paleolithic Period are scanty, but for the Neolithic Period we have abundant evidence of a gifted people of taste. The people lived in huts of mud bricks, or of mud and reeds. They worshiped spirits, and when they buried their dead, they put objects of daily use into the graves with them. The chief settlement thus far excavated, at Nakadeh (near Thebes), has produced flint tools, sculptured figures, and remarkably fine alabaster and steatite vases. Though the wheel was unknown, the potter was able to mould the clay into beautiful forms, which he decorated with geometrical designs and burnished. Probably writing was known. Copper implements are also found, for predynastic Egypt was on the threshold of the age of metals.

We may suppose that the men of the predynastic period fished in the Nile

¹ The chief dynasties were as follows: Dynasties I-II (3200-2780 B.C.) were formative and are spoken of as protodynastic. Dynasties III-VI are equivalent to the Old Kingdom (2780-2280 B.C.). This was followed by disorder (Dynasties VII-X, 2280-2000 B.C.). Egypt was reunited during Dynasty XI, and this dynasty, together with the twelfth, is equivalent to the Middle Kingdom (2000-1785 B.C.). This was followed by the invasion of the Hyksos. Dynasties XVIII-XX are equivalent to the New Kingdom or Empire (1580-1085 B.C.). This was followed by foreign invasions and conquests. Dynasty XXVI was the last independent, native dynasty; this was the period of Saïte Egypt (663-525 B.C.) and is connected with Assyrian and subsequent history.

and hunted among the marshes of its valley, independently of one another. The nature of the country, however, probably compelled them, if they were to live there in considerable numbers, to resort to farming and stock raising. This step could not be taken without draining the marshes and irrigating the fields, but for so great an enterprise coöperation was necessary. It was this need which brought the state into being. The necessity of enforcing strict coöperation among the people on irrigation projects gave the government great power and correspondingly reduced the freedom of the subjects; centralization of government, that is to say, was ultimately responsible for the regimentation of the people.

2. THE OLD KINGDOM (2780-2280 B.C.)

The little kingdoms of early Egypt carried on many wars with each other, until finally two large kingdoms were created from them. One of these comprised Upper Egypt, and the other, Lower Egypt (the Delta). Eventually the kings of Upper Egypt, who had their capital at Thinis, conquered the Delta and unified the Valley of the Nile. According to tradition, this important task was accomplished by one king, Menes, but probably Menes was a legendary figure. The unification of Egypt was doubtless the work of the first two dynasties (3200-2780 B.C.); they built so well that the rule of the succeeding dynasties (III-VI) is spoken of as the Old Kingdom (2780-2280 B.C.).

DYNASTIES III-VI. The kings of the third dynasty (2780-2680 B.C.) moved their capital from Thinis to Memphis in Lower Egypt, which was more conveniently located for administration. Though the king was usually referred to as the "Great House" (Peraa or Pharaoh), the fact of Egypt's ancient division was never forgotten, and among the royal titles was that of "King of Upper and Lower Egypt." Egypt now entered upon a prolonged and wonderful period of peace and prosperity, and under Zoser the foreign trade expanded. The famous pyramids were erected by kings of the fourth dynasty (2680-2560 B.C.): Khufu (Cheops), Khafre, and Menkaure. Here, at the peak of the Old Kingdom's power and wealth, the Egyptians were an independent, self-reliant people, full of vigor and zest for action and accomplishment.

Egyptian administration was based on the nome, which in the dim past probably represented an independent state; there were twenty nomes in Lower Egypt, twenty-two in Upper Egypt. The governors of the nomes were responsible to the king, and during the third and fourth dynasties their power was strictly limited by the strong, centralized government. Under the fifth dynasty (2560-2420 B.C.), however, the power of the nobility began to increase in the nomes, and decentralization was carried so far under the sixth dynasty (2420-2280 B.C.) that the governors were able to challenge the throne. The hereditary nobility were now practically independent in their nomes. The king,

nevertheless, remained supreme in overall policy, and under Pepi I and his son, Pepi II, Egypt's political control reached as far as the second cataract. Expeditions were also sent to Punt (Somaliland) to secure gold, incense, and other riches, and to Sinai for its metals. In the end, however, the nobles and decentralization won out, the Old Kingdom fell, and Egypt was again torn by strife between contending states.

GOVERNMENT. The Egyptian Pharaoh was both a god and the son of a god, an autocrat with almost unlimited power. He lived in his sumptuous palace at Memphis, and though he had a large number of concubines, it was only the son by his wife and queen who inherited the throne. He had many titles and wore two crowns in token of his kingship over Upper and Lower Egypt. The fifth dynasty had as its patron deity Re, the sun god, whom it established as the most important god in Egypt. The king was the son of Re, in order that he might rule Re's chief concern, Egypt. He embodied, moreover, the deities of both Upper and Lower Egypt and was also Horus, the god of light. Despite this picture of unapproachable absolutism, the Egyptians regarded their Pharaoh as an ideal ruler, composed necessarily of terror as well as graciousness, a balance, so to speak, between force and a loving care for his people. His officials could dispense only the law, but the king was able to exercise discretion and add justice to the law. In short, he was a divine ruler, vested with the obligation to guard his people and to act as intermediary between men and gods. Not only was the king the head of the state religion, but he also commanded the army, administered justice, and controlled the economic life of the country. He owned all the land of Egypt, directed the planting of crops and every major activity.

To carry out his will, the king had a huge bureaucracy. Offices were multiplied, until there was little room for individual responsibility. Officeholding became a sinecure with high rewards and led to large-scale corruption. The higher officials formed a nobility, which was in large part hereditary, though it was possible for individuals of ability to rise from the lower classes. The officials had some education, so that they could help the king administer justice and supervise the erection and care of public works. It was also necessary for them to make a biennial census, assess property throughout the kingdom, and collect and manage the revenue. Each province, or nome, had its local government and governor, who was appointed by the king. By the time of the fifth dynasty the office of provincial governor had become hereditary, as had many other offices; it was the ensuing decentralization under the next dynasty that led to a feudal period. The provincial governors were in charge of general administration, irrigation, the military, taxation, and the law courts. It was possible, though for a poor man not easy, to appeal to the royal law court at Memphis. This was in charge of the vizier, who helped govern Egypt

and was the most important individual in the realm after the king. The vizier, from the time of the fourth dynasty, was generally the crown prince. Among his many administrative duties was the government of both Upper and Lower Egypt; from the end of the Old Kingdom there were two viziers, one for each of the major divisions of the country. A province outside Egypt was ruled by a viceroy ultimately.

CLASSES OF SOCIETY. The members of the royal family, the multitudinous officials and nobles, and the priests formed the upper class of Egyptian society. Stratified though Egyptian society was, the fact that a man could rise from one class to another prevented the establishment of a caste system. The middle class consisted of the city dwellers; those engaged in trade and commerce, professional people such as scribes, and artisans. The largest class was made up of the farming population; and at the bottom of society were the slaves.

Throughout their history most of the people were poor. They lived in mud huts, crowded closely together along narrow, crooked lanes. Food was simple, beer the favorite drink. A single linen garment sufficed for dress. While the mother carried water, ground meal between two stones, baked bread in the ashes, sewed, spun, and wove, the father worked all day in the field or at his trade. He toiled under a master who could, and often did, beat him for a mistake or inattention to duty. Nevertheless, the poor as well as the rich had a lively imagination, a ready wit, and strong social qualities. They were a patient people, obedient to their superiors, and revered their god-king. Under these circumstances no other government than absolute monarchy seemed credible.

Busy as the nobles might be in the government, their life by contrast with the poor was one of ease and refinement. They lived in roomy houses of mud bricks, furnished with comfortable furniture. Their meals were large and varied; the drink they enjoyed most was wine. The men wore linen loincloths and shaved their heads and faces; the women clothed themselves in long dresses. Both sexes wore wigs and jewelry and used cosmetics. Monogamy was the rule, though concubines were common. The house of a rich noble was set amid beautiful gardens, with a pond full of lilies and fish. Boating, water sports, fishing, hunting, story tellers, and musicians took much of his time. Birds were brought down with throwing sticks, lions and hippopotami with spears. The nobility and the middle class produced the officers of the army. The soldiers came from the peasantry, and if an invasion of Syria or Nubia impended, there was a general enlistment of men.

ECONOMIC LIFE. Agriculture was the basis of economic life in Egypt. Because the strictest coöperation was necessary if the maximum amount of food was to be raised, the small landowner found himself regimented more and more; he soon became little better than a serf, though he remained free. More-

over, the land he worked, but could not own, was not the best. Theoretically the king owned all Egypt, but in practice he made large grants to the nobles and priests. There was not a temple that did not have rich lands for its support. The small landowner, accordingly, paid taxes or rents in kind on his farm and possessions, while working land that was often poor. In addition, he was subject to forced labor, in the mines and quarries, on irrigation and building projects, and for the manufacture of bricks. It was the duty of the peasant, as well as the government, to maintain the irrigation ditches and canals. Since the entire life of the Nile Valley depended on the proper regulation of the annual overflow, scribes kept a record of the river's rise and fall. The overflow, of course, destroyed landmarks, and on the recession of the floods the land was again surveyed.

In spite of the rich silt that had been left on the land, the farmer manured his field. He then plowed it with a simple plow, planted wheat, barley, and other grains, flax for its linen, sesame plants for their fats, beans, lentils, and other vegetables. Flowers and date palms dotted the landscape; bees were kept for their honey. At the proper time the farmer cut his grain with a sickle, drove cattle over it by way of threshing, and finally threw it into the wind to separate out the chaff. Cattle, sheep, goats, pigs, donkeys, oxen, ducks, and geese demanded the farmer's attention; the camel and horse were still unknown, and desert travelers used donkeys.

The Egyptian middle class lived in the towns and cities. A large section of this class consisted of artisans, many of whom worked for king and nobles or at Memphis near the temple of Ptah, the god of artisans. The artisans produced beautiful jewelry and other work in copper, gold, and silver; wonderfully thin, translucent stone vases; exquisite furniture; linen tapestries. These articles were exported, or were brought to the market place to barter for grain, vegetables, fish, and meat; in large transactions gold and silver weights were used, but coined money was unknown. Traders traveled to Punt, Nubia, Phoenicia, Syria, Cyprus, Asia Minor, and the islands of the Aegean Sea.² Egyptian exports have been found as far west as Italy. The chief imports were spices and incense from Punt; ebony, ivory, and gold from Nubia; and timber from Syria.

RELIGION. The Egyptians spent a large part of their time preparing for the next world, for religion controlled much of their thoughts and actions. They believed in a countless number of good and evil spirits, each one of which lived in a mountain or rock, a tree or river, a star, the moon, the sun, or some other object. Only the greater and more powerful of these spirits were looked

² In spite of the contacts between the Aegean and the eastern Mediterranean, the Aegean Age forms a unit by itself and is properly studied as a prelude to historical Greece; see Chapter VII below.

upon as gods. The deities had the forms not only of men and women, but also of birds, fishes, crocodiles, hippopotami, jackals, cats, dogs, and cattle; the local gods in animal form were best loved by the people at large, and festivals in their honor provided the chief popular recreation. Each village, city and nome had its own deities, but in time certain gods won national recognition, such as Horus, the god of light who had a hawk's head and a human body; the fifth dynasty replaced him with their own patron god, Re, the sun god. Ptah, the god of artisans, and Nut, the sky goddess, were also national deities. The gods were very human, with human weaknesses. In general, the Egyptians considered the world as being full of many men and many gods, all of whom, however, were ultimately of one nature. In other words, the Egyptians were monophysite rather than monotheistic, for they insisted that, though there were many different beings, all were of the same substance.

Egyptian life was so delightful, at least for the powerful, that it was hoped to prolong it after death. The Egyptian looked upon death as a kind of sleep where the soul continued to inhabit the body. This belief was encouraged by the dry climate, which preserved dead bodies remarkably well. Since it was important to preserve the body indefinitely, for the sake of the soul, the body was embalmed, or mummified, and placed in a tomb. Within the tomb, which served as a bridge, so to speak, between two existences, were stored food and drink for the dead; and cheerful pictures of daily routine adorned the walls. The paintings show us what values the Egyptians attached to this life; the emphasis is on action, on the material world. A gay and lusty people, full of the love of living, they insisted with an aggressive optimism on bringing into the next world the merry life of this. Pictures of food and drink were of necessity painted on the walls of the tombs, to guard against the exhaustion of the real provisions; in the absence of either, the soul would be forced to leave the tomb.

The popularization of the cult of Osiris and his wife-sister, Isis, led to the further idea that the body was the home of a "vital force" known as ka. At the judgment seat of Osiris, king of the dead and god of immortality, ka, who preceded you in death to bring about your successful existence in the next world, was called upon to account for his actions on earth. Had he murdered, stolen, coveted the property of others, blasphemed the gods, given false testimony, or ill-treated his parents? If so, he was devoured by a monster; if not, he was admitted to eternal happiness.

THE PYRAMIDS. The nobles were buried in rectangular tombs of stone known as mastabas; paintings on the walls told proudly of the noble's good deeds in life. Powerful kings were buried in great structures known as pyramids. The greatest and most famous of the pyramids are near Memphis, at Gizeh, the work of kings of the fourth dynasty: Khufu, whom Herodotus, the

Greek historian, called Cheops; Khafre; and Menkaure. Herodotus tells us that 100,000 men spent twenty years building the largest of the three pyramids, that of Khufu. It was erected during the Pharaoh's lifetime, for he wished to be certain of his soul's resting place. The pyramid covers thirteen acres, measures 755 feet square at the base, and is 481 feet high. Almost two and a half million blocks, each weighing about two and a half tons, were quarried east of the Nile, ferried across the river, and by means of ramps and cranes moved into place. Within the pyramid a long passage winds and climbs to the actual tomb. Nearby is the famous Sphinx, with a human head and a lion's body, forever resisting the desert sands. It is clear that the Egyptians spent much time thinking about the next world; they also used human and natural resources on a prodigious scale in making ready for it. The kings of the fourth dynasty commanded the necessary wealth and power, but they drained the country, and none of their successors was able to compete with them.

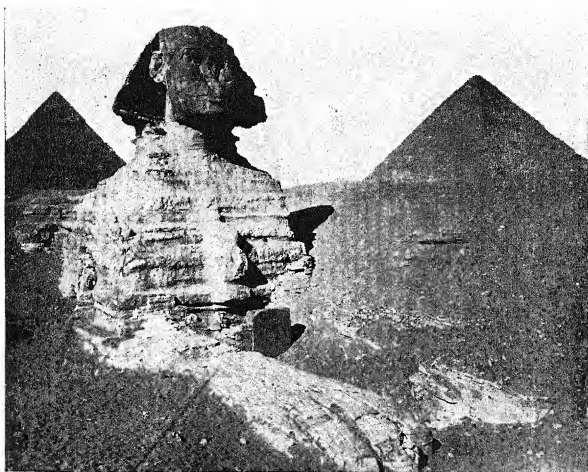
ART. The Egyptian artist made useful and decorative objects with extraordinarily fine taste. The jewelry and other work in gold, silver, and copper, the translucent stone vases and the beautiful pottery, the furniture, all point to exceptional skill and feeling. But certain conventional standards for art as a whole, and particularly perhaps for sculpture and painting, were set during the Old Kingdom and persisted for centuries. This amazing conservatism is probably to be explained by the fact that Egyptian art was concerned primarily with religion, and it was accordingly more important to perpetuate religious customs than to experiment with new artistic ideas. In painting, for example, figures in the same plane are shown in successive rows; there was little interest in perspective or shading; objects of different size are usually shown as if they were the same size. For centuries the Egyptian artist painted a man's face in profile and the eye in full view, the legs in profile and the shoulders forward. And for centuries the sculptor carved men with a frontal pose, arms to the side, one leg advanced. It was religious conservatism that tied the artist to these canons.

For all its conventions, Egyptian art is full of vitality. Fidelity of proportion, together with a careful counterpoising of elements, gave their work a harmonious balance. The tempera paintings on walls give a realistic and lively impression of daily life. The sculptures—in wood, copper, bronze, gold, stone—are powerful, and so exact is the marvelous portraiture that the statue of a man and his mummy often bear a strong resemblance. It would be difficult to imagine a grander portrayal than that of Khafre, or a more realistic representation of a wide-awake scribe than the limestone figure now in the Louvre (p. 70).

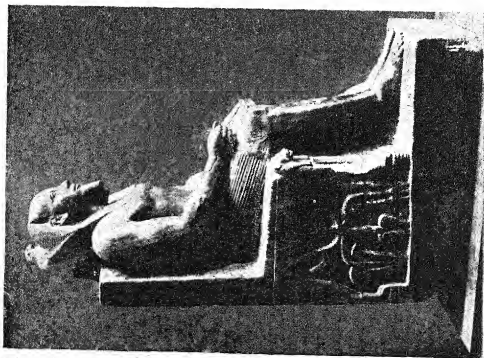
LITERATURE AND SCIENCE. Standardizing conventions for literature, as for art, were set during the days of the Old Kingdom. Once again, the influence of religion can be detected, but the keen desire of the Egyptians for practical



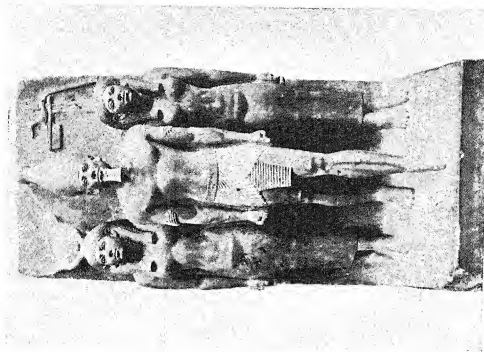
Palette, used for mixing paint, belonging to "Menes," the traditional founder of united Egypt. At the top, the fetish heads of the cow-goddess Hathor. One side of the palette (left) shows the king, wearing the Southern crown, gazing at decapitated bodies; below, men bind monstrous lions. The other side shows the king, with the Northern crown, striking an enemy; the god Horus (the hawk) to the right. In the Cairo Museum



The famous Sphinx in the desert at Gizeh, with the body of a lion, 187 feet long, and the head of King Khafre, 66 feet high. Here, during the Old Kingdom, Pharaohs of the Fourth Dynasty built their great tombs (2680-2560 B.C.): to the left is the pyramid of Khafre; next to it, that of Khufu; Menkaure's is outside the picture. Mortuary temples, and funeral monuments of nobles, stood nearby; causeways led toward the Nile



A very fine portrait of King Khafre of the Fourth Dynasty. The god Horus protects him with his wings. Found near Khafre's pyramid at Gizeh, the statue is now in the Cairo Museum



Photograph by Underwood-Stratton

A schist group of the Old Kingdom. In the center is Menkaure; to the left, the goddess Hathor with cow's horns and sun disk; to the right, the goddess of the Jackal Nome. In the Cairo Museum

knowledge also retarded the normal growth of a gifted people. A book of etiquette has survived which explains how to get on in this world. Be an official and learn the rules, especially how to treat your superiors, equals, and inferiors. If you are smart enough, and follow common-sense principles, you are sure to be a success. Education, accordingly, had as its primary aim the preparation of young men for a post in the bureaucracy. The Egyptians apparently kept a record, sometimes in duplicate and triplicate, of almost every conceivable transaction. The first task before an ambitious and gifted boy was to learn to read and write, with reed pens and ink on paper made from strips of the papyrus plant. He learned proverbs and maxims which were considered beneficial for his development; and he was taught to write model letters and petitions such as he might have to use later on. All this he learned from a scribe, and it was his hope that in time he too might become a scribe and occupy an enviable position in official life. In that event he would need a knowledge of arithmetic and geometry as well, in order, for example, to keep the tax lists and to survey and record land and boundaries after the Nile's annual overflow. Through education, then, it was possible to rise from a lower class to a higher, and thus the Egyptians avoided to some extent a stagnation of society.

Egyptian literature achieves a dignity and cadence, repetitive though it may sound to modern ears, but it was directed toward winning immortality for the deceased. Science, too, emphasized the useful and sought practical knowledge. Though fractions gave difficulty, arithmetic, geometry, and surveying were understood, and made possible the measuring of land and the drawing of boundary lines; a complex system of canals and ditches controlled the Nile's waters; engineering was studied for the erection of pyramids and other large structures. There were great achievements in these fields, but little formulating of general principles. Religion—and more particularly the need of arranging the calendar of festivals—encouraged the growth of astronomy. The civil calendar of 365 days was introduced about 2850 B.C. The Egyptians also possessed a limited knowledge of medicine and surgery, as a remarkable surgical papyrus makes clear, but an unwillingness to experiment and theorize left them with the belief that evil spirits caused disease. They had little sense of causation; they could arrange knowledge, but not systematize it.

3. THE MIDDLE KINGDOM (2000–1785 B.C.)

The increasing power of the nobles under the sixth dynasty produced an individualism so strong that with the passing of the dynasty (2280 B.C.) the Old Kingdom fell. Once again Egypt became disunited, and a prolonged period of civil strife ensued (2280–2000 B.C.). Misery and poverty stalked the land. Life was further unsettled by invasions of Negroes from the south and of incursions of Libyans and Semites into the Delta. Three rival families in

particular—those of Memphis, Heracleopolis, and Thebes—contended for supremacy, until finally the rulers of Thebes conquered the North and made Thebes the capital of the kingdom.

DYNASTIES XI-XII. The reunion of Egypt under one dynasty, the eleventh, marks the beginning of the Middle Kingdom (2000 B.C.). Under this dynasty and the next, government realistically adjusted itself to the experiences of the past. On the one hand, the nobles recognized the advantage of a single ruler, a system which during the Old Kingdom had prevented civil war and foreign invasion. On the other hand, the king did not attempt to destroy the power of the nobles, and thus there was a certain degree of feudalism. The provincial governors still had great authority within their nomes and over the villages and cities, and probably their office was hereditary. They had the duty of supervising irrigation and the planting of crops; they maintained a local military force, administered justice, and collected the taxes. The judges, however, were appointed by the king, and appeals were permitted to the royal judicial court at the capital, Thebes. Moreover, the provincial governors were required to remit the royal share of the taxes to the king promptly. The king also had agents—known as the “Eyes and Ears of the King”—who traveled throughout the realm, enforced his will, and reported to him.

Under the Middle Kingdom Egypt rose to a peak of power and prosperity. Kings of the twelfth dynasty, such as Amenemhet I, Sesostris I, and Sesostris III, beautified Thebes, supported the economic life of the country, and slowly curtailed the power of the nobles. Accordingly it was possible for Amenemhet III to check the nobles altogether and establish himself as an absolute ruler. Under him Nubia was conquered and formed into a province. The land was policed by a series of fortresses, and the rule was harsh; a boundary stone has been found, which prohibited the immigration of Negroes into Egypt except for purposes of trade. A canal was dug around the first cataract to facilitate travel along the Nile. In order to promote trade with the Red Sea a canal was dug between it and the east branch of the Nile in the Delta; its modern successor, the Suez Canal, goes directly from the Red Sea to the Mediterranean. Trade with Punt, Syria, Cyprus, and Crete enriched the royal treasury. The mines of Sinai, gold from Nubia, revenues from the quarries and lands of Egypt were other important sources of the Pharaoh's immense income. The army which now protected Egypt was made up of a professional, national force, Nubians, and the troops in the nomes.

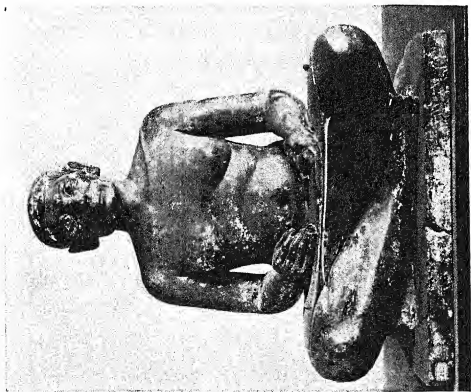
THE FAYUM. The new era of prosperity enabled the kings of the twelfth dynasty to inaugurate a large building program. Of lasting value to Egypt was the addition of thousands of acres of arable land in an oasis just west of the Nile and south of Memphis. This area is now known as the Fayum. The overflow of the Nile each year passed through a natural cut into the Fayum, but

receded as the river fell. Dams and irrigation canals were built, with a twofold result. The overflow could be kept and used for irrigating the land; and the surplus could be stored and released during the driest months for use along the Nile farther north. The Fayum became one of the most fertile and popular areas of Egypt. A great temple within it—consisting of a pyramid amid colonnades and halls—was known to the Greeks as the Labyrinth; and the new body of water which had been formed was called by them Lake Moeris.

ART. Heliopolis, the City of the Sun, grew rapidly at this time, but unfortunately its great temples, including the famous Temple of the Sun, have not survived. The construction of pyramids was renewed, though the workmanship could not approach the splendor of the Old Kingdom. The Middle Kingdom is known as the classical period of Egyptian art and literature, and yet the achievements were uneven, when compared to the past. Ever greater colossal statues were made, but they are more remarkable for size than for spirit and new conceptions; on the whole, sculpture and painting, like architecture, are tied to the past. The minor arts, and especially jewelry, are a notable exception and proclaim the ability and taste of the Egyptian craftsman, as do the fine chests, beds, and chairs. The tombs differ from those of the Old Kingdom, for instead of clustering around a Pharaoh's pyramid (in the hope of sharing in his immortality) they are confidently cut in the cliffs on the west side of the Nile; Abydos, a short distance down the river from Thebes, was a veritable necropolis. The painted reliefs continued to stress merrymaking, hunting, and the abundance of life.

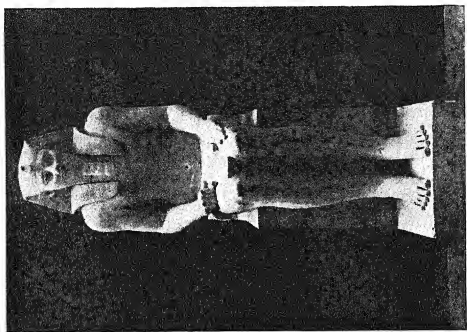
LITERATURE. Egyptian literature during the Middle Kingdom struck a note of humanitarianism, which reflected a growing liberalism on the part of the nobles. Perhaps the rising prosperity, in which the middle and lower classes shared, contributed to the new point of view; perhaps, too, the anarchy of the recent past had caused people to reëxamine former assumptions. At any rate, the literature of the Middle Kingdom is full of joy that civil strife has at last given way to a new day. There was the same hard, practical materialism of the Old Kingdom, but an accentuated individualism insisted that all good things are open to all men. In its search for the good life, the Middle Kingdom reached moral heights unknown to the past. Not so much emphasis was placed on one's position in life or on material property as being equivalent to the good life. The emphasis, rather, was on social justice and the necessity of proper social action. A papyrus of the Middle Kingdom declares that all men are created equal in opportunity, an ideal never realized in practice, of course.

Many of the religious texts, rituals, and magic spells of the Middle Kingdom were later brought together in a collection known as the *Book of the Dead*. Kings, nobles, and wealthy commoners, according to their means, took pleasure in having their achievements and virtues recorded on temple columns,



Photograph by Girandon

A scribe, forever waiting with reed pen and open papyrus roll. One of the finest portraits of the Old Kingdom; limestone, painted red. The lifelike effect of the eyes is obtained by encrusting, on opaque white quartz, a pupil of transparent rock crystal, in the center of which is a stud of copper. In the Louvre, Paris

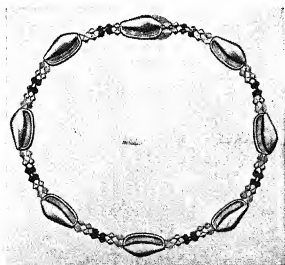


Sesostris I, in the Cairo Museum. Under the able kings of the Twelfth Dynasty, the Middle Kingdom rose to a peak of power and prosperity



Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

A head of gray granite, from a statue representing a dignitary of the Twelfth Dynasty. In the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York



Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

Magnificent jewelry of the Twelfth Dynasty. A necklace of gold, carnelian and green feldspar, belonging to a daughter of Sesostriis II. In the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

obelisks, or the walls of tombs. There were also simple songs of shepherds, threshers, and other classes of laborers, religious poems, hymns to the gods, and songs of love. To the collections of stories that taught some useful or moral lesson were added entertaining tales of travel and adventure—such as the story of the shipwrecked sailor—historical accounts of military campaigns, and records of important events.

RELIGION. The Middle Kingdom also saw a marked development in religion. Hitherto the national deity had been Re, the sun god, whose winged disk was so conspicuous in art. The twelfth dynasty, however, elevated its own patron god to the headship of the national religion; this was Amon, the ram-headed god of Thebes. The two gods were united, and in the future the chief god of the state was Amon-Re. Egyptian religion had always encouraged justice, honesty, and purity, but now, in keeping with the new individualism, religion was democratized. Paralleling the ethical theme that runs through the literature, everyone was allowed to hope for immortality. During the Old Kingdom, the dead king became Osiris; under the Middle Kingdom, however, every deceased Egyptian became Osiris.

The kings of the twelfth dynasty, who protected and fostered this extraordinary civilization, were followed by weak rulers. Again civil strife broke out, the country became disunited and fell a prey to invaders from Syria.

4. THE NEW KINGDOM (1580–1085 B.C.)

THE HYKSOS. The new invaders appeared in Egypt soon after 1700 B.C. Known to history as the Hyksos, they brought with them the horse and war chariot, and finding Egypt torn with strife, easily established themselves. The Hyksos were probably Semites, but otherwise their origin is unknown. They brutally ravaged the Delta, the part of Egypt which they first reached and which remained the core of their kingdom. From their capital, Avaris in the Delta, they extended their sway over Upper Egypt. For a century the Egyptians endured the harsh rule of the foreigners, until finally a native nationalism began to stir, especially in Upper Egypt under the leadership of Thebes. A Theban general, Ahmose by name, succeeded in rousing his people and driving the Hyksos from their land. It was in this way that the eighteenth dynasty was founded. The capital was at Thebes.

DYNASTIES XVIII–XX. Ahmose was a remarkable man, an able general, and skillful administrator. Under him Egypt was once again united, and Nubia and southern Palestine were conquered. There was no doubt, however, about the military basis of his rule and that of the succeeding kings of the eighteenth dynasty. The kings were generals, in command of a splendid army which now included the horse and war chariot; the officers were recruited from the nobles and rising middle class. To each soldier was granted approximately eight

acres of land on which to live free from rent; the holders of these lots paid for the use of them by service in the army when needed. The kings hired many soldiers, too, from Libya, the islands of the Aegean Sea, and other foreign lands. The period of the eighteenth dynasty, together with the nineteenth and twentieth, is spoken of as the New Kingdom or Empire (1580–1085 B.C.).

Ahmose I (1580–1557 B.C.), the founder of the New Kingdom, was the absolute ruler of a militarized state. Since the Hyksos had destroyed the nobility, and hence the hereditary governors of the nomes, it was possible for Ahmose to bring the nomes under a rigid central control, but at the same time this entailed the development of a large and elaborate bureaucracy. As befitted an absolute ruler, who was also divine, Ahmose owned all the land of Egypt; instead of taxes, he collected rent in the form of a fifth of the produce. Much of the land, in fact, he leased or granted to citizens who, for all practical purposes, were in turn able to buy and sell it.

The New Kingdom, we have implied, substituted for the individualism of the Middle Kingdom a rigid conformity; group determinism dominated the life. The explanation of this is probably to be found in the terrible experience with the Hyksos. Never again must an invader be allowed to reach Egypt; rather, Egypt must extend its frontiers as far as possible. There was a psychosis for security, and patriotism was demanded of all in the face of past experience. The Egyptians thus became a self-conscious nation, now growing rich through an organized, communal life that made conquests possible. The new riches benefited chiefly the temples and their priests, who more and more dominated the political, social, and economic life of the land. It has been estimated that in time the temples owned one out of every five inhabitants of Egypt and about one-third of the arable land.

Since the only source of potential opposition to the king lay in the priests, their coöperation was bought with lavish gifts. Ahmose's successor, Thutmose I, continued this policy; he also chose a new burial ground for himself, in a valley to the west of Thebes, which he thought would always remain a secret. Many of his successors were also buried there, and the region has accordingly been called "The Valley of the Kings." Nearby, on the edge of the desert, Thutmose built a mortuary temple for the worship of his spirit. Another beautiful mortuary temple was built by his daughter, Queen Hatshepsut, at Der el-Bahri. The paintings on the walls show her interest in trade and the ways of peace, a lessening of warlike activity which was to deprive Egypt temporarily of its Asiatic possessions.

Queen Hatshepsut was succeeded by her husband and brother, Thutmose III, a gifted military leader. With the help of Amon-Re, as he believed, he made Egypt a world power; and in gratitude for his country's new and prosperous position, he gave rich presents and endowments and temples to

the god's priests. Thutmose led no less than seventeen expeditions to Syria (cf. map, p. 92). In 1479 B.C., at Megiddo, he defeated the king of Kadesh, a victory which permitted him to consolidate his Syrian possessions for a march east of the Euphrates. Here, in the great western bend of the river, was the kingdom of Mitanni, an Indo-European island in the Semitic sea. The defeat of the rival king gave Thutmose an empire that stretched from the Nile to the Euphrates. Horses and slaves, gold, silver, timber, and other booty enriched the mighty Pharaoh, who could now also count on an annual tribute from his provinces. Other states, moreover, sought his friendship with rich presents: the Kassites in Babylon, the Assyrians, the Hittites of Asia Minor (famous for their iron), the people of Cyprus (who knew the worth of their copper), and the Keftiu who occupied the Isles of the Sea, better known to history as the Minoans of Crete.

Thutmose ruled his empire through native princes, who were subject to Egyptian viceroys. Garrisons, situated at strategic points in Asia and Nubia, supported the viceroy's hand. At home, Thutmose relied on his two viziers; the more important of them, the vizier of Thebes, ruled Egypt during the king's absence, while the other vizier, who lived at Heliopolis, was primarily responsible for Lower Egypt. The viziers collected taxes and were in general charge of administration, though financial matters were the concern of other officials. Under the viziers were the governors of the nomes, now fifty-five in number. Each town and nome had its own law court, but at the top of the judicial system stood the vizier of Thebes, to whom an appeal was possible. The priests were excluded from the conduct of the civil and criminal law.

AMENHOTEP III (1411–1375 B.C.). Under the last magnificent ruler of the eighteenth dynasty—Amenhotep III (1411–1375 B.C.)—the Egyptian Empire reached its height, both territorially and economically. It extended from northern Syria and Palestine up the Nile as far as the fourth cataract. Occasional expeditions went to the sixth cataract, but this was primarily a period of peace and prosperity. Three hundred letters, discovered at Tell el-Amarna, reveal Amenhotep's diplomatic correspondence with the states which made up his world; states from Mesopotamia across Asia Minor to the Aegean Sea. Goods from Mycenae and Knossos, from the Hittites and Babylonians, from Syria, Nubia, and Punt poured into the capital of the most powerful state on earth. Princes from the Empire were kept as hostages in Egypt, educated, and, as occasion required, sent back to the provinces to rule as vassals on their father's death; important princesses were married by the Pharaoh.

ART. Despite ominous rumblings on the borders of the Empire, the thoughts of the Egyptians turned progressively to the enjoyment of luxurious living. Elaborate clothes, costly jewelry, magnificent furniture became the fashion. A small temple on the island of Elephantine, near the first cataract, exhibits

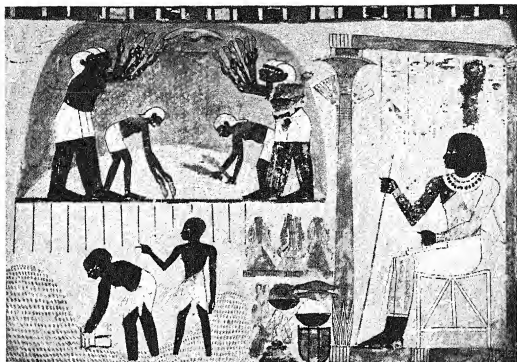


Photograph by Underwood-Stratton

The impressive mortuary temples—that of Queen Hatshepsut, 18th dynasty, to the right—at Der el-Bahri, west of Thebes. The Valley of the Kings is on the other side of the cliffs

Highly individualized portrait of a great military king of the Eighteenth Dynasty, Thutmose III. Found in the temple of Amon at Karnak, it shows the king as a young man. In the Cairo Museum





Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

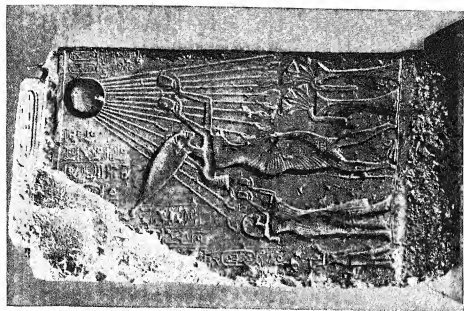
A fine wall painting in the tomb of Nakht at Thebes, 18th dynasty. Nakht, seated in a booth, watches the girls winnowing the grain and the men measuring it under the direction of an overseer. The girls wear kerchiefs to protect their hair from the fine dust



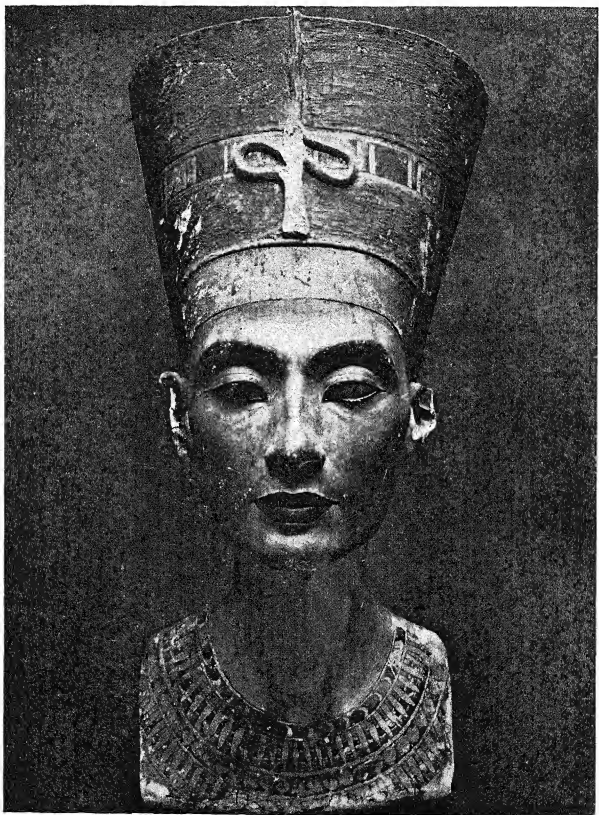
The Great Temple of Luxor, built by Amenhotep III in honor of Amon. The columns of the huge central hall have capitals representing papyrus flowers



A wonderfully realistic portrait of Queen Tiye, the wife of Amenhotep III and mother of Akhnaton. It is of carved wood and stucco, with inlaid eyes and gold earrings. In the Berlin Museum



A beautiful limestone relief of Akhnaton and his wife, Nofretete, worshipping the Sun Disk, Aton; before them, altars with lotus flowers. From Aton shoot down rays ending in hands (those near the faces hold the sign of life). From Tell el-Amarna, in the Cairo Museum



Photograph by Marburg

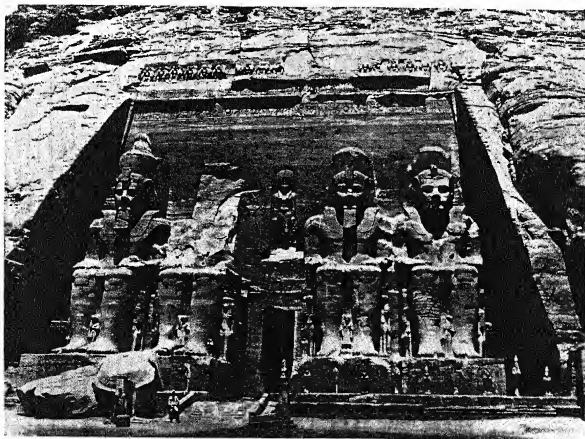
Queen Nofretete, the wife of Akhnaton. Found in the "House of the Sculptor" at Tell el-Amarna, it is now one of the greatest treasures of the Berlin Museum. This is probably the finest Egyptian portrait; painted limestone



Tutenkhamon's coronation throne, covered with sheet gold and adorned with polychrome glass, faience and stone inlay. In the Cairo Museum

Courtesy of the Oriental Institute, Chicago

Entrance, cut out of the living rock, to the temple at Abu Simel. On either side are pairs of colossal statues (65 feet high) of Ramses II (1292-1225 B.C.). In the early 6th century B.C. Greek mercenaries of Psammetichus II cut inscriptions, tourist-fashion, on two of the statues



fine taste, and there is some excellent portraiture (including wonderful caricatures) from this period; but the chief tendency was toward great size in palaces and temples. For example, Amenhotep built a mortuary temple for the worship of his spirit, in front of which were placed two statues of himself, each weighing 700 tons. At Karnak and Luxor, east of the Nile, huge buildings were erected, and the two places, a mile and a half apart, were connected by a spectacular avenue of rams. An Egyptian temple was usually approached through at least two forecourts, with towers or pylons, and several columned halls; beyond was the great colonnaded hall or hypostyle. The columns often had capitals representing papyrus stalks; the center of the hypostyle was higher than the side aisles, thus allowing a clerestory. To the rear was the sanctuary of the god. The relief sculptures and wall paintings, and the carvings on the obelisks outside the temple, depicted the king's exploits.

RELIGION. The artistic standards, which had been set many centuries earlier by the Old Kingdom, still persisted. This was true of the literature as well, though there was an increase in historical writing during the eighteenth dynasty. Magic and superstition, unfortunately, retarded the growth of astronomy and medicine. So, too, the religion, which was firmly controlled by the priests of Amon, remained conservative. The triad of Isis, Osiris, and Horus still had a mighty hold on the minds of the people, but there was a steady undermining of the ethical features of the religion. For example, the *Book of the Dead* provided convenient formulas by which to escape punishment when being judged by Osiris; and little figurines, known as "Answerers," were placed with the deceased, so that they might volunteer to do any work required of the dead.

In time, the paintings on the walls of tombs emphasized, not the abundance of life as in the glorious past, but death, resignation, and hope. This was a reflection of contemporary life, where the need to conform had destroyed individualism and left man with little more than the promise of better things in the next world. One result of this was to produce an age of personal piety. The individual sought a closer relation with his own god, who would give him justice and mercy in return for love and trust. In his desire to escape from this life, which had lost its savor, the Egyptian turned in his thoughts not only to the next world, but to the happy past. Here was comfort; this was the way, too, to archaism, an empty religion, and oracles.

The wife of Amenhotep III was the daughter of a common Egyptian, but she was, nonetheless, beautiful and intelligent. Queen Tiye, moreover, busied herself in politics, and more particularly associated with those who were interested in the strange new forces at work. It was not simply that Amenhotep's preoccupation with the ways of peace and prosperity had caused a lessening of vigilance along the frontiers; rather, the Empire, by its very existence,

brought to Egypt new ideas that threatened the conventions of centuries. Perhaps it was natural, then, that when Amenhotep III died, Queen Tiy's son should lead an amazing revolution. This new ruler was Amenhotep IV (1375–1358 B.C.).

AKHNATON (1375–1358 B.C.). Perhaps it was the all-embracing control of the individual by state and gods that led Amenhotep IV to a moral protest against the use of power. On the other hand, it may have been the vast size of the Egyptian Empire that suggested to him the idea of universalism, and with it the idea of a universal god. In any case, what could be more universal than the life-giving sun and its rays? Amenhotep had, in fact, conceived a monotheism, different from and inferior to Israel's though it was; he adopted as his god Aton, whose symbol was the sun disk. With the fervor of a convert, this religious visionary set to work to destroy the religion of Amon and his priests. Hoping to please Aton, Amenhotep changed his name to Akhnaton, and it is by this name ("Aton be pleased") that he is known to history. The masses strongly disapproved the new royal policy, and the priests of Amon actively opposed him. Akhnaton, therefore, removed his capital from Thebes, the center of the old religion, to a city which he called Akhetaton (the modern Tell el-Amarna). The extraordinary break with a religion that had persisted for centuries was accompanied by similar outbursts in other realms of the mind and spirit. It is not quite correct to speak of naturalism and realism as characteristic of the changed style in art, for new conventions were adopted, many of which were far from "natural." Nevertheless, a beautiful and wonderful freedom took hold of the painting and sculpture at this time. Akhnaton's wife, Nofretete, for example, was immortalized by one of the finest statues ever made by man. The psalms and hymns in honor of Aton also broke with the literary conventions of the Old Kingdom.

While Akhnaton's energy and thoughts were absorbed with his far-seeing reforms, the greedy officials and taxgatherers and bold soldiery oppressed a people already sufficiently disturbed. Along the borders of the Empire the powerful Hittites were expanding; their king, Shubbiluliuma, wrested northern Syria from Egypt, and the Habiru (Hebrews, perhaps) invaded Palestine. Akhnaton's death, accordingly, was a signal for a general reconciliation and a return to the ways of the past. Three brief reigns followed Akhnaton's, but one of the rulers, Tutenkhaton, changed the capital back to Thebes again and his own name to Tutenkhamon. From the discovery of Tutenkhamon's tomb in the 1920's, and the unprecedented publicizing of it, dates the wide public interest in archaeology.

The priests of Amon had won the battle with progressive forces. Archaism and conventionalism were again triumphant. The internal discord had been so severe, however, and the foreign invasions so successful that the eighteenth

dynasty fell. A general by the name of Harmhab, aided by the priests of Amon, slowly restored order in Egypt. Thus began the nineteenth dynasty. Ramses I and his son, Seti I, repelled Libyan invaders and won back southern Syria.

RAMSES II (1292–1225 B.C.). Magnificence on a grand scale returned to Egypt with the long reign of the great Ramses II (1292–1225 B.C.). It was a magnificence that cared little for taste and understood it less; rather, it loved the grandiose and the colossal. The omnipotent and divine Pharaoh, in his conceit, put his name on ancient statues, occasionally reworking the face to resemble himself. Buildings were restored, others ransacked for his own structures. At Thebes he built an enormous temple known as the Ramesseum; at Karnak he completed one of the largest buildings in the world, where 100 men can stand on a capital of a column in the great hypostyle hall.

Ramses II was, withal, a man of personal bravery. It was this quality which saved an Egyptian army from annihilation in 1288, when the Hittites ambushed him at Kadesh on the Orontes. Ramses had hoped to win back Syria from the Hittites, but it was a vain hope, and he and the Hittite king, Hattushil, drew up a treaty dividing Syria between them. Other enemies—notably “the peoples of the sea” and the Libyans—pressed Egypt so hard that the nineteenth dynasty fell during the reign of Ramses’ son.

RAMSES III. The last important Pharaoh of ancient Egypt—Ramses III, the second king of the twentieth dynasty—reigned from 1198 to 1167 B.C. By this time the Egyptian people had lost the will to fight, and the safety of the country rested with foreign mercenaries. Not only was this dangerous, but very costly; another expense, almost unbearable, consisted of the priests, their temples, endowments, and huge holdings of land. From the north came raiders across the sea; Libyans from the west penetrated the Delta. In Asia Minor barbarians overwhelmed the Hittites; the Palestinian coast was occupied by the Peleset, a people who had connections with the Minoan world; after troublesome wanderings they reached Palestine and became known to history as Philistines. It was clearly a time of tribal upheavals and migrations, but nonetheless Ramses was able to protect his frontiers. After his death in 1167 B.C., however, Egypt’s internal difficulties increased, and the priests usurped more and more power. At last the twentieth dynasty fell, the New Kingdom came to an end (1085 B.C.), and Egypt was overrun by Libyans and other foreigners. Egypt’s great chapter in history was concluded. On the neighboring continent of Asia, meanwhile, momentous developments had been taking place.

V

ASIA MINOR, SYRIA, AND PALESTINE

1. THE HITTITES

THE INDO-EUROPEANS. It seems likely that invaders known as Indo-Europeans settled in large parts of the world from the Atlantic to India during the years before and after 2000 B.C. Racially they were as thoroughly mixed as any people can be, but the languages they spoke had a common ancestor. Thus, for example, our word "father" is *pitar* in both Sanskrit (the classical language of India) and ancient Persian, *πατήρ* (*pater*) in Greek, *pater* in Latin, *vater* in German, and similarly through kindred tongues. It is clear that once upon a time the so-called Indo-Europeans had a common home—whether it was in eastern Europe, central Asia, or the steppes of Russia is unknown (see map, pp. 4, 5)—and that as they separated they kept many of the essential elements of their speech, though not their ethnic entity. Nomads worshipping a great god of the sky, they had the horse and wheeled cart, which was destined to develop into the war chariot. Their society was patriarchal and monogamous.

ASIA MINOR. Before 2000 B.C. a group of Indo-Europeans known as Hittites overran much of Asia Minor (cf. map, p. 135). This part of Hither Asia, or Anatolia as it is sometimes called, consists of a great plateau rimmed by high mountains. Though the Taurus mountains and the Armenian highlands hindered access to Syria, Mesopotamia, and Iran, there were passes (especially by way of the Cilician Gates) which facilitated trade; and Asia Minor became, in a sense, a bridge between the East and the worlds of the Aegean Sea and Danube River (cf. map, rear endpaper). Gold and silver mines, and more notably iron mines, were its chief natural assets. Long before the arrival of the Hittites, Asia Minor and Mesopotamia had been in communication with each other, but the distinctive civilization of Asia Minor and neighboring Armenia dates from the Hittite invasion.

HITTITE EXPANSION. The capital of the kingdom which the Hittites created in Cappadocia in Asia Minor was located at Hatti (modern Boghaz Keui or Bogazköi), a bleak spot not far from the Halys, the great river which rises in Armenia and after a westward sweep flows into the Black Sea (see map, p. 92). In the beginning the political expansion of the Hittites into Syria

was resisted by the Egyptians, and into Mesopotamia by the Mitanni, who were concentrated around Lake Van. During the seventeenth century, however, the Hittites descended briefly upon Babylon, sacked the city, and withdrew; it was then that other invaders, the Kassites, created their own Babylonian dynasty. Unfortunately our information does not suffice to allow us to follow the varying fortunes of the Hittites in detail until 1400 B.C., when their kingdom became a strong power. The archives from Boghaz Keui emphasize the large size of the contemporary world and its domination by important states, whose rulers corresponded with one another, drew up treaties, and intermarried. From the far off Aegean Minoan Crete and subsequently Mycenaean Greece (see map, p. 122) sent their ships and wares eastward; strong Mycenaean influences, for example, mingled with Sumerian on the Phoenician coast at Ras Shamra (ancient Ugarit). Hittite relations with the rather distant Egyptian Pharaohs were not infrequently cordial. Nearer home the Mitanni—and especially their important cities of Carchemish and Aleppo—sought peace with the Hittite king.

Soon after 1400 B.C., however, Shubbiluliuma, greatest of Hittite conquerors, crossed the Taurus mountains, overwhelmed the Mitanni, and incorporated Carchemish and Aleppo into his empire. He even wrested northern Syria from Egypt, which at the time was concerned with Akhnaton's religious reforms. Later on Ramses II tried to win northern Syria back, but failed at the battle of Kadesh (1288 B.C.). The destruction of the kingdom of Mitanni, however, exposed the eastern frontier of the Hittites to the growing power of Assyria, and the new Hittite king, Hattushil, wisely sought and obtained a treaty of permanent peace and alliance with Ramses (1272 B.C.). The treaty, which called thousands of gods to witness, divided Syria between them, reaffirmed previous treaties, provided for a defensive alliance and for the extradition of political refugees and immigrants, who, however, were to be treated humanely. Two copies of this treaty have been found in Egypt, and another among the cuneiform archives of Boghaz Keui, a remarkable achievement of modern archaeological scholarship.

GOVERNMENT. The Hittite kingdom was a confederacy consisting of the Hittite core in Cappadocia and of allies, vassals, and temple, or priestly, states elsewhere in Asia Minor or at a distance. The dependent states enjoyed local government, but had no voice in foreign policy; they were united to the central government by treaties which contained long and, for us, very valuable historical preambles. At the top of the government stood the king, who at first was selected by the council of elders from among the members of the royal family and ruled with considerable simplicity. As the Hittite power increased, however, the kings adopted the ways of their eastern neighbors and became despotic. From 1400 B.C. the king was an absolute ruler, whose sacred nature

was symbolized by the winged Egyptian sun disk. He had a harem, though his wife was queen. Surrounding the king were nobles and priests; the soldiers enjoyed a privileged position, and beneath them were the artisans and peasants, many of whom were serfs. Hittite society probably represented a top stratum of Hittites ruling a native mass. The Hittites were a stolid warlike folk; and when their arms brought them south of the Taurus, they had to rely on the bureaucratic services of the more advanced peoples whom they conquered.

ECONOMY. Agriculture was vital to the Hittites, but probably the grazing of flocks and herds formed the economic basis of their life. Mining, especially of iron, gave the Hittite economy its peculiar stamp. In the archives of Boghaz Keui are many pleas from Egyptian and other rulers for more, ever more, iron weapons. The products of the Hittites traveled far and wide, southward across the Taurus and westward beyond the Bosphorus. Horses were used not only for transport, but also for military purposes and the sport of chariot racing.

CULTURE. The Hittites adopted Babylonian cuneiform writing. Their code of laws, however, was not as severe as the Babylonian, and stipulated, more often than not, a monetary fine instead of the death penalty. Hittite religion included a multiplicity of gods, inherited from nomadic days, and the Great Mother goddess, an earth goddess of fertility, whose worship was indigenous to Asia Minor. The god of the sky, Teshub as he was called, and goddesses of the sun and moon were other important deities in their pantheon. The German excavations at Boghaz Keui show that the temples and palaces, while exhibiting skill in masonry, were ruder and far less luxurious than contemporary structures at Thebes or Babylon, as we should expect from the simple social apparatus of the Hittites as a whole. The sculptures of gods, men, and animals are in both relief and the round. They are frequently of large size and are portentously solemn and heavy. They do, however, give us a good idea of the appearance of the Hittites, a people with high Armenoid foreheads and hooked noses, dressed in conical caps and boots with upturned toes. Iron weapons, horses, and chariots were their special delight, and they enclosed their spacious imperial capital, as they did all their cities, with massive fortifications.

Not long after 1200 B.C.—a confused period of tribal migrations when, for example, Dorian Greeks were attacking the Mycenaean world, and the “peoples of the sea” were descending upon Egypt—the Hittite Empire went down before barbarians. The disappearance or weakening of the established empires of the day, including a Babylonian uprising against the Kassites, gave the small states of Syria and Palestine an opportunity to assert their own individuality.

2. THE PHOENICIANS

SYRIA AND PALESTINE. The land of Syria and Palestine has an average breadth of less than a hundred miles and stretches along the eastern coast of the Mediterranean, from the Taurus mountains in the north to the desert just above the Egyptian Delta, for a distance of approximately four hundred miles (see map, p. 92). To the northeast, across the Fertile Crescent, is the Euphrates, to the east the Syrian desert. Syria occupies the northern and larger part of this area, Palestine (or Canaan, as it was first called) the southern. In northern Syria the Lebanon mountains, which attain a height of more than 10,000 feet, come very close to the sea, and the narrow coastal plain was known in antiquity as Phoenicia. East of the Lebanon mountains is another, parallel range, the Antilebanon, and beyond it, commanding the trade route to Mesopotamia, Damascus. The Jordan River rises in the Antilebanon, flows southward to the Sea of Galilee and thereafter, at a level below the Mediterranean, empties into the Dead Sea, which has no outlet. The coastal plain is broader in Palestine than in Syria, but the mountains so crowded the ancient inhabitants of both areas against the sea that it was inevitable that they should take to trade and commerce. The soil, north and south, is not fertile; indeed, except for the famous cedars of Lebanon, the natural assets of Syria and Palestine are poor. The Egyptians, Babylonians, and Hittites, nevertheless, fought over this land, both for its wood and for the control of its coast and important trade routes. Conquest was relatively easy for them, because the mountains divided the people into small communities, but as a result of the marching armies, and the traders who came with or without them, foreign influences poured into Syria and Palestine.

RISE OF PHOENICIA. At an early date Semitic tribes left their homes in the desert for the Mediterranean coast. Some of these nomads were the Amorites, who came to Syria before their subsequent invasion of Mesopotamia, where Hammurabi was to create his empire. Other tribes settling in Syria and Palestine became known to history as Canaanites, Aramaeans, and Hebrews. The Greeks called the Semites who occupied the coastal strip in the north Phoenicians, "the purple folk," because of the purple dye which they extracted from a variety of shell fish in the Mediterranean. The opportunity for the Phoenicians to play a dominant role in history derived from the fact that the Minoan-Mycenaean civilization collapsed at approximately the same time that the eastern empires lost their power. This left the Mediterranean without a commercial leader, but by 1000 B.C., when the entire ancient world was entering the Iron Age, the Phoenicians had gained command of the sea. They maintained their leadership until the eighth century B.C. when, on the one hand,

they lost their freedom to the Assyrians and, on the other hand, much of their trade to the Greeks.

All the Phoenician cities—such as Sidon, Tyre, Beirut, and Byblos—were small, monarchical city-states, though in defense of their country they often acted together. One of their oldest cities was Sidon, but after 1000 B.C., Tyre became the most important. It was safely located on an island, a few hundred yards offshore, had excellent harbors (see inset, rear endpaper), and boasted fine temples and palaces. Hiram, Tyre's king in the tenth century B.C., was an ally of Solomon.

CULTURE. As we now know from the excavations at Ras Shamra, the Phoenicians had a considerable literature of their own. They were also masters at imitation. Not only was their culture a mixture of Egyptian and Babylonian influences, but the products of their workshops were copied from others. These products, nevertheless, were very fine and were eagerly bought by the outside world—bronze armor and weapons, war chariots, gold and silver vessels, inlaid furniture, glass, and brightly colored pottery. Most famous were their purple dyes and textiles. The slopes of the coastal plain sufficed for pasturage, but yielded little grain. The Phoenicians, however, cut the cedars on the mountains behind their cities, used some of the wood for their own houses and ships, and exported the rest to Egypt and Babylon. It was this lack of natural resources that forced the Phoenicians to industry and trade.

TRADE. Phoenician merchants traveled far and wide—we meet them, for example, in the pages of Homer—but the Phoenician colonies were unusual in that they were primarily trading stations, founded for the exploitation of natural resources rather than as true settlements; where circumstances favored, they grew into cities (see map, pp. 144, 145). Thus the Phoenicians were attracted to Cyprus by its rich mines of copper, to Spain for its mineral wealth, to Gaul for hides, Baltic amber, British tin, and other products that traveled down the valley of the Rhone. Ultimately these skillful sailors passed through Gibraltar and continued directly to Britain. Of all the Phoenician settlements in the Mediterranean—Gades (Cadiz), Utica, and others—none was so favored by nature as Carthage (see inset, p. 144). This colony was founded late in the ninth century B.C. on the northern coast of Africa opposite Sicily. Enjoying a large harbor and a remarkably fertile hinterland, Carthage was midway between Spain and Phoenicia and within an easy sail of Sicily and Italy. In time it became the greatest commercial city of the Mediterranean basin, and on its own initiative founded colonies in Sicily, Sardinia, Spain, and elsewhere. These activities ultimately brought Carthage into rivalry and conflict, first with the Greeks and then with the Romans.

THE ALPHABET. Wherever the Phoenicians went, they carried the products of eastern industry, the Babylonian system of weights and measures, and use-

ALPHABETS

COLUMN 1. Latin letters taken from the Greek alphabet through the Etruscan and retaining approximately the same sounds and shapes as in West Greek.

COLUMN 2. Latin letters which acquired in Latin sounds different from their West Greek sounds.

COLUMN 3. A Latin innovation.

COLUMN 4. Letters added to the Latin from the standard Greek alphabet long after the original borrowing.

COLUMN 5. Letters of the West Greek alphabets.

COLUMN 6. The standard Greek alphabet (a late Attic development of East Greek letters) arranged so that the *sounds* correspond to the sounds of the adjacent West Greek.

COLUMN 7. Early Phoenician alphabet arranged so that the *shapes* approximate the Greek.

The alphabet constantly makes its way from one language into another even when the languages are not in the slightest degree alike. Each time the alphabet serves a new language the inherited letters suffer changes in shape, in sound, or in both; new letters are made, old letters lost. Observe that letters may face left (Col. 7) or right. Angles tend to become rounded (cf. S of Col. 1 with corresponding letter in Col. 5). Letters become turned about (cf. A of Col. 6 with corresponding letter in Col. 7, or L of Col. 1 with its equivalents in Cols. 6 and 7).

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
A				Α	A	𐤀
B				Β	Β	𐤁
	C			Γ	Γ	𐤂
D				Δ	Δ	𐤃
E				Ε	Ε Η	𐤄
	F			Ϝ		𐤅
		G				
H				Θ		𐤆
I				Ι	Ι	𐤇
K				Κ	Κ	𐤈
L				Λ	Λ	𐤉
M				Μ	Μ	𐤊
N				Ν	Ν	𐤋
O				Ο	Ο Ω	𐤌
P				Π	Π	𐤍
Q				Ρ	Ρ	𐤎
R				Σ	Σ	𐤏
S				Τ	Τ	𐤐
T				Υ	Υ	𐤑
V				Χ	Χ	𐤒
X				Ψ	Ψ	𐤓
				Ω	Ω	𐤔
				Φ	Φ	𐤕
				Ψ	Ψ	𐤖
				Χ	Χ	𐤗
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ful knowledge of many other things. Middlemen though they were, they may be described as the missionaries of civilization. Their most valuable gift to Europe was the alphabet; they did not invent it, but they did spread a knowledge of it, as they did of Egyptian papyrus, pen, and ink. The new alphabet and writing materials, so very superior in their simplicity to cuneiform script and heavy clay tablets, quickened the intellectual life of man.

The origin and development of the alphabet which the Phoenicians spread are still shrouded in mystery, but our earliest significant evidence consists of Semitic inscriptions cut in the mines of the Sinai peninsula, perhaps in the nineteenth century B.C. These signs—Egyptian hieroglyphics and other symbols were adopted—were developed in Phoenicia during the succeeding centuries, until by the eleventh century B.C. the alphabet consisted of twenty-two letters, each representing a Semitic consonant. Probably in the ninth century B.C. the Greeks adopted the new alphabet from the Phoenicians; they changed it somewhat to suit their own language and chose certain consonants by which to indicate the vowels. The Etruscans and Romans made slight changes in the Greek alphabet, which in its Roman form has come down to us (see the chart, p. 88).

THE ARAMAEANS. The alphabet and other achievements of eastern civilization, which the Phoenicians spread across the sea, were carried overland by the Aramaeans. The Aramaeans were Semites from the desert, who settled in northern Mesopotamia, Syria, and Palestine. Damascus was their most important state. Because of their control of ancient trade routes, the Aramaeans were able to become merchants. Wherever they went, they took the alphabet and their language with them. Long after their conquest by the Assyrians in the eighth century B.C. they remained traders, and their language became an international tongue for the Semitic world. It was Aramaic that Christ and his disciples spoke, though the Hebrew writers of the *New Testament* wrote in the new international language of their day, Greek.

3. THE HEBREWS

THE OLD TESTAMENT. The *Old Testament*, on the other hand, was composed in Hebrew over a long period of time, perhaps from 900 to 200 B.C. It is, so to speak, a national library of tradition, history, proverbs, songs, and prophecy, written to glorify Jehovah and to show the plan of his dealings with men. Composed in a prose and poetry that are of the modern world, by a creative intellectual people, the *Old Testament* reveals Israel's deep religious insight and her high standards of ethics. Perhaps it is astonishing that such profound thought, which stood head and shoulders above any other literature of the Near East, should have come from the Hebrews, a people materially and militarily inferior, who were late arrivals in a small and poor, though al-

ready an ancient, land. Equally surprising, perhaps, is the optimism and eternal hope of a people who at times suffered greatly and at others were almost obliterated by Assyria in all its imperial pomp.

The *Old Testament* describes Israel's career in a world setting; that is to say, its central theme is history on a grand scale, which begins with nothing less than creation. The Hebrew philosophers of history sought those principles which determine events and hence act as guides in contemporary life. First they ascertained the facts and explained them, and then they gave them significance by fitting them into a general scheme. They found two principles at work in history. One was the will and purpose of God. Against him, however, is man, with his varied purposes and independence. History, the Hebrews believed, is to be explained in the ebb and flow of these forces. The *Old Testament* sees as the end of history that human life is a progress to better things.

EARLY HISTORY. Although the historical accuracy of the *Old Testament* may often be questioned, we are frequently able to correct and supplement our information through archaeological discoveries. Unfortunately, however, this does not hold for the early period, because, despite the vast amount of labor by many scholars, little that is certain can be said about the Hebrews' early history. What follows, then, is traditional, or at best approximate, up to the time of David. The Hebrew writers, for example, may be right in tracing their ancestry back to the patriarch Abraham who, at God's bidding, left Ur with his fellow Semites in the eighteenth century B.C., about the time of Hammurabi. Eventually the nomadic tribes reached Canaan, a Semitic land that had long been under Babylonian and Egyptian influences; and here they settled with Abraham's son, Isaac, and his grandson, Jacob or Israel. The Canaanites were a civilized, agricultural people living in towns, and they succeeded in restricting the Hebrews to the less fertile districts.

According to tradition, the Hebrew tribe of Levi, which was oppressed by famine, subsequently invaded Egypt and settled in the land of Goshen, east of the Delta. The experience did not prove a happy one, and after much suffering the Exodus was begun, perhaps in the thirteenth century B.C. Their leader, Moses, brought his people across the Red Sea into the desert of Sinai. On the top of the mountain, we are told, Moses received a body of laws—among them the Ten Commandments—from Yahweh (Jehovah), a god who became the patron of the wandering people. During their years in the desert the Hebrews acquired the qualities characteristic of nomadic life: group solidarity, blood covenant, blood revenge, and hospitality. Eventually they continued to Canaan where, in addition to their social solidarity, they took on the individualist ways of farmers.

At least in later times the Hebrews liked to believe that their forebears had looked upon themselves as forming twelve tribes, who claimed descent from

the twelve sons of Israel. In the south of Canaan dwelled the tribe of Judah, a name which came to apply to this district. Northward the land became known as Israel. In between these two areas was the important Canaanite city of Jerusalem, on its commanding summit. The only government the early Hebrews had was in the hands of leaders called Judges, but nevertheless they fought with one another and with the Canaanites.

THE PHILISTINES. During the twelfth century B.C., in the reign of Ramses III, a seafaring people known as Peleset, after a rebuff in Egypt, descended upon Canaan and seized the southern coast. The Peleset were not Semites; the designs on their pottery and armor, no less than their athletic habits, suggest that they had been in contact earlier with the Minoan-Mycenaean world, perhaps in Asia Minor. The Peleset gave their name to Palestine, but they themselves became known to history as Philistines, and the coastal district in which they actually settled was called Philistia. Their most important city was Gaza.

SAUL. Well organized and using iron weapons, the Philistines extended their sway over the Hebrews. Toward the end of the eleventh century the great Judge, Samuel of the northern tribe of Benjamin, urged his people to unite and revolt against their oppressors. At Samuel's instigation they chose as king of Israel Saul, a strong impetuous leader of armies, who displayed great energy in uniting the Hebrews, even those in southern Judah, under his rule. Saul humbled the Philistines, but in the end was killed by them at Mt. Gilboa.

DAVID, KING OF ISRAEL AND JUDAH (CA. 1010-970 B.C.). Saul's successor was his son-in-law David of Bethlehem, son of Jesse of the tribe of Judah. Beginning life as a shepherd boy and poet, David came to the front through personal bravery and ability to command. His accession as King of Israel and Judah (ca. 1010-970 B.C.) marked the firm establishment of a united Hebrew state. One of David's most important acts was the capture of Jerusalem, which to this time had remained in the hands of the Canaanites, and which he now made the capital and religious center of his realm. He also overwhelmed the Philistines, who were destined to be absorbed by the Hebrews, and various small tribes, such as the Edomites, Moabites, and Ammonites. Aramaean Damascus was taken. These successes enabled David to extend his kingdom northward to the Euphrates and southward to the Red Sea and Egypt.

David established in Jerusalem the Ark of the Covenant, the portable shrine of Yahweh which the Hebrews had carried with them in their nomadic life. The cult of Yahweh prospered and developed by its enshrinement at the city which the northern and southern tribes of Israel and Judah had chosen as their capital. Not that monotheism and the worship of Yahweh were everywhere accepted. Indeed, the masses of Hebrews worshiped many gods. Some of their religious customs and ideas they had brought with them from the desert;

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others they adopted from the Canaanites and the Babylonians. They took over from Canaan the cults of agricultural gods, such as that of Baal, and from Tyre the earth mother goddess, Ishtar. Magic and religious prostitution were practiced. Yahweh was but one of many gods worshiped in High Places, for the religion of the Hebrews, clearly, was a mixture derived from various backgrounds. Monotheism, nevertheless, grew apace, because the followers of Yahweh, though few in number, were exceedingly zealous and aggressive. The priests of Yahweh insisted on the intense, exclusive nature of their religion and preached the commandment, "Thou shalt worship no other god: for the Lord, whose name is Jealous, is a jealous God." To keep his worship pure they emphasized another commandment, "Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, or any likeness of anything that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth; thou shalt not bow down thyself to them, nor serve them." Thus they sought to uproot paganism; future events were to show how Yahweh, worshiped already in Israel and Judah, could be the God of his people no matter where they were, for he was, in truth, universal.

Under David, then, Jerusalem became both a holy city and the seat of the central government for his united kingdom. A tendency toward urbanization throughout Palestine, and with it the luxury of city life, softened David and many of his people. With the help of workmen lent him by Hiram, the friendly king of Tyre, with the cedars of Lebanon and the arts of Phoenicia, David built and adorned his city. He was now an Oriental king, with his hand in the politics of the world, living magnificently in a palace filled with wives and slaves. The extensive wars, forced labor, and heavy taxes oppressed the people, however, and they followed David's favorite son, Absalom, in a revolt against the king. But the son fell, and David continued to rule. After his death his oppression, caprices, and violence were soon forgotten, and the people, remembering only his service to a united kingdom and to Yahweh, looked back to him as their ideal king and their national hero.

SOLOMON (CA. 970-930 B.C.). After his death Solomon (ca. 970-930 B.C.) succeeded to the throne. He was the son of David and the beautiful Bath Sheba, David's favorite wife. Devoting himself to the ways of peace, Solomon built on the summit of Jerusalem a magnificent temple to Yahweh. He added even stronger walls to the fortifications that David had erected, and made for himself splendid palaces. Cedars from Lebanon, gold and bronze objects from Tyre were used in his buildings. Thirty thousand men were engaged in cutting stone and hewing wood. The copper mines of the Sinai peninsula added to his wealth; in the stables at Megiddo, which have recently been excavated, were kept his famous horses. In short, Solomon surrounded himself with all the luxury and brilliance of an Oriental despot; his favorite wife, an Egyptian

princess, was one of many foreigners in a harem of one thousand. A commercial alliance was formed with Hiram of Tyre; together their ships sailed the Mediterranean and Red Seas and brought home the products of distant lands. In administration and diplomacy, as well as in the practical affairs of life, Solomon displayed a shrewdness that gained for him, though with little reason, the reputation of being the wisest man in the world.

KINGDOMS OF ISRAEL AND JUDAH. All this glory meant heavy taxes and forced labor for the people, and naturally they chafed under the yoke. When, therefore, Solomon's son attempted to continue his policy after his death, the northern tribes rebelled. Henceforth Palestine was divided into two weak states. In the north was the kingdom of Israel, under the rebel Jeroboam. Israel was the larger and richer of the two states, and ultimately Samaria was selected as its capital. The other state, to the south, was the kingdom of Judah, with Solomon's son, Rehoboam, as its king; Jerusalem continued to be the capital. Both kingdoms were afflicted with internal strife and were nearly always at war with one another. The significant fact for history, however, was that the two states had once formed a united kingdom where, in the eyes of many, Yahweh was the one and only God. Now that the united kingdom had divided into its component parts, Yahweh continued to be worshiped in both north and south. From this it was a relatively short step to the conception of one God for all men everywhere, if indeed it had not already been taken.

GOD AND MAN. Many Hebrews, of course, continued to worship strange gods. Because of this and other evils—the rich, for example, oppressed the poor—there arose in Palestine during the ninth and eighth centuries a series of teachers, or Prophets, such as Elijah, Elisha, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Amos, who preached obedience to God and the necessity of right conduct. In these generations before the Babylonian captivity (sixth century B.C.), no less than during it and afterward, Israel reached her crowning achievement in the conception of an ethical monotheism. Surrounded by a world of callous might and barbarities, the Hebrews nevertheless insisted on the moral righteousness of God and declared that we may confidently walk the earth as a son in his father's house. The center of their world, however, was neither a blind force nor a sun god—nor a group of gods involved in their own affairs, who only by special effort could turn to the world of men—but a God of loving kindness and tender mercy. He was a personal God, invisible, omnipresent, who demanded of his followers decency, honor, and human compassion. With critical intellectualism and creative skepticism the Hebrew thinkers discarded the concept of a national god for Israel, and substituted in his place a Being with powers over a common humanity: "The Lord our God, the Lord is one." That is, Israel asserted not only the character of God, but also the oneness of the world and of God.

But what, we may ask, is the place of tiny, yet significant, man in this huge, and often inexplicable, universe? The unique Hebrew concept of the basic character of human life is notably expressed in the Eighth Psalm: "O Lord our Lord, how excellent is thy name in all the earth! who hast set thy glory above the heavens. When I consider thy heavens, the work of thy fingers, the moon and the stars, which thou hast ordained; what is man, that thou art mindful of him? and the son of man, that thou visitest him? For thou hast made him a little lower than God,¹ and hast crowned him with glory and honor." The Hebrew answer to the critical question—the problem that man is to himself—is that God made man in his own image and that man is in his nature but little lower than God. Man, moreover, is infused and impelled by the wisdom of God himself, the difference between men, between the wise man and the fool, being the measure with which the individual has heard and then obeyed the appeals of wisdom.

The Hebrew writers conclude that the divine in us is slowly overcoming the bestial and that due to the guidance of divine wisdom we are climbing from savagery to a civilized life. On the other hand, how can we account for sin in a world created by God? *Genesis* gives the answer in the story of the fall of man: "But of the fruit of the tree which is in the midst of the garden, God hath said, Ye shall not eat of it, neither shall ye touch it, lest ye die." In spite of this, and knowing the penalty, Adam and Eve did eat the fruit, and yet they had the power to do otherwise. Human freedom exists, though a divine purpose runs through history, and God reveals to man as much of the ultimate nature of things as is good for him. The individual can hear the voice of God deep in his own consciousness, and if he chooses, he can lead the good life. The good life was basically and supremely the religious life. The Lord "hath shewed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?" Attainment of this life brought salvation.

DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM (586 B.C.). The Hebrew thinkers got a view of the world—of one God of the universe who is a God of righteousness and love—that still shapes our outlook. It was born, as great ideas often are, by a simple people amid severe trials. One of these crises came in 732 B.C. when Tiglath-pileser III, the Assyrian king, captured Damascus and made both Israel and Judah tributary. A decade later Israel revolted, whereupon Sargon II, the new Assyrian king, destroyed Samaria, its capital, and transplanted the population to the country beyond the Euphrates. They were soon lost among the natives of that region (the so-called Ten Lost Tribes). The lands of the rebels were assigned to colonists from the banks of the Tigris and

¹The King James translation incorrectly renders the regular Hebrew term for God by "angels."

Euphrates, and were incorporated in a province of the Assyrian Empire. Eventually that Empire fell, but the rise of the new Babylonian, or Chaldaean, Empire meant for Palestine merely a change of masters. To punish Jerusalem for rebellion, Nebuchadrezzar, the Babylonian king, besieged and captured the city (586 B.C.). He had already deported many of the inhabitants on a former occasion of disobedience, but now he destroyed Jerusalem and carried into captivity the rest of the people, excepting the poorest.

For fifty years the Hebrews remained in exile. Their long stay abroad tended to strengthen the tie of blood, and more particularly the family bond. "Honor thy father and thy mother" was one of their commandments. But, above all, the period of the captivity showed the Hebrews that they could worship Yahweh anywhere. When Cyrus, the king of Persia, conquered Babylon, he restored the Hebrews to their native land and permitted them to rebuild their temple. Jerusalem rose from its ruins, but Palestine remained a province of the Persian Empire. Restored Jerusalem honored Yahweh, who demanded of his worshipers moral as well as ceremonial holiness. Throughout the centuries Judaism continued to insist on strict obedience to the religious law, and from this faith sprang both Christianity and Mohammedanism. Probably no other single contribution to history can equal in its effect Israel's influence through these two religions and her own thinkers.

VI

THE ASSYRIAN EMPIRE AND ITS SUCCESSORS

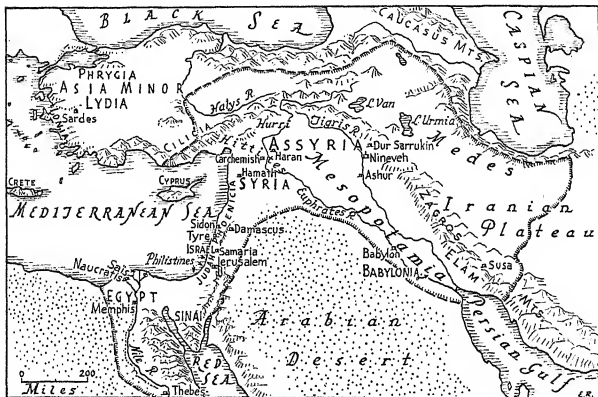
1. THE SUPREMACY OF ASSYRIA

THE LAND AND PEOPLE. Assyria is a rolling hill country on the Upper Tigris, with an invigorating climate in contrast to the enervating heat of the Mesopotamian plain southward, in the direction of Babylonia. It is a compact, fertile land, productive of good crops when irrigated; its hills, moreover, contain stone for building. To the east are the Zagros mountains, to the north is Armenia. Since the trade routes between Babylonia and Armenia followed the course of the Tigris, it was inevitable that Assyria should be the scene of many struggles. Indeed, the early history of the land consisted in large part of wars against apparently omnipresent enemies, but from the wars and the long periods of submission, the independent, hardy farmers and shepherds emerged a fierce nation of fighters. (Cf. map, p. 34.)

Mitanni and Hittites, Babylonians and Elamites long prevented Assyria's expansion. The simultaneous decline of the Kassite dynasty at Babylon and of the Hittite and Egyptian Empires gave Assyria, as well as the small states of Syria and Palestine, the opportunity of independent growth. In the course of centuries the Assyrians built the mightiest empire the world had thus far seen, stretching from Media in the east to the Halys River in Asia Minor and Egypt to the south. It is possible that they owed this remarkable achievement to the unity of their nation, to the vigorous character of the ordinary Assyrian, to the skill of the imperial officials, and to a long line of able kings, lists of whom have recently been discovered in the palace of Sargon II at Khorsabad. To speak generally, the many campaigns of the Assyrians were undertaken as a policy of defense; for example, the expeditions against Egypt were necessary to prevent the Pharaoh from interfering in Palestine, the possession of which was vital to Assyria if she was to hold the commercially important Syrian coast and the passes over the Taurus mountains into Cilicia.

Through her conquests Assyria acquired a reputation for cruelty almost without parallel in history. There is no denying that the Assyrians flayed their enemies alive, impaled them, and butchered them. The difference between them and their contemporaries, however, lay not in the fact of barbarous acts,

which have been practiced by all states of all periods; rather, the Assyrians stand out because they made torture and destruction a regular pattern of conquest, partly, of course, to convince others of the wisdom of surrendering without a struggle. Incidentally, had they not proudly recorded their actions for all posterity to read, their reputation might be different. Nor did the Assyrian policy of transplanting entire populations from one area to another stem from sheer delight in the heartless, but rather from a determination to break stubborn national resistance and to discourage the restive from rebellion. On the other hand, the great constructive achievement of the Assyrians



The Assyrian Empire, 7th century B.C.

was the creation of the abiding type of polity known as the Oriental Monarchy. It was they, too, who developed a system of provincial administration which became the basis of the Persian Empire. The chief contribution of Assyria to history, however, probably lies in the protection it gave to Babylonian civilization at a time when it might otherwise have been engulfed by barbarian inroads.

EARLY HISTORY. The desert Semitic tribes who constituted, essentially, the Assyrian people had as their center the small town of Ashur—home of the local god, Ashur—on the west bank of the Tigris. Sumerian and Babylonian influences permeated their culture. The first notable Assyrian attempt at expansion occurred at the end of the twelfth century B.C. under the king, Tiglath-pileser I, but two hundred years were to pass before the Assyrians were able to

pursue a successfully aggressive policy. The Aramaeans, by their possession of Damascus and Aleppo, blocked the routes to the Mediterranean. The Chaldeans, who were originally an Aramaean tribe, constituted a hostile element in southern Mesopotamia. Northward, around Lake Van, tribes of unknown origin formed the kingdom of Van or, as it is called in the Assyrian records, Urartu (a name that survives in Mt. Ararat, where Noah is said to have landed after the flood). The Vannic kingdom, which had its capital at Van on the southeastern shore of Lake Van, came to embrace the area later known as Armenia. The relations between Assyria and Van illustrate the international character of this age, when an event in the national history of one country was likely to have importance for other countries through its international connections. While the Assyrians longed to put an end to Van's menacing ambitions and to capture its iron and copper mines, Van, by its very position, prevented the wandering northern barbarians, especially the Cimmerians, from overwhelming Assyria, a fate earnestly desired in Babylonia and Egypt, Syria, and Palestine.

Assyria's military successes began with Ashurnasirpal II (884-859 B.C.), who carried his conquests as far as the frontiers of Van and to the Mediterranean. Deliberate frightfulness was part of his policy, but he was rewarded with numerous prisoners and spoils. His successor, Shalmaneser III, spent most of his thirty-five years as king on military campaigns, not infrequently against Van. Shalmaneser conquered Babylon and made it a vassal kingdom. As Assyria subdued other states, it became the practice to reestablish the native rulers as vassal princes and to impose an annual tribute. Though he failed to capture Damascus, Shalmaneser did gain the passes over the Taurus and the province of Cilicia, with its vitally important metal trade. The wealth which poured into Assyria enabled Shalmaneser to beautify his capital, Ashur, with a magnificence becoming its new position in the world.

TIGLATH-PILESER III (CA. 745-727 B.C.). The increasing power of Van, reinforced by that of the Phrygian kingdom in Asia Minor, meant troubled days for Assyria in the decades following Shalmaneser's death, but by the middle of the next century a usurper restored and increased his country's fortunes. This was Tiglath-pileser III (ca. 745-727 B.C.), with whom the greatest military period in Assyria's history commenced. Tiglath-pileser created a disciplined army constituted, in part, of men who devoted their lives to a military career and, in part, of a national militia. In addition to the cavalry and chariots and the heavy infantry equipped with fine iron weapons, there were light-armed troops, such as the famous archers and slingers, and a siege train with sappers and battering rams to undermine and knock down the mud-brick walls of an enemy. There were also platforms on wheels, with defenses against arrows, that could be moved against a wall to place the attackers on the

same level as the defenders. The troops were organized in small fighting units; fortified camps served as safe bases from which to launch an attack; the whole science of warfare was studied.

Babylonia, which constituted a perpetual problem for Assyria, was now reconquered, and the troops of Van were decisively beaten, though it proved impossible to take the capital. Of first importance, however, was Tiglath-pileser's capture of Aramaean Damascus (732 B.C.). Henceforth many Aramaeans engaged themselves in trade, to Assyria's benefit as well as their own. The fall of Damascus was quickly followed by the submission of Ahaz, the king of Judah, and Hoshea, the king of Israel. The two kings were set up as vassals, and their states became tributary. On the whole, however, the scheme of vassal states was abolished in favor of a system of imperial provinces, under regular governors and lesser officials, whose duty it was to dispense justice and collect the taxes. This was an important development in the history of imperial administration and was to be elaborated upon by the Persians.

SARGON II (722-705 B.C.). The Sargonid dynasty, which endured until the fall of Nineveh (612 B.C.), was established soon after Tiglath-pileser's death by Sargon II (722-705 B.C.). His immediate predecessor, Shalmaneser V, had undertaken the siege of Samaria, and in the first year of Sargon's reign the capital of Israel fell. Thirty thousand Israelites (the so-called Ten Lost Tribes) were transplanted to the interior of the empire, and their place was taken by foreign colonists. Israel was made an Assyrian province. Two years later (720 B.C.) Sargon met the troops of Egypt, now ruled by an Ethiopian dynasty, at Raphia in southern Palestine. He inflicted a sufficient defeat on the Egyptians to persuade them of the advisability of presenting him with gifts, which he was pleased to regard as tribute. He then made a demonstration in the Arabian peninsula with the purpose of restoring order along the trade route to Yemen. In Babylonia, where a hostile Chaldaean dynasty was entrenched, Sargon met continued resistance, as had his predecessors. The situation was complicated by a Babylonian alliance with Elam, but Sargon was able to take Babylon and reduce Elam to impotence by a ring of Assyrian garrisons.

Early in his reign Sargon founded a new capital north of Nineveh, at Dur-Sharrukin (Khorsabad). Built at great cost, with a palace and library, the city was abandoned by his successors. Nevertheless, from the city named in his honor—"Sharrukin's (Sargon's) city"—Sargon was able to undertake decisive campaigns against both the kingdom of Van and a new and terrible enemy, the Cimmerians. These northern barbarians had overrun much of Asia Minor, slaughtering Greeks and Lydians, and had they been allowed to continue unchecked, would doubtless have conquered all western Asia. It was Sargon's achievement to defeat them and, on his death, to leave Assyria stronger along its northern frontiers than ever before. As we look back on this

monarch, who knew how to be both cruel and kindly, we see that his aggressive campaigns, like those of the Roman Empire, had as their primary object the defense of the realm.

SENNACHERIB. Sargon was succeeded by his son, Sennacherib (705–681 B.C.), an experienced general and governor. So firmly had Sargon laid the foundations of peace that Sennacherib was able to spend his first two years rebuilding Nineveh as the splendid capital of the empire. Its great library has yielded a nearly complete set of cylinders, which in vivid language and with an accurate regard for details recounts the activities of his reign. As long as danger threatened on his northern border, Sennacherib wisely limited the commitments of Assyria elsewhere. This must be the explanation of his tolerant attitude toward Babylonia, where he hoped that a friendly kingdom might provide sufficient security for Assyria in the south. But when the northern danger passed, and the Chaldaeans in Babylon continued their hostility, Sennacherib captured Babylon and deported its population. The provinces along the Mediterranean, however, presented a more difficult problem. Piankhi, the Ethiopian king of Egypt, did not feel strong enough to attack Assyria himself, but hoped to raise a successful rebellion within the empire. With this end in view, he schemed with Judah and the Phoenician cities to throw off the Assyrian yoke. Sennacherib immediately marched west, persuaded Tyre to capitulate, captured Sidon, and by ravaging Judah caused the king, Hezekiah, to submit before Jerusalem was destroyed. A demonstration in Egypt proceeded only as far as Pelusium, in the eastern Delta, for apparently a plague decimated Sennacherib's army and forced its return. While the details of the campaign are obscure, it is certain that Sennacherib did not plan the conquest of Egypt.

ESARHADDON. In 681 B.C., Sennacherib was murdered by a son and, after a period of civil strife, was succeeded by a younger son, Esarhaddon (681–669 B.C.). The significance of Esarhaddon's reign is that, by continuing the policy of choosing able provincial governors, he was able to maintain the security of the empire—this at a time when Media, to the east, and a reappearance of the Cimmerians in the north confronted him with very real dangers. With an equity that is rare in an enemy, Esarhaddon rebuilt Babylon, which had been damaged during Sennacherib's siege, and restored its population. It is, accordingly, somewhat surprising that during his efforts to consolidate the empire Esarhaddon should have undertaken the conquest of Egypt. This had always been avoided by his predecessors, and was now unwise, for the northern and eastern dangers should have occupied him exclusively; he was probably motivated by a desire to be rid of Egyptian intrigue in Palestine and Syria. The conquest of Egypt proved successful, for the moment at least, and a prince of Saïs in the western Delta, Necho by name, was established as a vassal.

ASHURBANIPAL (669–626 B.C.). Esarhaddon's successor, the famous Ashurbanipal, ruled Assyria forty-three years (669–626 B.C.). Three-quarters of a century had elapsed since Tiglath-pileser III had inaugurated (745 B.C.) the unbroken period of Assyrian supremacy, and during this time of internal peace Assyria had reached a high level of culture. Enemies confronted Ashurbanipal at the opening of his reign, but enemies had never thwarted Assyria before, and nothing seemed more unlikely than that Assyria's glorious age would not continue. The danger to Assyria, however, was chiefly this. Since Assyria was hated by its subjects, the possibility of nationalistic revolt always existed, but with an ever-increasing chance of success, for the many military campaigns over a period of several generations had slowly sapped Assyria's man power. To obtain an adequate supply of soldiers, therefore, Assyria relied more and more on mercenaries, drawn from the conquered peoples of her empire, but the zeal of such troops could hardly be expected to equal that of the native Assyrian.

On his accession Ashurbanipal found that he and his generals would be fully occupied by the Indo-European Medes of the Iranian plateau and by the Cimmerians, who now threatened Cilicia. Accordingly, he established a brother on the Babylonian throne in the hope that peaceful relations might endure between them. The arrangement worked well enough, until the brother schemed with Elam to rebel. There thus began a long and terrible war, during which Babylon was captured, though not sacked; this was followed by the conquest of Elam and the complete destruction of its capital, Susa (ca. 639 B.C.). Tyre, too, was punished for its share in the revolt. These activities explain Ashurbanipal's attitude toward Egypt. Early in his reign he had recognized that Egypt, because of its distance, required more garrisons than Esarhaddon had felt necessary. Despite the extra garrisons and the vassals whom Ashurbanipal proceeded to install, Egypt revolted under the leadership of Psammetichus of Saïs. Psammetichus received help at this juncture from his ally, Gyges the king of Lydia, who sent him mercenaries; and probably other mercenaries from Asia Minor, Ionian Greeks, also served him. With very little trouble Psammetichus cleared the Assyrian garrisons out of Egypt (651 B.C.), for Ashurbanipal was not only fully occupied elsewhere, but saw the unimportance of Egypt to Assyria. Now that Egypt was free, its relations with Assyria became cordial, and under the twenty-sixth, or Saïte, dynasty, it entered upon a century of prosperous independence, until the coming of the Persians. Not that Saïte Egypt ever recovered its old vigor, but it did attract Greek soldiers and merchants and thus contributed to the intellectual awakening of a distant land.

DESTRUCTION OF NINEVEH (612 B.C.). The last years of Ashurbanipal were troubled both by a physical sickness and by incursions of wild northern no-

mads, known as Scythians. Then, when at last the great king died, the enemies of Assyria set upon her. In Babylon the upstart Chaldaean king, Nabopolassar, plotted his attack; so did Cyaxares, the able organizer of the Median tribes. Scythians stood ready to help, and the Indo-European Persian tribes from southern Iran moved into devastated Elam. In 612 B.C. the allies—Nabopolassar, Cyaxares, and the Scythians—captured Nineveh. The proud and beautiful capital of an empire was utterly and completely sacked; the palaces and temples were obliterated; the thousands of clay tablets in the library were broken and scattered; the works of art, the parks and pleasure grounds, the people themselves were destroyed. The remnants of the Assyrians made a final stand at Carchemish. They were aided by the Egyptian Necho II, successor of Psammetichus, who thought he saw in a surviving Assyria Egypt's best chance for control of Palestine. He had, therefore, marched north, defeated Josiah, the king of Judah, at Megiddo, and then had joined the Assyrians at Carchemish. But Nebuchadrezzar, the brilliant son of the aging Nabopolassar, overwhelmed them (605 B.C.).

The Assyrian Empire was neither the first nor the last empire in history to fall, but its people also vanished from the face of the earth. Nevertheless, the Assyrians had nurtured Babylonian civilization at a time when Babylon itself was no longer creative and passed it on to the Chaldaeans; while to the Persians they bequeathed a developed system of provincial administration, and to posterity a form of polity known as the Oriental Monarchy.

2. ASSYRIAN CIVILIZATION

SOCIETY AND GOVERNMENT. The unity of the Assyrian people, to which the kingdom partly owed its supremacy, derived from the fact that Assyria was not a congeries of tribes or city-states, but a nation. In theory this nation of hardy fighters was ruled by a king with absolute power. In practice, however, the king customarily consulted oracles—especially that of Ishtar at Arbela—on matters of importance, and consequently the priests who controlled the oracles constituted an effective check on the king. From the nobility came the generals of the armies and the governors of the provinces. So capable were these aristocratic officials, and so loyal were they to the king, that, in case of need, the king appointed a woman from this class as provincial governor.

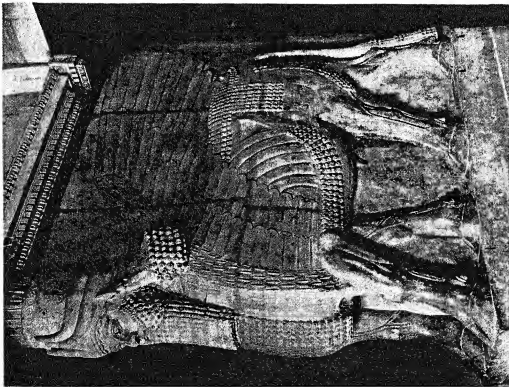
The majority of the Assyrians were peasants, many of whom owned their farms, even if the nobility did occupy the better land. There was also a middle class of professional men and craftsmen. These were the bankers, merchants, scribes, carpenters, weavers, and metalworkers, who lived in their own quarter of the city. A son usually succeeded his father in a craft, though apprentices were also common. From the proletariat came the soldiers for the army and the colonists to replace people who were transplanted from one part of the

empire to another. Compared with the masses elsewhere, the lowest class in Assyria was reasonably well off. Since trade and industry were largely in the hands of foreigners, agriculture ranked next to war as the main activity of the Assyrians. Serfs were a normal sight in the country, just as slaves were in the city, but the slaves were usually captives of war and were allowed to own property. In the great Age of Ashurbanipal, Nineveh, the imperial capital, was a meeting place of various races, where perhaps the foreigners were actually in the majority. Assyrian was the official language, but Aramaic was widely spoken.

The Assyrian Empire brought to the Near East the advantages of comparative peace and unity and increased trade. The military roads promoted the economic welfare of a large area, and at the same time caravans crossed the deserts in relative security. Half-shekel pieces of silver were commonly used in exchange. Certain cities, because of their commercial importance, received charters defining their rights, and often they were exempted from taxes. Beginning with Tiglath-pileser III the large territories which were conquered were divided into small districts, or provinces, each a reflection of the central government, and each liable to taxes or tribute. At the head of the province was a governor, directly responsible to the king and strictly controlled by him. The governor passed on to the king information concerning his province which he had gathered through an intelligence corps. He protected the province with garrisons, and if he needed reinforcements, the king sent him additional troops. The Assyrian system of provincial administration meant that distant provinces were ordinarily ruled as firmly and fairly as those nearer the capital, a record to which no previous empire could point.

CULTURE. Although Assyrian civilization was permeated by Sumerian and Babylonian influences, the debt to Babylon was particularly great in the realm of religion. The gods of the two peoples were much the same, except for the chief god. In Assyria the supreme deity was not Babylonian Marduk, but Ashur, who originally was the local god of the town Ashur and eventually became the national god of the Assyrians. Ashur was a warlike god, represented by a winged disk (within which the god himself was shown); his symbol was placed on standards, which were carried by the Assyrian armies, and rebellious provinces had reason to dread his vengeance. So fierce a god befitted the nature of the Assyrians, who were a superstitious people seemingly oppressed by a multitude of unfriendly forces. The basis of their religion was fear, fear of men and evil spirits, and in the never-ending struggle against them it was necessary to invoke charms and the aid of priests. Solar and lunar eclipses were watched for their religious implications, and thus the Assyrian interest in the heavens was directed to astrology rather than astronomy.

Although we know something about Assyrian law for the early period of



Photograph by Girandon

A colossal human-headed bull, from the huge, fortress-like palace of Sargon II at Khorsabad. Late 8th century B.C. In the Louvre, Paris



Courtesy of the Oriental Institute, Chicago

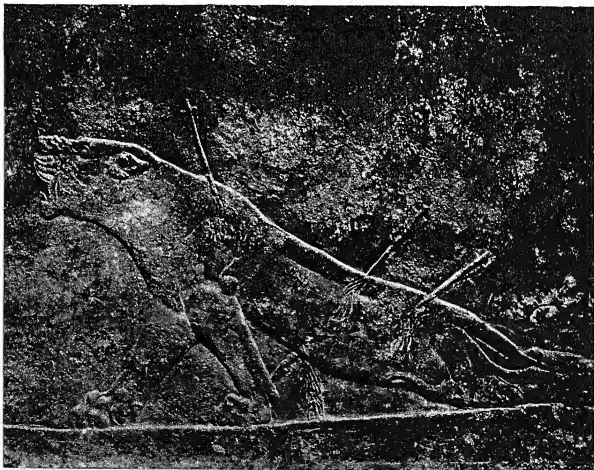
A Median groom with two horses, from the palace of Sargon II. Assyrian art generally succeeds in giving more life to animals than men



Photograph by Giraudon

Reliefs from the palace of Ashurbanipal at Nineveh. Wonderfully vivid memorials of Assyrian supremacy in warfare. In the Louvre, Paris

This lioness is from a large frieze depicting King Ashurbanipal (669–626 B.C.) hunting. No artists have excelled the Assyrian in representing the pathos of a wounded animal. From the palace at Nineveh, now in the British Museum, London



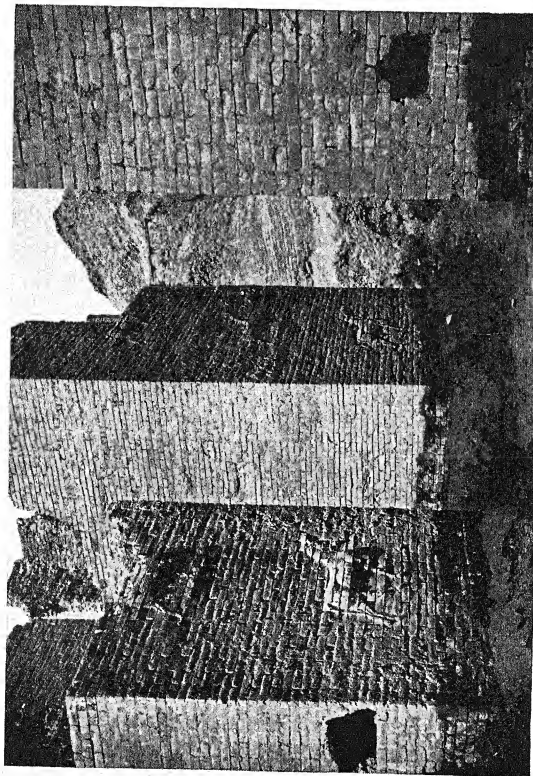
the country, nothing has survived from the time of the Empire. The only Assyrian documents we possess for the later period concern economic matters, while the thousands of tablets dealing with other subjects are copies of the Babylonian. And yet, though the Assyrians were not remarkable for original, creative thinking, they have put posterity in their debt through their ability to preserve and arrange knowledge. Both Sargon and Sennacherib had libraries, but it remained for Ashurbanipal to bring together two huge collections at Nineveh, consisting of thousands of copies of Babylonian cuneiform tablets. The scribes had to learn Sumerian and various Akkadian dialects—their own dialect, for example, was different from Babylonian—and then, of course, they had to master the art of writing in cuneiform. In this way Babylonian literature was copied and edited, and much of our own knowledge of it, such as the *Gilgamesh Epic*, has been preserved in its Assyrian form. Assyrian literature, as an independent genre, consisted chiefly of oracles, predictions by omens, and historical texts. On clay and stone the scribes described in chronological order the exploits of the kings, and needless to say, their inscriptions are of immense value to us.

Many of the royal exploits in hunting and warfare were recorded by text and picture on the walls of palaces. The reliefs are delicately carved and show good pictorial sense; there is a striving, too, for individual representation. The best of these reliefs come from Ashurbanipal's palace. Though the human figures, because of their heavy clothes, are not done as well as the animal, few sculptors in history have been so successful in showing the pathos of a wounded beast. Many sculptures, in both relief and the round, were carved in stone. Because of the plentiful supply in the neighboring hills, stone was widely used in architecture, particularly for foundations and columns, but it was customary to build walls of brick. Precious woods and metals were also popular. Colossal human-headed bulls have survived in stone; these were placed before the gateways of magnificent palaces and temples. On the other hand, the Assyrian artists also excelled in small, detailed workmanship, such as the art of seal cutting.

3. THE NEW STATES OF THE NEAR EAST

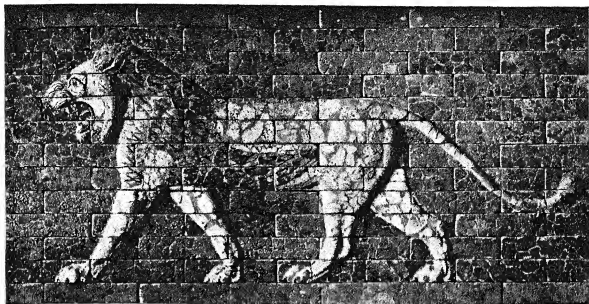
Chaldaeans, Medes, and Scythians had joined in the attack on Nineveh (612 B.C.), and the first two of these peoples were destined to be the principal successors of the Assyrian Empire. The Scythians disappeared from the local picture—having been absorbed or driven out—but the Chaldaeans took lower Mesopotamia and Syria, while the Medes occupied eastern Assyria.

THE CHALDAEAN EMPIRE. The short-lived state which the Chaldaeans now created is called the Chaldaean or New Babylonian Empire. Its founder was Nabopolassar, one of the captors of Nineveh, but its architect and only king

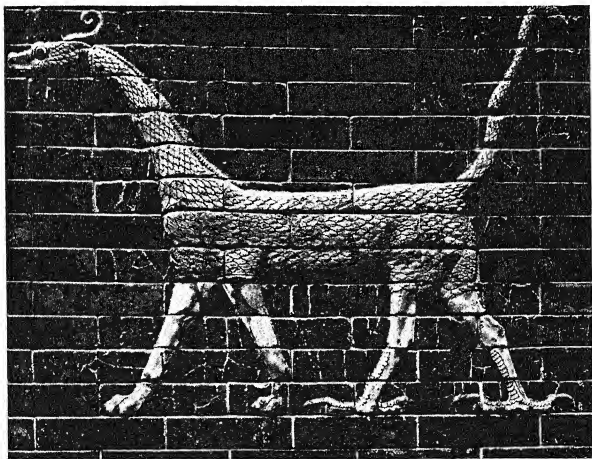


Courtesy of the Oriental Institute, Chicago

The partially excavated Gate of Ishtar at Babylon. Through this Gate ran a festival avenue, or "Procession Street," leading to the temple quarter of the city of Nebuchadnezzar II



A lion from the Gate of Ishtar, made of colored glazed tiles. Red, blue, yellow, white were the chief colors used in the tiles of this typical Chaldaean, or neo-Babylonian, art. In the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



A fascinating, though archaistic, snake-dragon from the Gate of Ishtar at Babylon. In the Berlin Museum

of distinction was his son, Nebuchadrezzar. After his victory over the Egyptian Necho at Carchemish (605 B.C.), Nebuchadrezzar won most of Syria and Palestine, but his father's death soon recalled him to Babylon. Harking back to the ancient past, which was his particular delight and weakness, he became king as Nebuchadrezzar II, and during a long reign (604–562 B.C.) extended his frontiers to the Persian Gulf, the Taurus mountains, and the border of Egypt (map, p. 111). Chaldaean relations with Media were friendly, but within the empire opposition at Jerusalem caused much unrest. Finally this flared into open revolt, and after taking Jerusalem (597 B.C.), Nebuchadrezzar deported the upper classes to Babylon. The king, Zedekiah, was left as his vassal in Judah. A decade later, however, Judah and Phoenicia, with Egyptian aid, rose in a terrible rebellion. Nebuchadrezzar defeated an Egyptian army in Syria, reconquered all Phoenicia, except Tyre, which submitted after a siege of thirteen years, and captured Jerusalem (586 B.C.). This time he destroyed the temple and city and carried off most of the remaining inhabitants into their famous Babylonian captivity.

The city of Babylon prospered under Nebuchadrezzar, for he was determined to bring back the memories of a wonderful past. Imposing fortification walls were thrown around the city; inspiring temples, particularly that of Marduk, were erected; a broad street for processions, with the magnificent Gate of Ishtar, was built; the royal palace was rebuilt. Because his Median wife was homesick for the mountains of the north, Nebuchadrezzar reared a great ziggurat and planted trees and bushes on its terraces; this became known as the Hanging Gardens of Babylon and was counted as one of the Seven Wonders of the ancient world. Most of these structures had walls of brick, faced with colorful glazed tiles of lions, bulls, griffins, and other animals.

SAÏTE EGYPT. Another state obsessed with recreating the past, and caught therefore in a cultural and political stagnation, was Saïte Egypt. The twenty-sixth dynasty—founded by Psammetichus and carried on by Necho—had succeeded in reëstablishing absolute rule, but the whole tendency in art and other activities was to restore the glories of the Old Kingdom. Amasis (569–526 B.C.) did, however, welcome Greek mercenaries and merchants, and founded a city in the Delta, Naucratis, for them.

LYDIA. Impressions of ancient Egypt inevitably filtered back to Greece, to the great benefit of the Greeks, but of course few of them knew the land of the Pharaohs at first hand. It was far otherwise in the case of Asia Minor, for we must remember that the Greeks settled not only in what we call Greece, but also along the Aegean coast of Asia Minor (map, pp. 118, 119). Here they met, and were eventually subdued by, Lydia. The Lydians were a mixture of Indo-Europeans and Asiatics, whose expansion commenced in the eighth century after the Cimmerian barbarians had overthrown the kingdoms of Van

and Phrygia, successors to the Hittite power. The ultimate fate of the Cimmerians was absorption, but not before they had attacked the Lydians and killed their king, Gyges (ca. 685–652 B.C.), in battle.

It was another Lydian king, Alyattes, who set the Lydians on an active career of imperialism, which was to result in a rich and powerful kingdom, with its capital at Sardes (map, below). Preparatory to a westward thrust at the Greek cities along the coast, Alyattes pressed east, an action that brought him into conflict with the Median Empire. A terrifying eclipse of the sun forestalled the decisive battle, and with the aid of Nebuchadrezzar, the Lydian



The Lydian, Chaldaean, and Median Empires, 6th century B.C.

and Median kings concluded a treaty and alliance (585 B.C.). The Halys River, whose red waters form a historic landmark of Asia Minor, was chosen as the dividing line between the two states; and the daughter of Alyattes was given in marriage to Astyages, son of the Median king, Cyaxares.

THE MEDIAN EMPIRE. The weakening and downfall of the Assyrian Empire, quite obviously, was accompanied by prosperous, independent development, not only in Egypt and Asia Minor, but in Mesopotamia as well. Here, as we have observed, the Chaldaeans and Medes were the successors to Assyria. Almost nothing is known about the early career of the Indo-European Medes, except that, when they first appear in history, they are living on the western side of the Iranian plateau. Nor do we have much information concerning their government and life. According to tradition, however, the Median dynasty was founded by Deioces (ca. 708–655 B.C.), who established his capital at Ecbatana (Hamadan). His successor, Phaortes, became a vassal of the Assyrians.

The vigorous nature of the Medes and the development of mounted archers

enabled their king, Cyaxares (633–584 B.C.), to join with Nabopolassar in the attack on Nineveh. As his share of the spoils, Cyaxares took eastern Assyria and the provinces north and east of the Tigris. The Persians in southern Iran became his vassals. The northward and westward expansion of Cyaxares brought him the region around Lake Van, henceforth known as Armenia, and Cappadocia, but ended, as a result of his treaty with Lydia, at the Halys River. During the first half of the sixth century, the Medes, under Cyaxares and Astyages, created a large empire that stretched from the Halys to the frontier of India (map, p. 111).

THE PERSIANS. About the middle of the sixth century, however, the Persians revolted. The Persians were Indo-Europeans akin to the Medes. It was Achaemenes, according to tradition, who founded the famous Achaemenid dynasty by uniting the various Persian tribes under him, and though the Persians were then vassals of the Medes, they seized control of Elam from the Chaldeans. This step was taken under a king who became known to history as Cyrus the Great, a skillful but merciful conqueror and a genius in organization. Cyrus maintained the old capital of Pasargadae in Persia, but he styled himself "King of Anshan." Anshan was the district of Elam that included Susa, the future administrative capital of the Persian Empire. In 550 B.C., Cyrus invaded Media and during the following year occupied Ecbatana. Astyages' subjects, apparently, were not devoted to him and were ready to welcome what amounted, in effect, to little more than a change in dynasty.

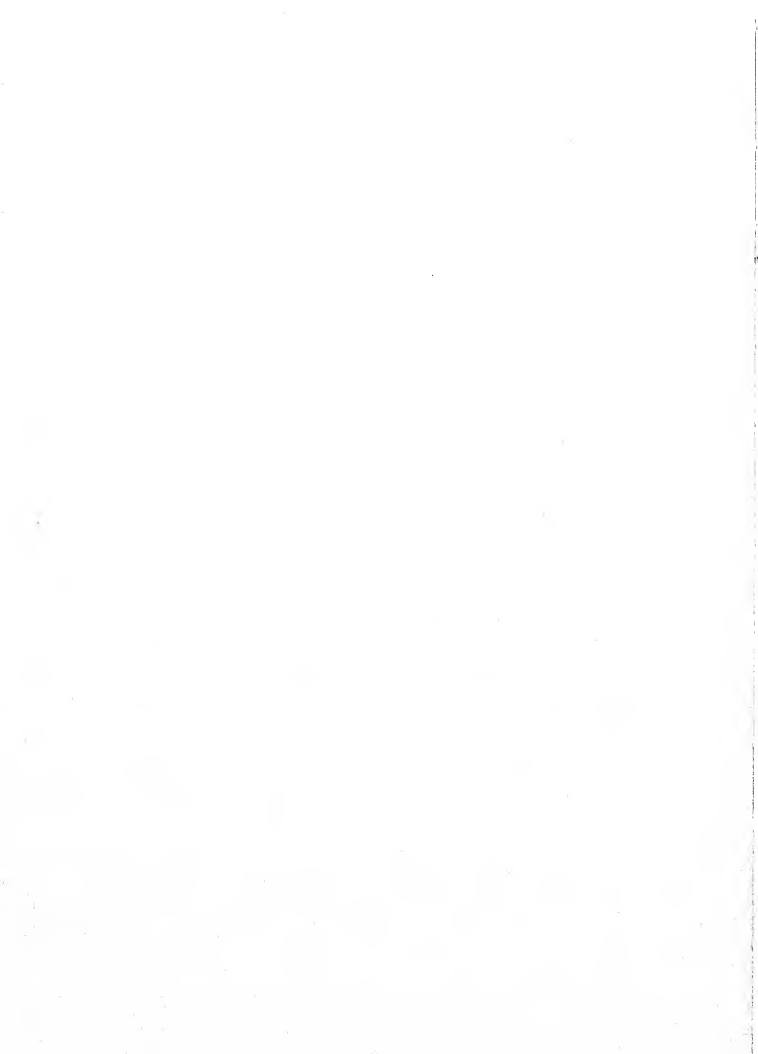
CROESUS. The implications of the developments in Iran were not lost, however, on Croesus, the king of Lydia (ca. 560–546 B.C.). Prevented by the treaty with Media from expanding beyond the Halys, Croesus had turned his energies westward and had incorporated the Greek cities of the coast in his kingdom; the sole exception was the city of Miletus, which was powerful enough to maintain the status of independent ally (cf. the map, p. 135). The new situation was not as difficult for the Greeks as might be imagined, for Lydia had become Hellenized to a large degree, and Croesus was a conspicuous Philhellene, who delighted in making gifts to ancient sites on the Greek mainland. The Greeks, moreover, benefited economically by their union with Lydia—sufficiently, at least, to offset their tribute—for they were now tied in with the great trade routes which ran from the Aegean coast through central Asia Minor to Mesopotamia and Iran. Since the Anatolian plateau was well suited to sheep raising, the textile factories of the Greeks enjoyed increased activity. Advantageous as all this was, the Greeks resented a foreign rule which governed them through local tyrannies and aristocracies.

Astride important trade routes and drawing tribute from the Greeks, Croesus became fabulously wealthy; indeed, the Lydians were credited with having invented the first coined money. Accordingly, when Croesus learned of the

revolution in Iran which had put a fresh and ambitious people at the head of a powerful state, he feared for his rich kingdom and allied himself with Amasis, king of Egypt, Nabonidus, the new king of Babylon, and tiny Sparta on the Greek mainland. He then marched across the Halys, in order to secure Cappadocia and a better frontier against the Persians. An indecisive battle with Cyrus followed, and since it was now winter, Croesus returned leisurely to Sardes. Cyrus, however, was not bound by the conventional rules of warfare, and much earlier in the year than might have been expected, descended upon Sardes, burned the city, and captured Croesus (546 B.C.). His lieutenant, Harpagus, then took over the Greek cities of the coast, though once again Miletus was able to retain the status of ally. Cyrus himself led his victorious armies eastward, and overran the lands around the Caspian Sea, Parthia, Bactria-Sogdiana to the Jaxartes River, and the frontiers of India; it was only a matter of time before Egypt would be brought within this framework, though actually it was accomplished after his death (529 B.C.), by his son Cambyses.

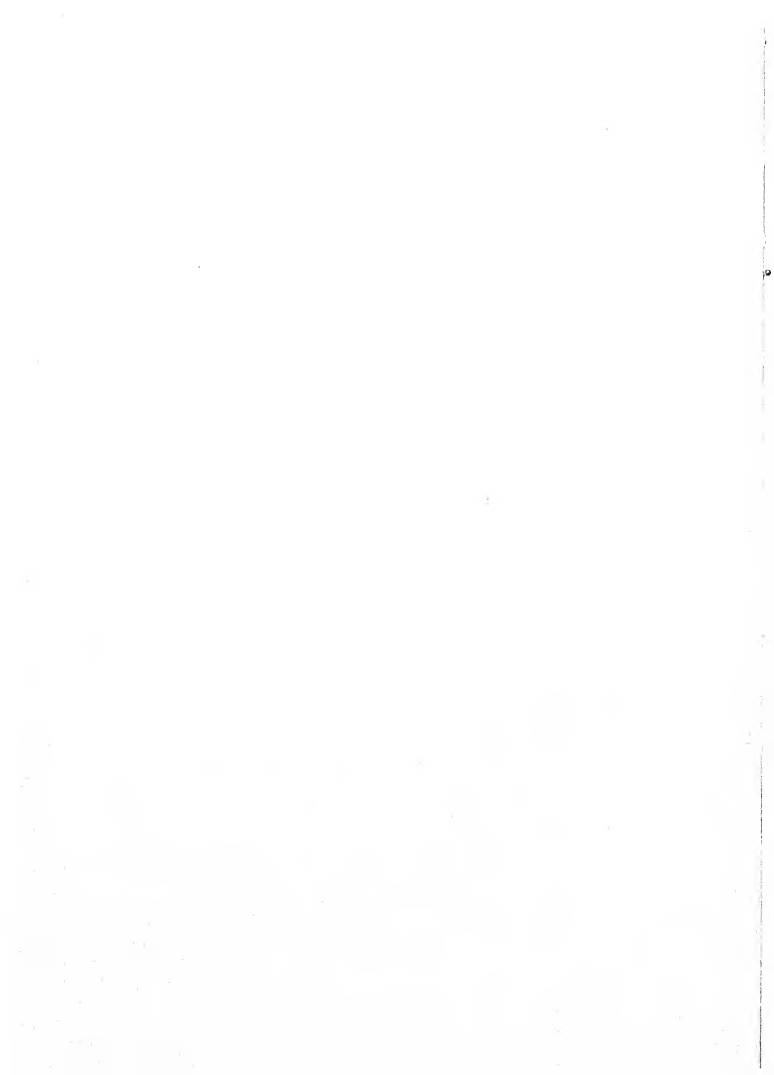
THE FALL OF BABYLON (539 B.C.). Meanwhile, there was the Chaldaean Empire. Nabonidus, the archaeologist-king as he has been called, was interested, as some of his predecessors had been, in reviving ancient religious festivals and in studying Sumerian texts. His partiality for other gods offended the priests of Marduk, who secretly urged Cyrus to invade Babylonia. In 539 B.C., therefore, Cyrus was able to take Babylon without a struggle. With the same religious tolerance for which his successors were to be noted, Cyrus respected and restored the worship of Marduk and allowed those Hebrews who wished to return to Jerusalem.

The year 539 B.C. is one of the decisive dates in the history of the ancient Near East. For more than two millennia Semitic power and influences had dominated Mesopotamia and adjoining lands. Akkad, Babylon, Phoenicia and Palestine, Assyria, and finally Babylon once again had had their day. Now their place was taken by a new force, a mighty world state, which was to solidify Asia in the first *Pax Orientalis*. Stretching at its greatest extent from European Thrace to India (map, pp. 184, 185), the Achaemenid dynasty was to endure for more than two centuries, until the coming of Alexander the Great. Inevitably, perhaps, the Persians longed to conquer the Greeks of the mainland, as they had already those along the coast of Asia Minor, and eventually the great issue of Europeanism and Orientalism was decided by such immortal battles as Marathon, Thermopylae, and Salamis. The stage of history, that is to say, is now to contain both East and West, but by the time these battles were fought the Greeks and their forerunners had gone through a long and remarkable development. We must, accordingly, turn to Greece before we follow the expansion of the Persian Empire.



PART THREE

HELLAS



VII

THE AEGEAN AGE

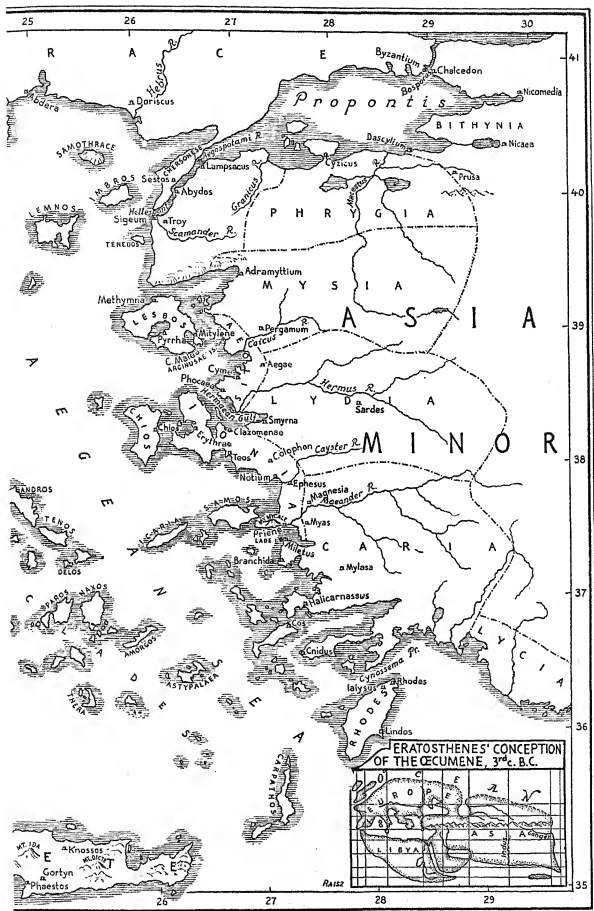
1. INTRODUCTION

It was not until the opening of the great classical century of Greece, the fifth before Christ, that a mighty empire of the Near East (the Persian) and the city-states of Greece became locked in mortal combat. In spite of manifold contacts between East and West before that time, the development of Greece and her civilization is best understood as a continuous entity.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF ANCIENT GREECE. The challenge of the Greeks to posterity is not simply that they were the first people in history to place man in the center of things, as Israel had God, but that they carried their discovery to the point where they established the ideal of the dignity of the individual and, as a natural corollary, the institution of free democracy. It is true, and of the first importance, that the Greeks, with none of our scientific instruments and few of our comforts, bequeathed to humanity profound and sensible thought, noble poetry, and beautiful art, but it is probably of greater significance for the history of man that they loved truth for its own sake and were passionately devoted to reason. A people of mixed origin and speech, full of contradictions and paradoxes, and apparently bent at times on deliberate racial suicide, the Greeks nevertheless built a civilization based on experience and knowledge, free of religious and political oppression.

It is also true that in a very real sense the Greek *polis*, or city-state, is merely our own civilization in miniature and that Greek history portrays the birth, growth, and decay of a civilized society which we are able to understand. In spite of vital and illuminating differences, Greek society, composed as it was of the people's ideals of moderation, self-restraint, and an eagerness to know oneself, can be readily comprehended. The smallness of the Greek political unit, however, was a two-edged sword. On the one hand, we have the particularism and jealousy of the various city-states, but on the other hand is the fact that in a small state so many duties fall on the individual that he receives an exceptional training in the art of civic life. This makes for versatility, just as it also made every Greek a politician. It was, in part at least, the combination of these factors that gave birth to intense local patriotism, a sense of responsibility, and a love of liberty, which in turn engendered a fearlessness





that in time of war produced good fighters and in time of peace a restless inquisitive spirit willing to experiment.

THE PHYSICAL FEATURES OF GREECE. The Greeks were profoundly influenced, as any people must be, by the land in which they lived. Smallness was of the essence of their country, as it was of their political life. From Mt. Olympus, on the northern border of Thessaly, to the tip of the Peloponnesus, where in the pleasant valley of the Eurotas lies Sparta, is but 250 miles. This area—though it excludes Macedonia, which achieved importance relatively late in history, and Thrace—is half the size of New York state, while Attica, the home of the nimble-witted, radical, and inventive Athenians, is not as large as Rhode Island. If this description of the Balkan peninsula suggests ease of communication, even in the days before the steam engine, we need to picture the imposing Pindus mountains which everywhere throw off long ranges that hem in little valleys and shut one off from the next. This, then, helps to explain why a nation or empire did not at once develop naturally in Greece, but rather a smaller political unit, the city-state, with its center in the chief town of each valley.

The varied beauty of the Balkan peninsula is famous in song and story. Northern and subtropical in climate, this land of hill and plain has countless inlets and bays, which provided, especially on the long eastern coast, harbors adequate for the boats of antiquity. Olive groves and vineyards cover the countryside, and orange trees grow in the south; in the spring blood-red anemones, pale hyacinths, and a profusion of other wild flowers are a riot of color, softened by the blossoms of the almond trees and the hues of the mountains which change in color, with the brilliance of the sun, from russet to violet. In summer it is hot, in winter, during the prolonged rainy season, cold and wet. These seasonal changes make for activity, especially since on the Mediterranean shores, where men need less food and shelter, the struggle for existence is not all-absorbing. Simplicity marks the life, and there is leisure for thought and the interchange and clarification of ideas.

Ancient Greece—Hellas, as it is called—was, however, much larger than the Balkan peninsula, for at an early time the Greeks and their forerunners also settled along the western coast of Asia Minor and on the islands of the intervening, wine-dark Aegean Sea, those incredibly beautiful and colorful stepping stones which invited ancient mariners ever onward. This little world is not so much a part of Europe as of the Mediterranean basin, and since it juts, so to speak, in the direction of the ancient civilizations of Egypt and Asia, it was inevitable that Crete, its farthest island outpost, should first have fallen under important influences that led to the brilliant Bronze Age of Greece. This entire period, with its various subdivisions, can be described more exactly as the Aegean Age, because it centered on the Aegean Sea.

2. MINOAN CIVILIZATION

THE DISCOVERY OF BRONZE. The remains of the Paleolithic and Neolithic Ages in Greece are unimportant, but since man develops most rapidly under the stimulus of new ideas, the knowledge of how to mix copper with tin, which the Cretans acquired about 3000 B.C., marks at last the beginning of a high stage of civilization in Europe. The new Bronze Age, moreover, is spoken of as prehistoric, since we are unable to read and understand the writings. This means that we are ignorant of many important matters, such as the names of individuals, their thoughts and conversations, and accordingly we are thrown back on the evidence of archaeology, the dramatic excavations of Schliemann, Evans, and others. This romantic and early chapter in man's civilized life is, however, significant not only for itself but for its contributions to the later historical period of Greece as well.

KNOSSOS. After a thousand years of slow progress (3000–2000 B.C.), during which the potter's wheel had been introduced (an invention which rendered easier both the manufacture of pottery and the expression of the artist's sense of line), the civilization of the Aegean Age blossomed wonderfully at Knossos on the northern coast of Crete. Sir Arthur Evans, the excavator of Knossos, has called this civilization, so long as its center remained in Crete, Minoan, after the legendary king Minos, whereas the term Helladic has been adopted for the mainland culture.¹

THE PALACE OF MINOS. About 1800 B.C. isolated buildings, which had stood around a public square of Knossos, were probably consolidated to form a palace. Two hundred years later (before 1600 B.C.), the palace was damaged by an earthquake and was rebuilt. The rebuilding of the palace ushered in the greatest period of Minoan civilization. Here was the residence of King Minos; centuries later, when Greek invasions brought the Aegean Age to an end, legend turned the palace into a labyrinth, the home of a fearful monster known as the Minotaur.

MINOAN ART. The visitor to Knossos today senses at once that the palace

¹ Minoan and Helladic are divided into three periods, Early, Middle, and Late, and each of these is subdivided into three sections, approximately as follows:

Early Minoan, 2900–2100.
Middle Minoan I, 2100–1950.
Middle Minoan II, 1950–1800.
Middle Minoan III, 1800–1600.
Late Minoan I, 1600–1500.
Late Minoan II, 1500–1400.
Late Minoan III, 1400–1100.

Early Helladic, 2700–1900.
Middle Helladic, 1900–1600.

Late Helladic I, 1600–1500.
Late Helladic II, 1500–1400.
Late Helladic III, 1400–1100.

The civilization in Crete reached its height at Knossos in Middle Minoan III and Late Minoan I; on the mainland the peak was reached in the Late Helladic period at Mycenae, which thereafter dominated the eastern Mediterranean.

The historical Greeks were probably a fusion of three racial elements: an Alpine stock (represented by the Neolithic period on the mainland), a Mediterranean stock (Early Helladic and Minoan), and a Nordic stock (Middle Helladic and following).

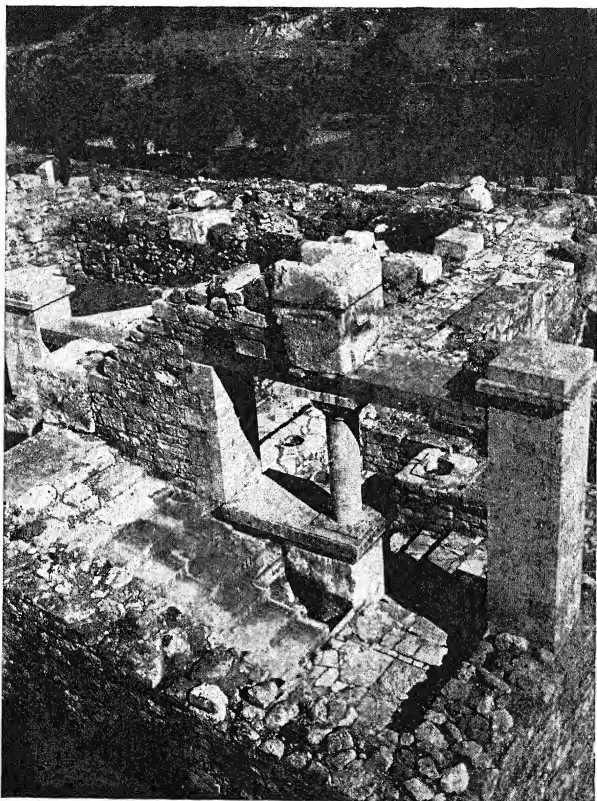


was veritably a self-contained village, with its own olive press, arsenal, workshops, and storerooms, while the long corridors with their vivid frescoes, the stately rooms, the broad staircases, the bathrooms, latrines, and various appointments appear to have been the last word in comfort and good taste. Perhaps more than anything else, the beautiful frescoes give an insight to the artistic genius of the people. The frescoes were executed with a brush on a wall while the plaster was still wet, and accordingly rapid work was necessary. We can see the artist's passion for nature, for vivid color and movement and action, his desire to give the effect of the whole rather than to labor a detail. There are frescoes of blue monkeys peering through papyrus flowers, of partridges and hoopoes, of a simple blue bird amid rocks and roses. From Hagia Triada, on the southern coast of Crete, comes the incredible picture of a life-like cat creeping through the rushes toward an unsuspecting pheasant. The palace at Phylakopi on the island of Melos has yielded a fresco of flying fish. Executed by a Cretan artist probably, it creates a wonderful rhythm and balance as the fish rise and fall amid the rocks and sea.

Animals and fish, white lilies and green foliage waving against a red ground, a close and sympathetic observation of nature characterize this free and imaginative art. The artist never hesitated to alter the true colors for effect. In spite of the interest in nature and in the use of rich and brilliant colors, the artist could give the impression, when he wished, of crowds of people or of an individual marching in a procession, such as the grand fresco of the cupbearer, a tall, refined youth. By an artistic convention the men are generally painted red or dark, and the women white, and the waists of both sexes very narrow.

The major art of mural decoration inevitably influenced the pottery. Manufactured so splendidly that some of it is called "egg-shell," the emphasis of the design is on an almost uncontrolled polychromy, with abstract patterns in white, yellow, orange, and cherry red, such as we see in the vases from Kamares. In time naturalistic designs were used almost exclusively. Here again the interest is not primarily in the actual forms but of things in space, branches, flowers, leaves blown by the wind, crocuses, lilies, and various marine motives, cuttlefish, sea anemones, and reeds. A Late Minoan vase, where pattern and shape seem perfectly suited to each other, comes from Gournia and shows two dark brown octopuses floating across the light surface of the vase amid drifting seaweed and cuttlefish.

ARCHITECTURE. The palace of Minos at Knossos, where so many of these frescoes and vases were first enjoyed, was constructed of unburnt brick or rubble, in a timber frame; the lower courses consisted generally of a dado of gypsum or limestone blocks. The palace covers more than six acres, and, being built on the slope of a hill, is in parts several stories high.



Photograph by Richard Stillwell

Part of the palace of Minos at Knossos, six acres in extent and several stories high; this was an open field at the beginning of the century. Sir Arthur Evans' excavations have uncovered the greatest monument of prehistoric Greece. Minoan influences spread far and wide, and about 1400 B.C. the center of the Aegean (or Bronze) Age shifted to Mycenae on the mainland



Gold and ivory statuette of a Snake Goddess. Late Minoan I. The naturalism of this period heightens her delicate beauty. In the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

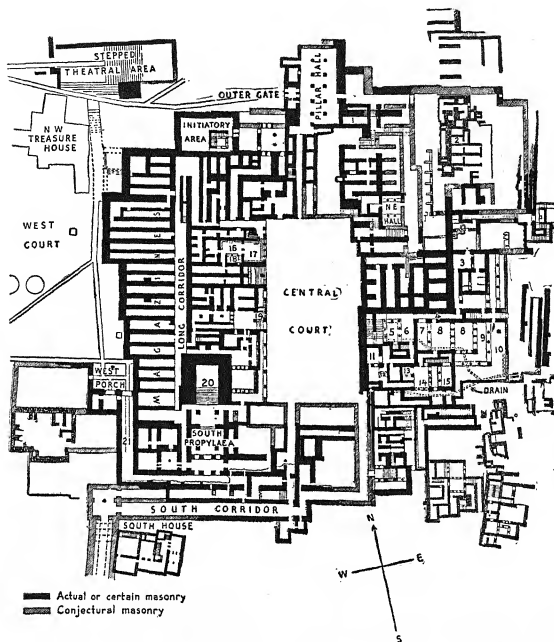
Fresco of a gentleman—a cup-bearer—marching in a solemn procession. Note his dress and jewelry. From the palace of Minos at Knossos. Late Minoan I. In the Candia Museum



The palace was built around a central court, approximately 200 feet long and 85 feet wide, with the official state rooms on the west side. Here, for example, was located the throne room; but since another room, with a lustral basin for acts of purification, is connected with it, it is doubtless correct, in the light of other evidence as well, to consider the king as a priest-king who represented the Great Goddess. Behind the throne room and opening on a long corridor are the magazines where stood immense jars filled with olive oil, wine, and cereals (taxes, perhaps, paid in kind to the king). Across the court, on the east side, were the private dwelling rooms of the family. North of the Hall of the Double Axes, it will be noted on the plan, the long east-west corridor leads to the Hall of the Colonnades and the impressive grand staircase, with five flights of broad easy steps, while to the south is the Queen's Megaron, with its own bath and toilet and private staircase.

THE DOMINION OF MINOS. From the fact that Knossos, like the rest of Crete, was practically devoid of defenses and that later legend speaks of a Cretan thalassocracy (sea rule), we infer that the priest-kings of Knossos feared neither domestic nor foreign foe. Certainly a palace such as the one we have just described implies a long period of peace and prosperity, but it is difficult to say whether the king ruled the entire island or, as seems more likely, merely exercised a lordship over vassal princes. The Italian excavations at Phaestos, on the southern coast, have revealed a similar but smaller palace of a prince who was rich and mighty enough to maintain an informal summer residence at neighboring Hagia Triada as well. There are other notable ruins—such as those at Zakro, Palaikastro, Gournia, and Tylissos—which show that town life was widespread in Crete at this time, and populous, too, for Knossos, with its Harbor Town, contained not less than 100,000 souls.

RELIGION. The so-called Little Palace and Royal Villa and other imposing private houses at Knossos suggest an aristocratic bureaucracy. The central government was nevertheless sufficiently enlightened to provide the people with paved roads, bridges, and aqueducts. There was also a knowledge of reading, writing, and arithmetic. The men wore simple loin cloths with an apron, the women long flounced skirts, with bodices open in the front and high collars at the back. There is every evidence that their life was extraordinarily gay and carefree, for they not only had a fine artistic sense, but an innate love of sports, particularly boxing, wrestling, and bull baiting. No great religious temples are known, but worship seems to have been carried on in small chapels in the palaces and houses and at mountain shrines, such as those on Mt. Juktas, the Dictaeon cave at Psychro, and Kamares on Mt. Ida. The principal cult was that of the Great Mother Goddess, whose symbol, the double axe (originally sacrificial), presumably placed a building or object under a higher protection. Various Snake Goddesses have been found; for



Plan of the
PALACE OF MINOS AT CNOSSUS

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- | | |
|-----------------------------|--|
| 1. Guard room | 12. w. c. |
| 2. Royal pottery stores | 13. Bath |
| 3. School room | 14. Queen's Megaron |
| 4. Lower east-west corridor | 15. Light area |
| 5. Light area | 16. Room of the Throne |
| 6. Hall of the Colonnades | 17. Ante-room |
| 7. Light area | 18. Lustral basin |
| 8. Hall of the Double Axes | 19. Shrine |
| 9. Portico | 20. Grand Staircase up to Piano Nobile |
| 10. Light area | 21. Corridor of the Procession |
| 11. Court of the Distaffs | |

example, the one in Boston, about a foot high, which is carved in ivory, with gold snakes in her hands and gold ornamentation on her dress. It shows a goddess of austerity and breeding, as it does also a long tradition in sculpture. It has been supposed that the snake represented the soul of the deceased and that the goddess was thus the ruler of the lower world, but a recent suggestion makes the snake the protector of the household, something that brings good luck.

The brilliant civilization of Crete continued into the Late Minoan period, but there was a growing tendency toward imitation and stylization. About 1400 B.C., invaders from the mainland overthrew the island power. Though Minoan life continued on a lower level, the center of civilization henceforth was at Mycenae on the mainland.

3. MYCENAE

The greatness of Mycenae was due partly to its location a few miles distant from the sea and possible pirates, with its citadel hill, or acropolis, dominating the broad Argive plain and the trade routes to Corinth and the western sea. The origin of Mycenae's rulers and their fabulous wealth, however, is not wholly certain, though it is reasonable to guess that we have here, not a Cretan outpost, but rather a strong native power under Minoan influence. It seems likely that the people themselves were Greeks, speaking a Greek dialect.

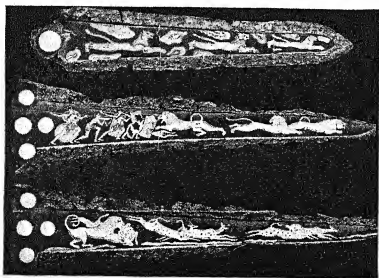
MYCENAE'S INFLUENCE. In the fifteenth century the mighty Tholos Tomb Dynasty, as it is known from its tombs, came into power. This was the dynasty that destroyed Knossos and set about the creation of a large federation and the economic domination of the Mediterranean. Mycenae's trade extended as far as Sicily, Egypt, Palestine, Cyprus, Troy, and Macedonia, while her leadership, if not actual dominion, was recognized in Athens, in Thessaly and Aetolia, most of the islands of the Ionian and Aegean Seas, and central and southern Greece. From Korakou, on the Corinthian Gulf, communications were maintained with Orchomenus, Thebes, the traditional home of Cadmus, and other great cities of Boeotia.

THE ACROPOLIS AT MYCENAE. The Mycenaean acropolis was reconstructed at this time. On the top was built the king's palace, in stepped terraces, with sumptuous apartments, halls, and courts, while an immense wall was carried around the entire hill. At one point, near the famed Lion Gate, the wall deviated far enough to include seven graves, apparently the most important, of a cemetery of the previous dynasty. These are the famous shaft graves, where Schliemann found one of the greatest gold treasures from any Bronze Age site in the world: gold bracelets, signets, diadems, breastplates, beads, cups, death masks, and bronze daggers with inlays in dark and light gold showing scenes from life, such as lion hunts.



Photograph by Braun

The huge "Cyclopean" wall protecting the Acropolis at Mycenae, with the famous Lion Gate, 14th century B.C. Within are located the shaft graves and the sumptuous palace of the king. Here, according to legend, ruled Agamemnon, leader of the Greeks before Troy



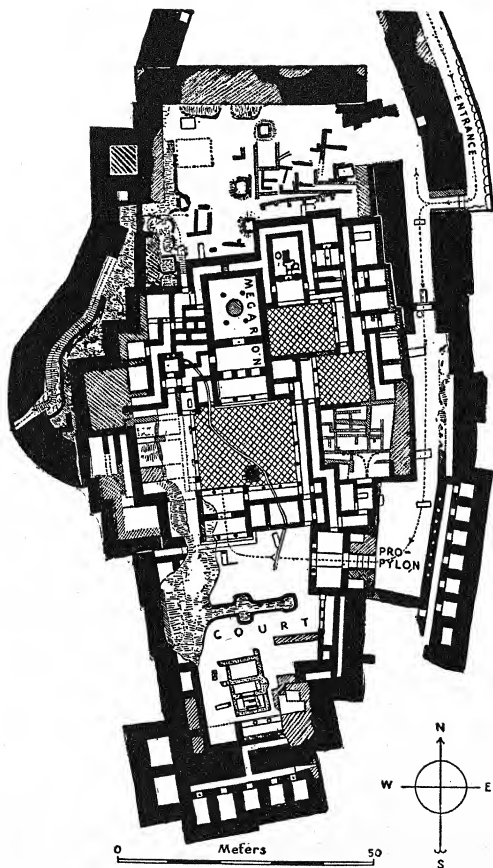
Bronze daggers or swords—the wooden handles were riveted on and are now missing—inlaid in dark and light gold. Late Helladic, from the shaft graves of Mycenae. In the National Museum, Athens

TOMBS. As already intimated, however, the greatest architectural wonders from the days of Mycenae's glory are the circular or tholos tombs, which are sometimes popularly called beehive tombs. The most magnificent of these, with many decades of development behind it, is the so-called Treasury of Atreus. It is approached by a passage, or *dromos*, cut into the side of the hill and approximately 115 feet long by 20 feet wide. The *dromos* is lined by well-cut conglomerate blocks set in regular courses (ashlar construction), and at the end is the impressive doorway, eighteen feet high and capped by two lintel blocks, the inner of which weighs more than 100 tons. Green breccia columns stood on either side of the doorway, and above the lintels the empty space, known as the relieving triangle, was originally filled by red porphyry slabs carved with spirals. Within the doorway is the awe-inspiring circular chamber, 50 feet in diameter and crowned by a dome of about the same height, which strangely resembles a beehive in appearance. Each course of the chamber projects slightly beyond the course immediately below, until finally the whole is arched over (the so-called corbel arch). Off this chamber is a small room, probably for the burials.

The nine tholos tombs at Mycenae have long since been robbed, but a similar tomb at Vaphio, near Sparta, has yielded beautiful gold cups, with embossed scenes showing the capture and taming of wild bulls. At Dendra near Midea, in the Argolid, the Swedish excavators found a tomb containing, among other things, an exquisite gold cup with octopuses in relief, a gold-lined silver cup with bulls in relief, another gold-lined silver cup decorated with bulls' heads inlaid in gold and niello, together with rings, swords, spear-heads, knives, gems, and beads. Apparently people felt that the dead needed in the next world equipment reminiscent of that which they had enjoyed during life. About these great circular tombs, which reflected the nomadic hut of long ago, sacrifices in honor of the dead chieftains were performed, and gradually this worship spread downward socially, until finally hero worship developed and ordinary men were offered hopes of divine immortality.

HOUSES. Just as ordinary folk had graves that were simpler than those of kings and nobles, so too their houses were far less elaborate. The typical house, or *megaron*, was deep and narrow, with a flat roof and a porch in front; the main room was directly to the rear and had columns down its axis to hold up the ceiling. Here was the hearth, around which the family held its gatherings, and farther back was a small room, used for sleeping.

TIRYNS. The *megaron*, however, was incorporated into the mainland palaces, the best example of which can today be seen at Mycenae's dependency in the Argive plain, Tiryns. The whole hill was protected by an immense wall, in places 57 feet thick, formed of huge roughly hewn blocks, with small stones in the interstices (so-called Cyclopean construction).



PLAN OF THE PALACE AT TIRYNS

The art, which adorned these palaces, loved epic scenes, such as boar hunts and battles, but, though it was essentially Cretan in style, Mycenaean technique and spirit were inferior. Art had now become an industry and played its own role in bringing prosperity and something of a common culture to the Aegean basin. Comparative peace, it is clear, reigned in at least the first centuries of Mycenaean Greece. People cultivated their fields and traveled by land and sea, but by the end of the thirteenth century the need for land and the pressure of restless northern tribes caused many of the princes to undertake an expedition, concerning which one of the greatest poems has been written.

4. THE TROJAN WAR

Troy, the scene of the famous War, was not so much a city as a citadel or royal stronghold which, because of its location near the Hellespont, was able to take toll of traffic crossing between Europe and Asia and between the Aegean and Black Seas. This advantage, together with its proximity to silver mines, led Troy to engage in a lively trade in metals, which eventually extended far into central Europe and thence to Scandinavia, carrying with it Mycenaean artistic motives. In certain ways—such as in the practice of cremation, which was characteristic of the Sixth City—Troy stood somewhat apart from the Aegean culture.

Today Troy is marked by a mound, known as Hissarlik, where in the last century Schliemann, a merchant prince of Germany who later became the father of archaeology, discovered nine successive cities. With his typical enthusiasm Schliemann called the Second City and its vast hoard of gold and silver pins, earrings, vases, and weapons the Homeric Troy. After this conjecture had been proved wrong, it was long thought that the important Sixth City was the city of the Trojan War, until Blegen and his University of Cincinnati excavations showed that an earthquake had destroyed the place about 1300 B.C. Troy VIIa, as it is known, was immediately constructed of the material of the previous city, and this is certainly the city of the famous war, for early in the twelfth century it was gutted by fire. Thus the archaeological evidence corresponds remarkably well with the legendary date of the fall, 1184 B.C.

It was against this "city," then, that the princes of the mainland, under the leadership of Agamemnon, the son of Atreus and lord of Mycenae, combined. Although deep motives, such as the need of land for further settlement, were doubtless at work, it may very well be that some event, such as the rape of Helen, no less than the desire for loot, set off the war. Finally, so we are told, the expedition sailed from Aulis in Boeotia and for ten long years the Achaeans, to use Homer's term, fought before the walls of Troy. The tenth year saw the quarreling of Agamemnon with Achilles, the greatest of his chieftains, but it saw also the death of the Trojan prince, Hector, and the capture of Priam's

city through the ruse of the wooden horse. It was only after many wanderings that some of the surviving heroes, notably the wily Odysseus, succeeded in returning home.

The Trojan War was symptomatic of the general disturbances of the day, but the decline of the civilization of the Aegean Age was due as much to internal stagnation and loss of creative power. The growth of luxury and militarism and bureaucracy finally robbed the people of their interest in life. The shifts of population at this time, known as the Dorian Invasion, were, however, the final cause of the end of the Aegean Age and the subsequent crystallizing of the future political and racial map of historical Greece.

VIII

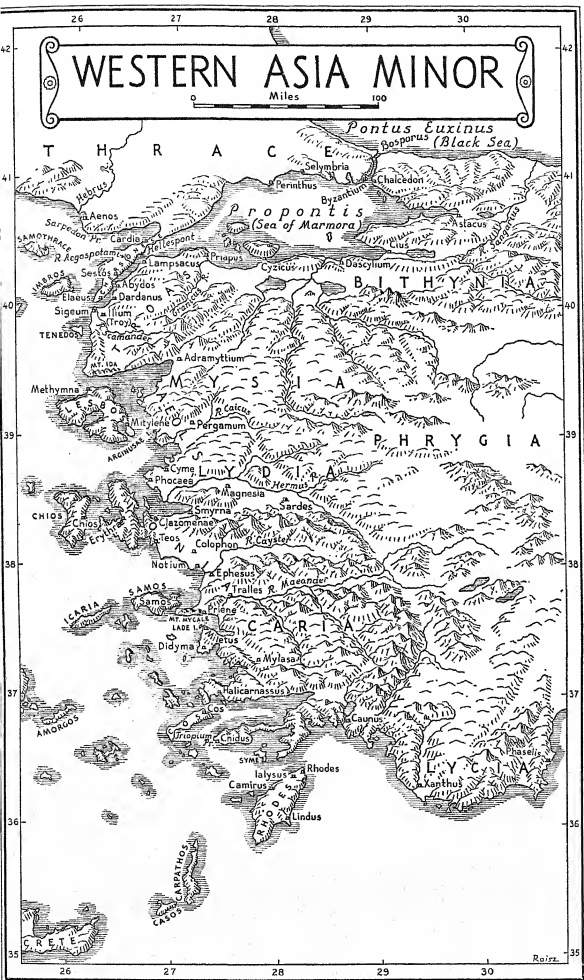
THE GREEK MIDDLE AGE AND RENAISSANCE

1. THE DORIAN INVASION

THE GREEK MIGRATIONS. Ever since 2000 B.C. Greeks had been entering the Balkan peninsula from the north. By 1200 B.C. natural overcrowding reached the point where many Greeks of Thessaly and Boeotia, the Aeolians, moved eastward across the Aegean Sea and colonized the large islands of Lesbos and Chios and the adjoining Asiatic mainland, which became known as Aeolis. Similarly from central Greece, especially from Attica and Euboea, there was a movement of other Greeks—Ionians, as they are called—to the Cyclades islands and the rich central littoral of Asia Minor, to be known to history as Ionia.

The Aeolian and Ionian Migrations were, strictly, movements extending over a long period of time, whereas the Dorian Invasion was abrupt and violent. This was an incursion of Greeks, who spoke a common dialect, from the northwest, somewhat later than the legendary date of 1104 B.C. Though Attica remained untouched, some of the newcomers settled in Thessaly and Boeotia. The majority passed into the Peloponnesus and overwhelmed the entire country, with the exception of the interior highlands of Arcadia whose people managed to maintain their original language and racial character. Just as Aeolians and Ionians had spread from the Greek mainland across the Aegean to those parts of the Asia Minor coast roughly opposite their starting point, so Dorian emigrants from the Peloponnesus crossed to Melos, Thera, and Crete and eventually to Rhodes and the southwestern coast of Asia Minor.

THE NEW ERA. The Dorians and Ionians occupied the area once most thoroughly permeated with Minoan-Mycenaean culture and were its principal heirs. In material civilization, religion, government, and social structure these two great branches of the Greek people were essentially alike. Their later differences, which so mark the historical period, must be explained in the light of developments immediately following the Dorian Invasion, particularly the growth of industry, commerce, and intellectual life among the Ionians. The Dorian Invasion was no catastrophe or cataclysm, but nevertheless the simultaneous arrival of so many northerners and the attendant breaking up of the



Mycenaean federation and the destruction of the great sites set the stage for a new and simpler day. This is often referred to as the Greek Middle Age, since it bears close analogies to the later European Middle Ages, in that both periods were characterized, not only by invasions of less civilized peoples, but also by a decline and an incipient recovery of culture.

THE STATE. The strong tribal organization of the Dorians and the superiority of their iron weapons made conquest relatively easy. Though the closing of the lines of communication fostered local variations, life slowly became settled and order prevailed. Small and rudely fortified cities were built. In a palace of simple Mycenaean form lived the king, who boasted descent from a god and the ability to win divine favor. Thus arose the king's priestly character; the need of protecting the state from domestic foes gave him judicial power, as the duty of warding off foreign enemies made him a general. The state was a crude, undeveloped institution, and in point of fact the king, whose power was limited in practice by the Council of Elders and the popular Assembly, was little better than a noble.

The economy of this period was preëminently agricultural; industry, as we understand it, was practically nonexistent, and communication with the outside world was largely in the hands of Phoenician sailors. The great fifth-century historian, Thucydides, was not far wrong when he remarked that during this time the Greeks had no mercantile traffic and mixed little with one another without fear, either on land or sea, and that each man tilled his land only enough to procure a livelihood from it, having no surplus wealth.

RELIGION. The religious beliefs of the Greeks also had the humblest origin, but from fetish worship and the fear of the unseen they were able to evolve the Immortals of Olympus, a religion which in fact represented a blending of Indo-European and Minoan beliefs. Certain cult places of the Aegean Age continued in use, such as Delphi, Delos, and Eleusis, and the Minoan house goddess became Athena. In general, however, the changed situation of the country altered the prehistoric religion, favored the rapid spread of hero worship and produced the pantheon of Olympus.

The gods of the Greeks had human form and differed from men only in their superior stature, strength, and physical perfection, in the character of their food and drink (ambrosia and nectar), in their dwelling place and life of ease, and in their immortality. They lived together as a family on the summit of snowy Olympus, under the presidency of Zeus, father of gods and men, and there they sat in council on the destinies of human kind. Their society was a reflection from that of earth, yet freer from moral restraint, and in their capricious dealings with men they helped those whom they loved and brought misfortune upon the objects of their hate. They were so close to men that no priestly caste was needed, but each individual prayed directly to them.

The ceremonies in honor of the gods were performed on sacred land, but eventually small temples were built for them. These were placed under the care of a priest who was no better than his fellows.

2. HOMER

THE HOMERIC PROBLEM. Much of our information about early Greece comes from Homer, whose date, home, and very existence have long been debated. It seems likely that he lived about 800 B.C. Since the dialect of his poems is mainly Ionic, with an admixture of Aeolic, it is tempting to guess that he lived either on that part of the coast of Asia Minor where Aeolis and Ionia come together, such as Smyrna, or on a nearby island, such as Chios. But in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries of our era there commenced a controversy, associated with the names of d'Aubignac and Wolf, which has led some students to deny Homer's existence altogether and to insist that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are a patchwork, put together possibly at the time of their official admission to the great Panathenaic festival at Athens in the sixth century. The ultimate verdict, however, will probably be that the two poems, substantially in their present form, were composed by one poet, Homer, about 800 B.C. This is not to say that Homer actually wrote the poems down, for they were meant to be recited, not to be read.¹

TRAVELING BARDS. Long before Homer's day, long before the Trojan War indeed, rhapsodies had traveled from town to town, praising in short epics in hexameter the deeds of the local prince. Many of these sagas were brought to Asia Minor by the colonizing Greeks. There thus developed mythological cycles of heroic legend which had originated during Mycenaean times and dealt with cities such as Mycenae, Argos, Troy, Athens, and Thebes. We may say with some confidence that well before 1400 B.C. a continuous tradition in epic poetry had grown up. This was passed on from generation to generation, the individual (and to us unknown) poets adding to the material and discarding other portions, until finally most of the themes, except those dealing with Troy and Thebes, were pushed into the background.

HOMER. At last there appeared a great poet, Homer, who infused new life and vigor into epic poetry and liberated his native literature from a tradition which had lost its vitality with the passing of the world that had created it. Throughout his poems Homer has tried to picture a bygone epoch, but actually what we have is a mingling of the traditional and the ideal with contemporary facts. His poems are lofty in tone and genial in expression and are the only great poems known to us which are not primitive and yet owe nothing to any comparable achievement in the past.

¹ The Greek alphabet itself was adapted from the Phoenician. By the seventh century writing was fairly common in Greece; probably it had been used by the initiated for a long time (see the chart, p. 88).

THE ILIAD AND ODYSSEY. The *Iliad* was constructed before the *Odyssey* and, although it deals with only a few weeks in the tenth year of the Trojan War, we are made to feel the whole background and environment. The poet sings of the tragedy of a city and of a man, of how Achilles' temper led him to moral degradation and disaster. The wrath of Achilles is the central theme of the *Iliad* and holds the poem together, lending it its most dramatic developments. The poet occasionally gives his hearers an indication of what is to come, but in order that the end may not be reached too quickly the gods are used to delay the action. The deeds of other heroes, of Patroclus and Hector, are also sung, but Achilles, who symbolizes the destiny of man, is the real hero. The *Odyssey*, on the other hand, is an epic romance and blends in one artistic whole a number of folklore motives and deep-sea tales. The goal, though not the end of the poem, is to reunite Odysseus with his wife Penelope, who has faithfully waited for him on the island of Ithaca during his absence at Troy and his subsequent wanderings.

ART. It is remarkable that, at the outset of its history and amid the simplest surroundings, Greece was able to produce one of the greatest poets that has ever lived, and yet it must not be imagined that the period which Homer illumines was otherwise wholly dark culturally. The remaining evidence consists chiefly of pottery, and concerning its artistic merits opinions vary, as is bound to be the case with anything that is purely subjective. Some students consider the pottery primitive and crude, while others, with a surer eye and understanding, see in it a beautifully simple style, a little naïve perhaps, but charming and complete in itself. The style, which to a large degree is northern in origin, is geometric and employs angular patterns, zigzags, rows of dots, swastikas, triangles, crosses, and maeanders, set in horizontal bands, row over row. Scenes from everyday life, such as battles and funerals, are placed in the main zone, and the figures of men and animals are stylized silhouettes. Some new shapes are introduced; the profile is sharpened and the neck lengthened, due, as the composition itself, to a tectonic principle which seems to have been innate in the people themselves. This can be seen in the splendidly manufactured amphoras from the Dipylon quarter of Athens (p. 139).

THE GREEK PEOPLE. The other material remains of the period—small bronzes and ivories and slight architectural ruins—are not of great significance. Indeed, the Greek Middle Age, an interesting and complete though simple chapter in man's existence, is chiefly important as being the prelude to historic Greece. During this period, moreover, the fusion of population elements (see the note on p. 121) ensued, an amalgamation that by 900 B.C. produced the Hellenes. Though there was no clear-cut type, the skeletal remains recently recovered from the Athenian market place suggest a male stature of about five feet five inches, a stocky European type of body build, and a complex of



Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

Attic sepulchral amphora, from the Dipylon quarter of Athens, 8th century B.C. Games are being celebrated in honor of the dead. The charming, though simple, geometric style dominated vase painting during the centuries of rural isolation following the Dorian Invasion. In the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

posture traits that appears to be an adaptation to the steep and rocky paths of Greece. The most striking feature of the face was an excessive breadth at the angles emphasizing the squareness of jaw which still marks Greeks. It has been pointed out that the process of biological blending, rather than the dominance by any single racial type, which precedes the classical culture climax, shows that genetic mixture is one of the real and probably indispensable little factors which help to produce a great people and which underlie the whole history of civilization.

3. THE CITY-STATE

From the close of the Greek Middle Age (ca. 750 B.C.) Hellenism—Greek civilization—developed with remarkable rapidity and produced results that no other Indo-European people, or any Oriental, can claim. This extraordinary achievement was due primarily to the city-state (*polis*), an institution whose character inevitably combined good and bad features. The constitutions of the city-states varied, being in each case determined by special factors, for they did not function *in vacuo*; but we may make the generalization that the city-state, ideally, was small and independent in all its affairs, even though this was not everywhere attained by the fifth century.

URBAN LIFE. Probably it was the example of urban life in the Aegean Age, no less than the feeling of kinship which the new settlers, who were grouped in clans, felt for one another, that first led the Greeks of the Middle Age to occupy the old sites or new ones nearby. The low fortified hilltop, or *asylum*, to which the common people of the surrounding villages might flee with their flocks and belongings in time of danger, eventually became a convenient spot for sacrifices to the gods and the exchange of goods, and it was only natural that the king and his retainers should live within it. There was thus created a settlement which actually had a political center, but at the very outset we can see both its virtue and failing. Group life was intimate and intense and capable of boundless versatility, but on the other hand it was also the exclusive possession of the man born to it, who was bound to his family and fellows by blood and worship. The inhabitants, that is to say, not only considered themselves descended from a common ancestor, but each citizen was also a member of a brotherhood, originally an association of kinsmen who stood side by side on the field of battle. Several of these brotherhoods formed a tribe. The inability of the Greek to envisage a broader citizenship than one based on birth and religion, perhaps his greatest fault, sprang from these narrow beginnings.

ARISTOCRACY. During the Middle Age there had been steady pressure against the kings, and by the eighth century the nobles had everywhere succeeded in superseding the monarchy, either through outright usurpation or by reducing it to an elective office, with functions exclusively priestly or judicial.

At the same time other offices were created, until at last the city became a complicated organism. Although the Assembly of citizens, during this process, lost what significance it had once enjoyed, curiously enough the people were able to force their aristocratic governments to codify and write down the laws. The general aim, arising from enlightened individualism, was to regulate the whole public and private life, to abolish the theory that might makes right and that penalties are to be set by noble judges, close to the gods, and to establish the idea that law should be supreme over men. The body of civil law remained, even when the constitution, which was unwritten, changed overnight with a change of party. The Greek, however, never lost his fear of revolution, just as the only persistent issue in his political life was the struggle of the Few against the Many.

LEAGUES. The motive which first led groups of neighboring states to combine in a league, as not infrequently happened, lies far anterior to recorded history and might have been the existence of a border market, the need of allies, the desire for frontier security, or a consciousness of kindred blood. In any case, they chose a sanctuary of a god, conveniently situated, in which to worship or to hold a fair for the interchange of goods. Such a union was termed an amphictyony; that of Delos, centering in the shrine of Apollo and celebrated in the Homeric *Hymn to the Delian Apollo*, was originally a union of insular neighbors, but came to include all the Ionians. Another amphictyony comprised twelve states in the neighborhood of Thermopylae, with its earliest seat of worship at the shrine of Demeter at Anthela. In time it acquired a second and more important center in the temple of Apollo at Delphi and hence came to be known as the Delphic Amphictyony. The object of the League was the protection of shrines, especially the temple and oracle of Apollo, but one of its earliest resolutions attempted to lessen the primitive rigors of war by imposing an oath upon the members not to destroy an amphictyonic city or cut it off from running water in war or peace.

A religious union tended to become political when it contained a state of superior power and secular ambition, as in the case of Thebes in Boeotia, but, on the whole, federation was a mark of political and intellectual backwardness and was popular with people such as the Aetolians and Acarnanians. The amphictyony, nevertheless, mitigated in part the intense particularism of the city-state, while other factors, such as a common language, art, and literature, and general meeting places such as Olympia and Delphi, tended further to remind the Greeks that they were one people. The city-state, which the Greek continued to look upon as normal, was the driving force in the development of Greece. Not least among its achievements was the period of colonization it inaugurated shortly after 750 B.C.

4. COLONIZATION

The two centuries after 750 B.C. are among the most interesting in history. With reasonably adequate information at hand Greece takes on for the first time real flesh and blood. The Greek world, it will be recalled, was now governed by aristocracies. Permanency was in the air, and yet in another century the aristocrats have been succeeded by tyrants, who in turn eventually yield to popular rule. Meanwhile the Greek people have embarked on a second phase of colonial expansion and dot the Mediterranean and Black Seas with their new settlements. The invention of coinage, the rise of industry, and stimulating ideas from the East further alter the scene, a veritable Renaissance in literature and art occurs, but violence, class hatred, and poverty remain.

The fascination of a rapidly changing era is further enhanced by the number of problems. Did industry and trade cause colonization, or was it simply the need for more land that sent Greeks across the seas? Was tyranny due to the development of industry, or is it just a coincidence that tyranny flourished along the trade routes from Asia Minor to the West? It will not be easy to separate cause and effect, and probably different forces, including the power of example, were always present.

We may start with the proposition that as a rule men do not willingly leave home, and if the land for which they are headed is unknown, perhaps a wilderness or inhabited by unfriendly natives, then it becomes clear that the motivating force—discontent of some sort, probably—must be especially strong. Hesiod of Ascra, the influential Boeotian poet who lived before 750 B.C., complains bitterly in his *Works and Days* against the greedy nobles who have seized the best land, while the poor farmers must be content with a stony and barren soil. By 750 B.C. the condition in certain areas was worse; some farms were heavily mortgaged, and many farmers had lost their freedom.

GROWTH OF INDUSTRY. As the nobles accumulated wealth, there arose a demand for better wares than could be supplied by unskilled hands. To meet this need some of the poor, who felt cramped on their little farms or had been made homeless by economic oppression, began manufacturing on a small scale. Perhaps they bought a slave or two and eventually, as business grew, they rivaled the nobles in wealth and could contend with them for political supremacy. The growth of industry was accordingly interwoven with the political and constitutional development of Greece.

The industries of the new age had their principal origin in Ionia and her neighbor, Lydia. The great plateau of Asia Minor was especially adapted to sheep raising, which enabled the textile industry to develop quickly in the cities of the coast. Here Miletus won fame for her finely woven woolens of rich violet, saffron, purple, and scarlet colors, and her rare embroideries for

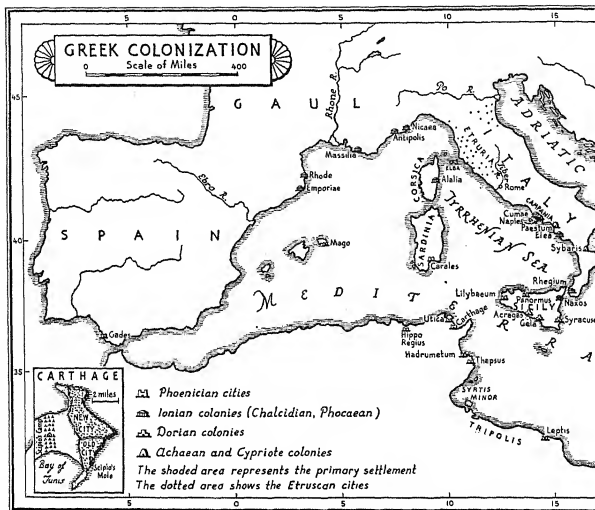
the decoration of hats and robes. As skilled industry expanded, Aegina, together with Chalcis on the island of Euboea, became noted for her fine bronze work. Corinth, under the leadership of the Bacchiadae, the ruling aristocracy, took advantage of her two harbors, on the Saronic and Corinthian Gulfs, to become a thriving mart and center of industry. Immediately to the north of Corinth was Megara, a little city-state whose stony soil forced the people to manufacture, with their scant means, coarse woolens and heavy potteries. Attica was still essentially agricultural, though she exported oil and wine in beautifully decorated vases.

DISCONTENT. By the middle of the eighth century, then, the Aegean world presented a complex and contradictory picture of wealth and poverty existing side by side, of rich nobles, slaves, a laboring class and a new middle class of merchants. Thriving, growing cities demanded not only an increased food supply but also raw materials from distant countries and markets for manufactured products. The nobles, moreover, made matters worse by denying political rights to the masses, so that class consciousness and class hatred developed. In some places, especially around the Corinthian Isthmus, there was bitter racial feeling between Dorian lords and non-Dorian serfs; the pages of the poet Theognis show how bitter a noble could be, when the tables were turned. The one thing uniform to the Aegean world was discontent, which varied in its cause from district to district, but it was clear that revolution might be forestalled, if ambitious nobles and troublesome poor could be persuaded to satisfy their yearnings in a new country. Being an adventurous people, many Greeks decided on emigration as the best solution of their difficulties.

COLONIZATION (750–550 B.C.). The two centuries from 750 to 550 B.C. are the period of colonial expansion. Generally speaking, the founding city, after obtaining the sanction of the Delphic Apollo and perhaps inviting friendly neighbors to take part, appointed a noble as founder to conduct the colonists to their new home, establish the government, and after death receive worship as a hero. A charter of incorporation was drawn up which constituted the proposed settlement as a community, named the founder, provided for the assignment of lands and for other necessary matters, and regulated the relations between the mother and daughter cities. Decentralizing tendencies were so powerful that distant colonies became sovereign states; a strong bond of filial sentiment remained and showed itself in the general continuity of the religious, social, and political usages and institutions of the old city in the new.

WESTWARD EXPANSION. The general direction taken by these new colonies was to the north Aegean, the Black Sea and its approaches, North Africa,² Sicily, Italy, southern France, and Spain. Colonists from Chalcis were the

² Cyrene was the only important Greek colony here, due to Phoenician opposition.



first to go to Italy, and about 750 B.C. they planted a colony on an island of the Bay of Naples (inset, p. 145) and then on the mainland at Cumae and nearby Neapolis (Naples). The Cumaeans had rich fields and manufactured vases and metal wares for trade with the native Ausonians and the Latins farther north. Their city was the first Greek center of culture with which the Romans came into touch. It was from the Graii, who had gone out with the Chalcidians as colonists, that the Romans derived the word by which to designate the whole Greek race, though the Greeks, whenever they thought of themselves as one people, called themselves Hellenes.

Among the other Chalcidian colonies were Himera, on the north coast of Sicily, and Zancle, which in later years, when refugees fleeing before the Spartan conquest of Messenia settled there, came to be called Messene (Messana). The acquisition of Messenia so satisfied Sparta's need for land that she founded only one colony, Tarentum in the instep of Italy, which developed a great export industry in weaving and dyeing fine woollens and in vase making. Meanwhile Achaeans from the northern Peloponnesus founded Sybaris in the instep of the Italian peninsula and Posidonia (Paestum) on the west coast, below Cumae, which is famous for the lovely majesty of its temple to Poseidon. In all, so many Greeks settled in southern Italy that it was called Magna Graecia (see map, p. 255).

One of the greatest colonizing states was Dorian Corinth, and among her foundations perhaps the greatest was Syracuse. After seizing the island of Corcyra, which was a convenient halting place for boats traveling to the West, the colonists proceeded to Sicily, and in 734 B.C. founded Syracuse on the island of Ortygia. Soon the city expanded to the mainland, where the surrounding country was worked by the native Sicels. Through other colonies the Greeks nearly encircled Sicily, a process which ultimately brought them into conflict, in the west, with colonies of Carthage, itself the most famous of all Phoenician foundations.

As the ships of the Greeks developed from small round-bottomed boats to a somewhat longer type, with flatter bottoms, furnished with fifty oars and armed with a bronze beak for attack, navigation even further west became easy. The Samians, and more especially the Phocaeans, voyaged from Asia Minor to Spain for gold, silver, and copper, and beyond the Pillars of Heracles to distant Britain for tin. Since, however, the Phoenicians stoutly resisted Greek penetration beyond Gibraltar, the Phocaeans confined themselves to Spain and southern Gaul, where one of their colonies, Massilia (Marseilles), became the chief center of Greek culture in the western Mediterranean. Ionian laws and the cult of Ephesian Artemis became common, and we must accordingly regard the Phocaeans as the forerunners of Rome in the work of civilizing southwestern Europe.

THE CHALCIDICE AND BLACK SEA. A somewhat different interest attaches to colonial movements in other directions, for the founding of settlements along the northern Aegean, the Hellespont, and Propontis served merely to expand Aegean Greece to its natural limits. In the occupation of the Chalcidic peninsula³ the name itself suggests that Chalcis took the lead, though Eretria and Corinth also participated. It was from these colonies that the Macedonians of the interior, a backward Greek people, slowly acquired the civilization of their progressive southern kinsmen. Meanwhile the Ionians, and particularly the citizens of Miletus which is said to have founded eighty colonies, were sailing through the Hellespont and the Propontis and along the coasts of the Black Sea to catch the tunny fish, to trade with the natives, and to plant settlements on all the shores. Although Greek colonies surrounded the Black Sea in a nearly unbroken chain and sent back to Greece many useful products, such as fish, timber, dyes, wheat, metals, cattle, and slaves, the settlers were far too few to affect materially the civilization of the natives. On the strategic Bosphorus, however, rose a great colony of Dorian Megara, Byzantium, which a thousand years after its founding became, under the name of Constantinople, the capital of the Roman Empire.

EGYPT. In another direction Greek enterprise was to bear rich intellectual fruit. About the middle of the seventh century Psammetichus, with Ionian and Carian aid, made himself master of Egypt. Being friendly to the Greeks, he permitted a settlement of Ionian traders, at Naucratis on the Canobic channel of the Nile, to grow into a great trading post. As a result papyrus, the best writing material of the day, was imported into Greece, while the elementary facts of geometry and astronomy were brought home by inquisitive tourists and stimulated the birth of Greek science and philosophy. To the opening of Egypt, therefore, we may trace in part the intellectual awakening of Greece.

RESULTS OF COLONIZATION. Colonization meant that the surplus population of a virile race found an outlet, that the needy gained land, that trade increased. It meant, too, a broadening of the Greek horizon and the steady penetration into Greece of new ideas from other countries. Inevitably Hellenism, Greek culture, was bestowed in a varying degree upon the peoples of the Mediterranean basin; in the West, for example, the Sicilian and Italian Greeks were a mighty factor in the civilization of Italy, and through Italy of central and western Europe.

5. TYRANNY

The nobles had encouraged colonization, in part at least, as a safety valve. In spite of the many benefits, dissatisfaction remained and had been further

³ The most important colonies here of Chalcis were Olynthus and Torone; of Eretria, Mende, Methone, and Scione; of Corinth, Potidaea; see map, p. 147.

increased, during the seventh century, by two additional factors. In the first place, the old aristocratic cavalry had been outmoded by the growth of the hoplite force, those heavy-armed foot soldiers of the middle class, who now demanded a voice in the government. And, secondly, the Lydian invention of a metallic coinage, consisting at first of striated pieces of electrum, a natural amalgam of gold and silver, passed quickly to Ionia and the West and created a new form of wealth, independent of land. People of humble origin might now become rich merchants or manufacturers and challenge the political exclusiveness of the noble landed proprietors.

REVOLUTION. The enslaved farmer, the landless factory worker, the new hoplite class, the budding merchant, the racial hatred between Dorian and non-Dorian on the Corinthian Isthmus, the knowledge of a larger world, these were the people and the forces that confronted the aristocracies on many fronts in the seventh century before Christ. As a specific crisis arose here and there, such as the growth of powerful Lydia in Asia Minor, and as the nobles often exhibited extraordinary incompetence, the old and hated system of aristocracy fell. The procedure which the people generally followed was to rally round an individual, who was frequently an ambitious noble, for in the days before the democratic process had been worked out, the only apparent solution was to destroy the present government. Later on, as the general level of the masses was raised, it was easy enough to get rid of the new ruler or his successor and to govern in his stead. Accordingly it is proper to look on one-man rule, which characterized Greece in the seventh and sixth centuries, as a necessary, albeit an unconscious, step on the road to democracy.

TYRANNY. A person who thus seized the reins of government illegally was known as a tyrant, in its origin a word imported from Lydia where the example of tyranny had first been set by Gyges. In the beginning the word "tyrant" carried no opprobrium; it was only when the sons and grandsons of the tyrants became corrupted by wealth and power that the word gained its present meaning. The first tyrants, at least, ruled in the interest of the people, the ultimate source of their power. Through the support of public works and the patronage of poets and artists they contributed to cultural progress and introduced a critical age of questioning. Rhapsodists recited the Homeric poems at popular gatherings; at festivals in honor of the new god Dionysus, song and recitation—the germ of the drama—celebrated the sufferings and joys he experienced among mankind. By thus fostering literary interest among the people and by attaching them to newer cults the tyrant at once freed them from the priestly influence of the old nobility and educated them for self-government.

CORINTH. The tyrant par excellence, Thrasybulus of Miletus, is now unfortunately an obscure figure, but since his rise was due to the growth of Lydia, and people were needed at home to combat it, we understand why, under

certain tyrants, there was a lessening of colonization. Among the earliest tyrannies on the Greek mainland was that of Cypselus at Corinth (ca. 655–625 B.C.), the son of a non-Dorian father but related on his mother's side to the Bacchiad nobles. He came to power on the threat of Argos and Megara and the mishandling of Corcyra; under him Corinth became the greatest sea power in Greece. His son, the famous Periander (ca. 625–550 B.C.), was instrumental in founding an important colony in the Chalcidice, Potidaea, and in raising Corinth itself to a level of luxury, power, and brilliance. Three years after his long reign a band of conspirators overthrew the tyranny.

SICYON. Next in brilliance among the early Greek tyrannies was that at Sicyon, founded by the non-Dorian Orthagoras (ca. 656 B.C.). Sicyon lay northwest of Corinth in the narrow but fertile valley of the Asopus and was as famous for its garden and orchard products as for bronze wares and potteries. Of the descendants of Orthagoras it was Cleisthenes (ca. 600–560 B.C.) who made Sicyon one of the most magnificent cities in Greece. In a successful war he freed Sicyon from the political control of Argos and expelled from the city the cult of an Argive hero, Adrastus, an incident that illuminates the importance of hero cults among the early Greeks. Another picture of Cleisthenes, drawn from the historian Herodotus, sheds a pleasant light on the genial elegance of the tyrant, on his wide interstate connections, and on the social relations and intermarriage of the great nobles of Greece. According to the story, the hand of his daughter, Agariste, was sought by many young nobles, and it was only after a year's entertainment and competition that the lucky suitor, Megacles of the illustrious Alcmaeonid family at Athens, was chosen; Cleisthenes, the famous lawgiver, Pericles, and Alcibiades were descendants of this union.

On the whole, tyrannies were short-lived, though in Asia Minor Persia, as she advanced to the seaboard, found tyranny a surer method of controlling the Greeks. The service which the tyrants performed was, however, very great, for despite harsh treatment of the nobles they maintained the civil law as they found it, destroyed aristocracy as a political institution, broadened the base of wealth, and extended an intelligent patronage to the arts. Many states were now ready for democracy, but in the never-ending struggle between the Few and the Many, some states returned to oligarchy, albeit a more liberally constituted oligarchy than the earlier aristocracy. In this absorbing period of colonial expansion, industrial development, and social and political change two states, Sparta and Athens, stand out, and to them we must now turn in order to understand better the meaning of the city-state.

IX

SPARTA AND ATHENS

1. SPARTA

Sparta is pleasantly situated near the center of Laconia, beside the banks of the slowly winding Eurotas, with the sea to the south and, immediately to the west, the majestic range of Taygetus, beyond which lay non-Dorian Messenia. Here came, in the days around 700 B.C., Terpander from Lesbos to play upon his lyre; Thaletas of Gortyn introduced choral song and dance; and here, too, the great Alcman, who perhaps was a Lydian from Sardes, sang verses of peace and pleasure and love, poems that give us a glimpse of a Spartan life of contentment. The British excavations at the Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia, moreover, illustrate the fine taste of the early Spartans, and pottery finds, in general, prove Sparta's commercial relations with the Greeks of Asia.

There was every reason, then, why Sparta should develop as other states, for, in spite of her peculiar structure, each state had its own individuality. And yet, her history shows how a rigorous training can turn a people, no braver than the rest of mankind, into an invincible force and, indeed, how conservatism can stagnate until it becomes a cruel selfishness determined to maintain a system no matter what the cost. The price exacted was high, but Sparta did become the most powerful state in Greece.

HELOTS AND PERIOECI. The invading Dorians, at the outset of the Middle Age, reduced the population of Laconia to a state of serfdom, known as helotry, while those natives who had managed to flee to the mountains were allowed to remain there in a semi-independent condition and became known as perioeci or "dwellers around." Then, about 730 B.C., the Spartans reached across Mt. Taygetus and after a bitter struggle of twenty years conquered Messenia and made helots of its people. This conquest, together with the founding of Tarentum, satisfied Sparta's need of land. As the refinements of life caused the Spartans to lose their warlike character, the Messenians, aided by Argives, Arcadians, and Pisatans, revolted soon after 650 B.C. Led by their martial poet, Tyrtaeus, the Spartans finally put the revolt down.

The Spartans were quick to see the significance of the Messenian Revolt. Could they hope to lead an ordinary life devoted to commerce, agriculture, and the arts, and indefinitely keep in subjection a population ten times their

size, and if not, would it not be better to keep the easy helot system? They decided on the latter course, though, as they realized, this entailed a deliberate reordering of their lives, an abandonment of the pursuit of culture and commerce, and even all currency except iron money.

REGIMENTATION. In order to keep the helots in their place and to make Sparta a powerful military state, the Spartans now constituted themselves a perpetual army and occupied their entire life with training. In other states of Greece, for example, custom gave the father the option of rearing his child or putting it to death immediately after birth, but in Sparta this function was usurped by a board, which might order the exposure of a weak infant on Mt. Taygetus. If the child was allowed to live, he was taken from his mother at the age of seven and placed directly under the control of the state until he was twenty, when he became a citizen liable for military service in the field. Though he could now marry, he did not enjoy a real home, but passed his life in military drill, eating and sleeping in the barracks. Here he joined a mess of fifteen persons known as a *syssition*, each of whose members contributed his monthly share of barley, wine, cheese, figs, and meat. The women, however, enjoyed comparative luxury at home and accumulated so much property, through dowries and inheritances, that in the time of Aristotle they owned nearly two-fifths of the land. But the disparities in wealth made little real difference, for in Sparta all lived alike under a socialistic despotism which sacrificed the individual to the ideal good of the state.

The people for whom all this careful preparation was being made were the helots, the pre-Dorian population that had been reduced to serfdom. Although, strictly speaking, they belonged to the state and not to an individual, they lived with their families in cottages on the lots assigned them and rendered to their masters the amount of produce fixed by law. This requirement was rigidly insisted upon, for a member falling behind in his contribution was suspended from his *syssition*. The helots were liable to military service in time of war and received freedom as a reward for bravery. Nevertheless they were subjected to many indignities and were compelled to wear dogskin caps and mantles of sheepskin, and were spied upon by a secret police force, known as the *crypteia*. The towns of the perioeci, which ringed Laconia, hedged the helots in and served further as a bulwark of the land. These people, a mixture of pre-Dorians and Dorians, were personally free and formed the business community of Laconia and, with the Spartans, constituted the "Lacedaemonians."

GOVERNMENT. Sparta had two kings, drawn from the royal families of the Agiads and Eurypontids, and these, together with twenty-eight elders past the age of sixty, formed the *gerousia* or Council, which had the task of considering measures to be presented to the Assembly of citizens. The *Apella*, as

it was called, simply passed or rejected the proposals brought before it, for it could neither initiate nor debate measures, except the vital ones touching peace and war. It also elected the magistrates, the board of five ephors, who, depending on personalities, could be more powerful than the kings.

The reform which we have just described was attributed in antiquity to Lycurgus, but it seems likely that Lycurgus was a hero to whose protection the reform was entrusted about 600 B.C. In any case, the constitution, so far as it affected the citizens, was essentially democratic, but in view of the great masses whom she ruled Sparta must be considered an oligarchy.

2. THE PELOPONNESIAN LEAGUE

Sparta used her military might during the sixth century, first to humble Tegea in Arcadia, and then to unite all the states of the Peloponnesus, excepting Argolis, her ancient enemy, and some of Achaea, in a federal alliance concerned solely with foreign affairs. The constitution of the Peloponnesian League dates from about 505 B.C., and consisted of a separate treaty between each state and Sparta, in which the members pledged themselves to furnish military forces for the wars waged by the League and to serve under the command of the Lacedaemonian kings. The all-important body, the Assembly, met at either Sparta or Corinth, and though the members were free to manage their own affairs, Sparta, being an oligarchy herself, upheld oligarchy among her allies. The significance of the Peloponnesian League for history, however, is that a well-centralized military force was receiving its finishing touches at the very time when the danger of Persian conquest threatened Greece, though there was another state, Athens, which made an equal contribution to the common cause.

3. ATHENS

Precisely why Athens became a democracy is of course as important a study as the democratic constitution itself, for the road from monarchy to democracy was long and hard, and the first step could not have been taken with any conscious knowledge of the ultimate goal. In a general way, however, we can say that the Athenians were a people with a tolerant habit of thought, a natural quickness and inventiveness of mind, and that they seemed vaguely to know what they wanted. They were able through the centuries finally to embody their desires in a code with the proper machinery for smooth operation. The Athenians, moreover, were Ionian Greeks; they did not inherit from the Migrations the curse of serfdom, with all the hatred and fear which it engendered. In place of the Dorian Invasion Attic tradition points to a steady, even development, a fact that archaeology, and particularly the continuous series of pottery, proves.

ATTICA. Attica, a peninsula of about 1,000 square miles jutting into the Aegean Sea, is cut off from central Greece by Cithaeron, Parnes, and other mountains, which perhaps explains why the various communities were spared the shock of overwhelming invasion at the end of the Aegean Age. Its relative isolation is compensated for by good harbors at Marathon and, nearer Athens, at Phaleron and Piraeus. The marble quarries on Mt. Pentelicus, the silver mines at Laurium, the wonderful clay, and the wheat, olive groves, and vineyards of the plain were among Attica's chief natural assets.

EARLY ATHENS. The outstanding fact in the early history of Attica is the gradual growth, taking perhaps from 1000 to 700 B.C., of a community of interest among the inhabitants, until finally the people transferred their allegiance and their political sovereignty to one city, Athens, and called themselves Athenians, never Atticans. This is the great *synoikismos*, which legend attributed to the hero Theseus, but we do know, in spite of the obscurity of all details in this early period, that it was the last ruling dynasty—that of the Medontidae—which annexed Eleusis and the Thriasian plain.

Like other Greek states, early Athens had a king and an aristocratic Council, with administrative, judicial, and religious functions; this was known as the Areopagus and was a development of the Homeric Council of elders. There was also an ineffective Assembly of the people, who were grouped in their four Ionian tribes (*phylae*). Each tribe was divided into three phratries, originally brotherhoods of fighting comrades but now small administrative units, closely connected with religion. Since membership in a phratry was necessary for citizenship and since this could be won only through birth, trouble was being stored up for the day when primitive isolation should pass. The aristocratic clan (*genos*), whose purpose was to serve the interest of the landed nobility, Eupatrids as they were called, would be a further cause of friction.

ARCHONS. The monarchy at Athens was first weakened by the creation of other offices—the polemarch, or commander in chief, and the *archon eponymos*, who gave his name to the year—with the result that the kingship was left with so little power that it was thrown open to annual election. The *archon basileus*, or king archon, now became the official responsible for religious matters. The archons, then, were the magistrates and were elected by the Council of the Areopagus, and on the expiration of their year of office joined that Council. Business continued to increase at Athens to such an extent that it became necessary to create six *thesmothetae*, who grew from guardians and recorders of public documents and legal decisions into judges, and thus in their turn weakened the Areopagus.

THE ARMY. At the same time a reorganization of the military forces of the state was to bring about a more liberal conception of government, powerful

enough to challenge the aristocracy, since it had a new and broader base, that of wealth rather than birth. When the Dorian phalanx was introduced, it was found that the Eupatrids were too few in number to constitute it, as they once had the cavalry. Accordingly it was necessary to recruit the heavy infantry from the common landowners whose income would enable them to equip themselves with a panoply. To determine those liable for service and their duties, the entire population was divided by a census into three classes based on property.¹

ATTEMPTED TYRANNY. Thus far Athens had been spared the problems of industrialism, for the city was small and unimportant in the Greece of its day. But the plight of the tenant farmers, who had to pay one-sixth of their produce to the great landowners, was sufficiently notorious to embolden an ambitious noble, Cylon by name, to attempt a tyranny, with the aid of his father-in-law, the Megarian tyrant Theagenes. His bid for power failed, but in the course of putting it down the archon, Megacles, was accused of having committed an impious act, and he and his clan, the illustrious Alcmaeonidae, were exiled.

DRACO. The Athenians, however, saw that if another attempt at tyranny was to be forestalled, stability must be brought into their life. Therefore, about 621 B.C., they commissioned Draco to codify the law. Little is known about his reforms, but it is clear that they marked a great advance in the field of homicide. In spite of the fact that the nearest of kin, assisted by the phratry, were still permitted to prosecute, the state now assumed its responsibility for the public welfare by asserting its power over the accused, to punish or acquit.

SOLON. Since Draco's code was harsh and favored the landowners, it could not be expected to settle problems which were primarily economic. In the hope of solving these, the Athenians conquered Salamis, a neighboring island, and Sigeum in the Troad. The capture of Sigeum, it was felt, would protect the grain route from the Black Sea that was so necessary for their growing city. The domestic situation still pressed for solution, however, and in 594 B.C. Solon, a moderately rich noble, a merchant, poet, and sage, was appointed archon with extraordinary powers.

ECONOMIC REFORMS. So closely interwoven is the fabric of a state that Solon had to give his attention to economics, the constitution, and law, in order that he might reconcile conflicting interests and make possible future security and stability. It was not his intention, however, to set up a democracy, for he would not have understood the word. His first act, known as the

¹ The *hippeis*, or knights, who were the wealthiest; the *zeugitae*, the great mass of the people, who made up the phalanx; and the poorest people, called *thetes*. Attica was divided into forty-eight districts, or naucraries, to facilitate the raising of troops and their maintenance by land and sea.

seisachtheia or shaking off of burdens, was to abolish all securities on hand and person, free those who had fallen into slavery, and forbid anyone in the future to offer his body as a security for a loan. To make it easier to pay one's debts, Solon shifted from the Aeginetan standard to the Euboic, which was lighter by a third. At any rate, his revision of the coinage had that result, but his chief purpose, probably, was to facilitate trade with Corinth, Chalcis, Eretria, and their many colonies, who used the Euboic standard. Further to promote trade and in particular to pay for the importation of wheat from the Black Sea, Solon forbade the export of ordinary agricultural products that were needed at home and concentrated upon Attica's fine olive oil; stored in beautiful vases, it might capture a foreign market. He also opened up the silver mines of Laurium, a step that was to prove momentous in Athens' history, for the trade in metals became a main prop in her power and prosperity.

If agrarian Athens were to grow rapidly into an industrial state, it was necessary to attract artisans from other places. This Solon accomplished by promising them citizenship, an action that had enormous implications for the ancient mind and stamps Solon as one of the most liberal statesmen in Greek history. Somehow or other—we lack the details—he convinced the Athenians that people could win citizenship even though they had not been born in Athens, even though they had not undertaken the religious obligations that went with membership in a phratry. He then proceeded to form religious societies for the new citizens—who came from other states and even foreign lands with their wives and children to pursue their jobs—in order that they might join the body politic on much the same terms as others.

REFORM OF THE CONSTITUTION. An amnesty to political exiles, including the Alcmaeonidae, the revision of the calendar and the system of weights and measures, the regulation of wills, a limitation on the amount of land a man might own, a lightening of penalties, these were some of Solon's other moderate reforms which pleased neither the very rich nor the very poor. Throughout it all there was a persistent effort to free the individual from family and religious associations and to attach him more closely to the state. It is true that in his revision of the constitution wealth became the sole qualification for office, but the limits set were relatively low and an expanding economy would allow all but the poorest to qualify for high office. Since wealth was now the qualification for office, Athens had ceased to be an aristocracy and had become a timocracy.

In his new constitution Solon kept the old property classes, except that the richest were put into a special class known as the "500-bushel men" (*pentacosiomedimni*); below them were the knights (*hippeis*), those whose estates produced annually 300 to 500 *medimni* or measures of produce—from

these two classes the various magistrates, including the nine archons, were annually elected. Next came the *zeugitae* with 200–300 measures, who were now eligible for membership in the Council of Four Hundred; and finally the *thetes*, the laborers who produced under 200 measures, and who were admitted to the assembly, though debarred from office. The popular nature of the Assembly was held in check by virtue of the fact that it could discuss only the measures brought before it by the Council. The Council was recruited from the four tribes, one hundred from each. Solon's next step, and it was of the profoundest importance for constitutional development, was to substitute the drachma for the *medimnus*—that is to say, money and not land now became the qualification for the exercise of citizenship. The real foundation of the infant democracy, however, consisted in the creation of the *heliaea*. These were courts to which men over thirty years of age from all four property classes were eligible. Their functions were to receive appeals from the judicial decisions of the archons, thus permitting the people themselves to be the court of last resort, and, if necessary, to try retiring magistrates for misconduct in office.

PEISISTRATUS. The landed nobility, the party of the Plain as it is sometimes called, did not like Solon's reforms. There was a counterpoise, however, in the men of the Coast—the city craftsmen and others. These were the newer citizens who had recently come to Athens and were satisfied with their lot. The decision in factional strife was to lie with the men of the Hills, turbulent shepherds, who had expected land as well as freedom from Solon. The leadership of these malcontents fell in time to Peisistratus, a distant relative of Solon, a man of military reputation, smooth of speech, courteous in bearing, and a master of political trickery. Persuading the Assembly to vote him a personal guard on the ground that his life was in danger, he seized the Acropolis in 560 B.C. and, though he was twice sent into exile, he finally established himself as tyrant with the aid of mercenaries.

THE TYRANT'S POLICY. Peisistratus is an excellent type of the statesman despot. At home he enforced the existing laws and constitution, taking care only that his partisans were elected to the chief offices. Partly to keep the people safely on their farms, he sent judges on circuit about the countryside. A subterranean aqueduct, a network of roads through Attica, the extensive building of temples, the enlargement of religious festivals—such as the City Dionysia, the cradle of Greek drama, and the great Panathenaic festival—the patronage of poets and artists advanced the social happiness, the taste, and intelligence of the citizens, and nurtured much of the wonderful civilization of archaic Greece. These benefits attached the masses to Peisistratus. Many of the nobles liked the social attractions of his court, but those aristocrats who were too independent in spirit were forced into exile. Their estates were

divided among the poor, who also received seed and work animals for stocking their farms, and in this manner the land problem of Attica was solved. At the same time Peisistratus pursued a vigorous foreign policy which greatly aided Athenian industry and commerce; for example, Attic wine and oil were now shipped in lovely vases to Etruria, Egypt, Asia Minor, and the Black Sea. In brief, it is not too much to regard Peisistratus as the creator of Athenian diplomacy and of a place of dignity and influence for his city among the states of Greece.

END OF THE TYRANNY. When Peisistratus died of old age in 527 B.C., his sons Hippias and Hipparchus continued his policy, but in 514 B.C. two nobles, Harmodius and Aristogeiton, acting on personal motives, assassinated Hipparchus. Hippias, growing suspicious and harsh, then became a tyrant in the unfavorable sense of the word. The Alcmaeonidae, once again in exile, were able to join forces with the Spartan king, Cleomenes, and drive Hippias into exile. In this way the tyranny of the Peisistratidae came to an end in 510 B.C.

4. DEMOCRACY

ARISTOCRATIC REACTION AND CLEISTHENES. The downfall of Hippias was a victory for the exiled nobles, who on their return hoped to secure political control and possession of their former estates. Under the leadership of Isagoras they revised the citizen lists and struck off many names of individuals whose ancestors had been enrolled by Solon and Peisistratus. Thereupon the Alcmaeonid Cleisthenes, son of Agariste of Sicyon, rallied the disfranchised masses and forced the aristocratic archon, Isagoras, into exile (508 B.C.).

THE TRIBES. Cleisthenes, the great noble, was to prove himself a greater statesman and democrat. The all-important task of bringing harmony to the state demanded the abolition of the power (though not necessarily the existence) of certain associations, religious and otherwise, such as the phratry and the clan. It was also necessary to reduce the potential threat of the nobles and permit the enrollment of those recently disfranchised as the equals of citizens of pure Athenian descent. Determined to dissociate kinship and religion from citizenship, Cleisthenes abolished the four old Ionian tribes (except for ceremonial purposes) in favor of ten new ones. He then made residence in a deme the basis of membership in a tribe. Henceforth the demes—townships of Attica and sections of Athens itself—and not the naucreries were the units of local self-government. Cleisthenes then constituted the ten new tribes in the following manner. He grouped the demes in "Thirds" (*trittyes*); while the number of demes in a *trittys* varied, three *trittyes* formed a tribe, giving a total of thirty *trittyes*. So far as we can tell, the *trittyes* of a tribe did not come from the same area, but one *trittys*, with its various demes, represented the people of the coast, another the interior, and still another the city.

Since each tribe now contained a good cross section of the population, the effect of Cleisthenes' tribal arrangement with its emphasis on mere residence was to prevent any element, such as the nobles, from gaining control of the government. But the fact that the voting in the Assembly was done by tribes made it possible for the city *trittys* to influence a tribe's vote; this was because the city *trittys* was more closely knit in sentiment than the two other *trittyes*, composed as they were of rich and poor farmers. Whether this was due to accident or design we do not know, but the composition of the Council suggests that Cleisthenes was deliberately favoring the city.

THE COUNCIL AND ASSEMBLY. A new Council of Five Hundred (*boule*), with fifty members chosen annually by lot from each of the ten tribes, was substituted for Solon's Council of Four Hundred. Since a tribe's fifty members were distributed among the demes according to the size of the population, the scheme at once recognized the principle of proportional representation and enabled the deme of a growing city to count for more and more. The Council met in the Council House, or *Bouleuterion*, and, as the deliberative and governing body in the state, was responsible for financial and foreign affairs and the preparation of the business that was to come before the Assembly (*ecclesia*). The Assembly met once every ten days on the Pnyx and passed measures into law. To facilitate its work, the Council was divided into ten committees, each consisting of a tribe's 50 members. Each committee was in charge of affairs for 35 or 36 days; thus a prytany, as a committee was called, came also to be a measure of time. The archons remained the executive officials, but when the army was reorganized in 501 B.C. a board of ten generals, *strategoi*, was formed. During the crisis of the Persian Wars this became the most powerful body at Athens.

OSTRACISM. Having placed the city population in the saddle, as it were, it was clearly the duty of Cleisthenes to ensure that this element, so recently attached to the Peisistratidae, should not support a restoration. He accordingly devised the curious, but effective scheme known as ostracism—so called since the voting was done on ostraka or potsherds (p. 178)—whereby the people came together once a year and, provided there was a quorum of 6,000, voted a man whom they judged dangerous into exile.

Athens was now a democracy. The property qualifications for magistrates probably did not debar large numbers from office, in view of the wider distribution of wealth. Nevertheless there remained real conservative checks, such as the absence of pay for public service which kept the very poor from continuous participation in Assembly and courts. At the same time the energizing of the political and patriotic spirit of the people, in the demes, in the Council of Five Hundred, the Assembly, and the courts, produced prodigious military, artistic, and intellectual activities. To some of these we must now turn.

X

THE CIVILIZATION OF ARCHAIC GREECE

1. RELIGION

To the civilization of archaic Greece—those centuries of exuberant growth from the end of the Middle Age to the conclusion of the Persian Wars (ca. 750–479 B.C.)—the entire Greek world, east and west, contributed. It was due to Homer, more than to anyone else, that Greek religion, into whose making had gone so many diverse elements, became refined and received a definite stamp. Under his inspiration the process was carried on by Ionic poets of the eighth and seventh centuries, who composed various epics known as the Epic Cycle. The gods of long ago had lived on earth with man, but the epic brought them to the sky, to the peaks of Mt. Olympus, that is to say, where they lived under the presidency of Zeus.

THE GODS. There were many gods. Zeus was the least primitive of them all and the most godlike according to our ideas. His wife-sister was Hera. Athena and Artemis were Minoan in origin; Apollo came from Asia, but developed nevertheless into the great symbol of Hellenism, the champion of mankind; Poseidon had been a mighty god of the earth, but under the influence of a seafaring race changed to a lesser god, concerned with the crafts of the sea. Similarly the other gods acquired special functions; for example, Ares was the god of war, Aphrodite the goddess of love, Hermes the messenger of the gods, and so on. Every state had its own special guardian deities, and the Athena or Zeus of a given state was a personal being distinct from every other Athena or Zeus.

FESTIVALS. To promote the happiness of the gods, festivals were regularly held, generally in a small locality or at most in a city-state. For unknown reasons a few of them became Panhellenic, such as those at Delphi, on the Corinthian Isthmus, at Nemea, and at Olympia, in honor of Apollo, Poseidon, Nemean Zeus, and Olympian Zeus respectively. The Greek love of athletics was probably inherited from Minoan days. Eventually the most popular events at the Olympic Games were the foot race, wrestling, and the pentathlon, which comprised running, wrestling, leaping, spear hurling, and discus throwing. In addition to advancing physical excellence and an appreciation of music and

poetry, the national festivals were held under a sacred truce, when states ceased war and merchants gathered to sell their wares, and the assembled representatives of the entire Greek world exchanged ideas. Thus was generated a spirit of racial unity, and the Greeks came to see that they were different from other peoples, whom they called "barbarians."

The most famous of local festivals was the Panathenaea at Athens, which, after the reforms of Peisistratus, was given with special magnificence every fourth year as the Greater Panathenaea. Prisoners were set free, slaves were permitted to feast with their masters, there were races, war dances in armor, athletic competitions, and a grand procession. The procession, which was later commemorated on the frieze of the Parthenon, consisted of all the free population, priests and magistrates, youths and girls. Peisistratus also added to the Panathenaea the recitation of Homer's poems. This immediately bore fruit by introducing epic subjects into the art of painting and by giving an epic content to the infant drama.

ORACLES. Hero worship, which began with the cult of dead chieftains and was extended to ordinary mortals till every association had its real or fictitious ancestor, spread rapidly in post-Homeric Greece. This was due to the fact that, as the gods became universalized, the heroes remained strictly local. The life of the Greeks, obviously, was permeated with religion, and it was only natural that they should seek means of communicating with the gods, either through the flight of birds or the vitals of a sacrificed animal or an oracle. The most venerable oracle was that of Zeus at Dodona. Favoring conditions brought to preëminence the oracle of Apollo at Delphi, where his prophetess, the Pythia, sat on a tripod in the inmost shrine and received her answers from the god. Often unintelligible, her mutterings were interpreted to the inquirer by priests. An occasional function of the oracle was to reveal the future, and such responses were couched in ambiguous terms so as to be surely right. Delphi's great authority really derived from its wise advice on the moral or religious conduct of individuals and states.

2. LITERATURE

Greek culture, however, was always independent of religion and was in fact affected quite as much by politics. To express the complex conditions of Ionia, arising from aristocracies and tyrannies and colonial expansion, the old epic verse of calm stately meter—the dactylic hexameter—proved inadequate. It yielded to new and varied measures, which would better exhibit the play of individual or communal thought and emotion that was characteristic of the new era.

ELEGIAC POETRY. The elegiac pentameter, whose spirit may be either meditative or emotional, was the first variation from the epic verse. Accompanied

by the pipe, it lent itself equally to the expression of political and social thought, erotic themes, religious devotion, and martial fire. The first great master of the elegy was Callinus of Ephesus, who in the middle of the seventh century roused his countrymen to battle with a song reminiscent of the patriotic ideal and martial spirit of Tyrtaeus and Solon. A greater personal intensity distinguishes the poetry of Archilochus, a native of Paros who became a wanderer over sea and land. In addition to composing elegies, he was the first great master of the iambic, a measure adapted to the energetic utterance of the whole range of human passions from love to sarcasm and hate. Perhaps the greatest of the elegists was Mimnermus of Colophon, who loved a flute girl, Nanno by name, and addressed to her many poems on love or past lovers. The music and spirit of Mimnermus had a considerable influence on the elegiac movement of Alexandria and its Roman imitators.

LYRIC POETRY. The true discoverers of individualism and skepticism were the great lyric poets of Aeolis in the sixth century. Children of their age, and reflecting the general feeling about the gods and man's dependence on them, they give us an invaluable insight into the life and character of their times. One of these writers of personal lyrics was Alcaeus. Another was a distinguished woman, Sappho by name; this was the most brilliant period, at least till recently, in the intellectual history of women. Sappho became the head of a school of beautiful, brilliant girls at Mytilene on the island of Lesbos, a literary circle, or guild, sacred to Aphrodite. The school represented an effort to rise above the humdrum existence of drudgery and fashion to the nobler life of the mind and heart. Music, dancing, and the technique of poetry were studied. Between Sappho and her pupils there was the warmest attachment, which posterity has not always understood. The chief interest of Sappho, which was expressed with intense feeling in melodious verse, was in human beings, their sorrows, joys, loves, and marriages. There is at the same time a delicate appreciation of natural beauty in the night, the sea, flowery fields, cool streams and singing birds.

DRAMA. In Greece there was no sharp distinction, such as now exists, between society and state. The citizens were mostly known to one another, and the reunions of kinsmen, neighbors, phratries, and of the entire community in festivals were not only social but also religious and civic functions. These circumstances explain the existence of a form of poetry—choral lyrics or odes, with song and dance—which was at one and the same time religious, social, and civic. This kind of poetry was expected to express, not the feelings of the writer alone, but of the whole community. One form of ode contained the germ of the drama.

The origin of the drama is obscure, but it may have developed from a ritual about the grave, when people celebrated the birth, marriage, death, and rebirth

of the year-god, the Thracian Dionysus. He was a late comer to Greece, a great vegetation spirit and the happy god of wine. Hence, as the wild strain sung to Dionysus was transformed by poetic art into a choral ode, there arose comedy which dealt with the marriage ritual, and tragedy which dealt with the death ritual of the god. The singing was interspersed with recitation, which gradually developed into dialogue in the hands of poets, such as Arion, who worked at Corinth in the days of Periander, and Thespis, who graced the court of Peisistratus. The tyrants fostered the growth of the drama, since it was through the encouragement of popular cults, as distinguished from those monopolized by the nobility, that they tried to attach the masses to themselves. Dramatic festivals were held in various parts of Greece; for example, in December the villages of Attica celebrated the Rural Dionysia, in which a chorus of men, in rustic attire, sang in honor of Dionysus an unpolished but joyous song, the dithyramb; in January there was a festival in Athens itself, the Lenaea, and another, the City Dionysia, in March. For a long time the drama continued crude and immature, and even at the close of the archaic period it was essentially a cantata in which the singing was occasionally interrupted by dialogue.

THE ELEUSINIAN MYSTERIES. The Athenians, moreover, did not hesitate to join the worship of Dionysus with that of Demeter and her daughter Persephone. Once a year the devotees of these goddesses, gathering at Athens, moved in procession along the Sacred Way to Eleusis, where, in the Hall of the Mysteries or Telesterion, the initiated performed sacred rites which none dared disclose. The Eleusinian Mysteries seem to have consisted chiefly of a "passion play" representing the sorrows of Demeter, when her daughter was carried off by Hades, and the joy of recovering her. In archaic Greece the ceremony, which once referred to the death of vegetation in winter and its rebirth in spring, came to signify death and the resurrection of the soul to eternal happiness. Thus the joys of Elysium, in Homer's conception available to the favored few, were democratized by the progress of Athens toward popular liberty and equality.

ORPHISM. During the sixth century an effort was made to transform the worship of Dionysus, much of which was orgiastic, into a higher spiritual interpretation or theology. The leaders of the new movement looked back for their master to Orpheus, a legendary Thracian singer and poet, to whose name eventually everything mystical was attached. The essential belief was that the soul is suffering the punishment of sin, committed in a previous existence, and that the body is an enclosure, or prison, in which the soul is incarcerated. By purity of living and the practice of rituals the initiated were able to cleanse themselves from sin and secure eternal happiness and even to redeem the souls of the dead from punishment in Tartarus. In spite of the zealous work

of missionaries, however, no state accepted Orphism as part of the public worship.

HESIOD. The early Greek had believed that the gods were the causes of all things in nature and the arbiters of human destiny. With the dawning consciousness of moral and physical unity and order, the poets devised a system (known as a cosmogony) in which all existing things might have a due part. They explained the multitude of deities, as of men, and even the plurality of all natural objects by the one process of birth. Hesiod, the eighth-century Boeotian poet whose *Works and Days*, as we have seen, bemoaned contemporary economic life, was the earliest exponent of a cosmogony. He assumes the creation, he does not say how, of Chaos, then Earth. From Chaos sprang Erebus and black Night; and from Night in turn sprang bright Ether and Day. Earth gave birth to starry Heaven, and from them was born Cronos of crooked counsels. When Zeus, the son of Cronos, grew to manhood in the rich island of Crete, he conquered the Titans and other monstrous beings, and himself reigned supreme. In this way, the poet thought, came unity, system, and order from chaos.

THE IONIAN SCIENTISTS. The inquiring spirit of the Ionian Greeks could not be satisfied with such reasoning nor even with the quickening influences from the Orient. The organized priesthoods of Egypt and Babylonia had cultivated a study of arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy, and the elements of architecture and civil engineering. Their knowledge consisted of facts ascertained by experience and arbitrarily classified, so that it lacked the elements of reason and demonstration and was far from science in the present sense of the word. The contribution of the Greek mind, brilliantly imaginative and untrammelled by religious or other convention, was to pierce beneath the fact to the underlying cause and thus to create real science. The first step in this process, taken by Thales of Miletus early in the sixth century before Christ, marks him as the founder of the world's science.

THALES. Thales' fame rests, not upon any individual scientific discovery (such as the foretelling of the sun's eclipse on May 28, 585 B.C.), but upon his new conception of cause, which he sought in nature rather than among the gods. Wrong though he was in choosing a material substance, water, as his first principle, yet in displacing the gods by natural causation he took the all-important step from mythology and theology to science and philosophy. This change has proved the most momentous revolution in the intellectual history of mankind.

ANAXIMANDER. Thales' pupil, Anaximander, who is famous as having made the first map of the earth, published a scientific treatise, which is probably the earliest prose work in the Greek language. He chose as his fundamental principle the "unlimited," evidently a boundless reservoir from which all things

come and to which everything returns, a mechanical process for explaining the formation and ultimate destruction of the existing world.

PYTHAGORAS. A new and deeper meaning was given to philosophy by Pythagoras of Samos, who in 522 B.C. migrated to Croton in Italy. Learned in the mathematics of the Ionian school, he sought in numbers the primary cause of all things, whether musical harmonies, stellar movements, the nature of the gods, or even abstract ideas. The exactness he gave to science was marred by his attaching mystical powers to numbers. In fact Pythagoras is distinguished as a mystic and a moral reformer even more than for his contribution to science. His chief aim seems to have been a life of moral purity, to which philosophy, religion, and mystic initiations were merely contributory. His school was a secret association, with adherents in many of the cities of southern Italy, and as these societies took a political turn, an attempt was made to manage affairs according to their ethical standard.

XENOPHANES. A further advance in these general philosophic and ethical directions was made by Xenophanes of Colophon (ca. 572-480 B.C.), who migrated to Elea in Italy, where he founded the so-called Eleatic school. He indignantly assails the Homeric conception of the gods as beings of human form, who lie and steal and commit such other sins as would shame the race of men. Beings of this kind are the creation of human fancy. The real God, Xenophanes maintained, is One, like man neither in form nor thought, but eternal, unchangeable, and spiritual. This seems to have been an enunciation of a pure monotheism. It is clear, too, that Xenophanes' interest centered in moral improvement. It is the duty of sensible men, when they gather at banquets, for example, to pray God to give them power to do justice. His God therefore is a moral force; and Xenophanes was as much theologian and moral reformer as philosopher.

HERACLEITUS. On the other hand, with Heracleitus of Ephesus (ca. 500 B.C.) philosophy began to concern itself with the motion, change, and life of nature. Not Being, he asserted, but Becoming is the fundamental essence of things. Meditation on this subject led him to imagine a world-ruling reason—*logos*—which produces the ever-changing phenomena of the Universe. This controlling principle can be apprehended only by a few sages like himself, who also possess a *logos* similar in kind to that of the Universe, whereas the masses are doomed to eternal ignorance and folly. His teaching gave pronounced encouragement to mysticism.

MORAL PROGRESS. From this intellectual progress arose a better conception of virtue—*arete*—which required not so much physical perfection as moral excellence. This demanded *sophrosyne*, self-restraint, a new word in the Greek vocabulary, yet one involving the most imperative of Hellenic commandments. Moral progress showed itself in a greater humanity, in the development of

law codes, in the improved condition of women, in the treatment of prisoners of war, in the practice of defining interstate relations by treaties, and in the submission of disputes to arbitration.

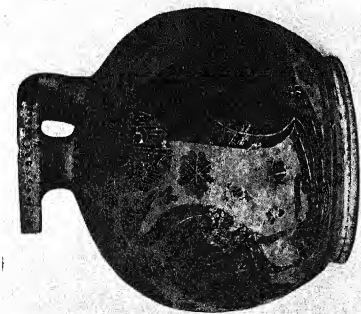
HISTORY. The keen, rational mind of the Greek, which in time produced the scientific point of view toward all things connected with the world and man, led also to the birth of historical thought. This had begun with a pseudo history, which traced Greek descent from Prometheus, the great benefactor of mankind, or dealt with the problem of creation. Other writers—known as logographers—interested themselves in the present and in human affairs. The greatest of them, Hecataeus of Miletus (ca. 500 B.C.), may be regarded as the founder of the science of history. Against pseudo history he applied in his *Genealogies* a free, inquiring mind, unwilling to give any greater weight to Greek tradition, simply because he was a Greek, than to that of another race. An awakening consciousness of the distinction between myth and fact is shown by his own words: "I write what I believe to be true, for the various stories of the Greeks are, in my opinion, ridiculous."

3. ART

VASES. The fact that the entire Greek world, east and west, contributed to the development of archaic Greek civilization becomes even more obvious when we turn from literature to art, and particularly to the pottery, which is found in large quantities at every site and has been studied in detail. The vases reveal the best in archaic art, for the greatest artists had not yet devoted themselves exclusively to the major arts of architecture and sculpture and did not hesitate to decorate objects that were intended for everyday use.

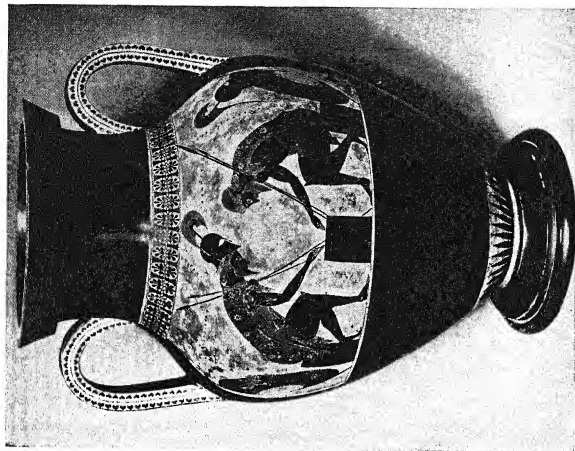
THE ORIENTALIZING STYLE. The wonderful and amazing development of vases from the end of the eighth century proceeded hand in hand with the growth of Greek culture as a whole. Colonization, commerce, and the penetration of new ideas from the East stimulated progress. The old geometric style, with its elaborate surface decoration, now yields to strong oriental influence: lotus flowers, processions of winged lions and other animals, sphinxes, griffins, and contrasting colors. A combination of color and design was achieved in a superb decorative effect that is a sheer delight to the mind and eye. Exuberance is what strikes us, rather than narrative, discipline, or formalism. The vases from Rhodes and Corinth, two important centers of the new ware, show terrifying gorgons, mythological tales, and human figures that move and have volume. (Contrast p. 139.)

THE BLACK-FIGURED STYLE. In the course of the seventh century there arose the practice of painting figures in black, the natural color of the clay forming the background. This is the so-called black-figured style, where the figures of Theseus and the Minotaur are especially popular. The emphasis is now on nar-



During the 7th century B.C. new ideas burst upon the Greek world. Commerce brought lions, rosettes and other Oriental designs which were combined by the Greek artist to produce an exuberant decorative effect. This is a Corinthian aryballos (oil jar) in the Fogg Museum of Art, Cambridge

A black-figured amphora, or water jar, by the Attic master Exekias, 3rd quarter of the 6th century B.C. The Homeric heroes, Achilles and Ajax, are playing a game. An example of superb craftsmanship. In the Vatican Museum, Rome



Photograph by Alinari



Dionysus in a ship. A beautiful black-figure cylix by the Attic master Exekias, 6th century B.C. In the Museum antiker Kleinkunst, Munich

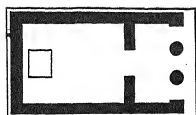


Boy chasing a hare. A charming red-figure cylix, or drinking cup, late 6th century B.C. In the British Museum, London

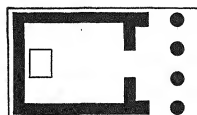
rative, the exuberant is being disciplined by the formal, and a truly national style, which has absorbed the foreign influences, is emerging. Put briefly, the technique of the famous black-figured style was as follows. After the vase had been shaped on the wheel and had been allowed to dry, the surface was polished in preparation for the decoration. The figure was first drawn in black outline and then filled in with a black varnish, thus presenting a black silhouette against the red background, which in reality was merely the natural color of the clay slightly tinted by a transparent wash. Other colors—white, purple, red, brown—might be added to the figure; the inner lines could be marked by incision, and so too could the outlines of figures where they crossed one another. The firing in the oven added a luster to the black glaze.

THE RED-FIGURED STYLE. About 530 B.C. a new style of vase painting became popular and held sway throughout the fifth century. The red-figured style, as it is called, shows the figures in the color of the clay, and the background is painted black. Archaic exuberance is combined with a discipline and vigor that create an air of wonderful simplicity. The artist is now able to draw the human form more skillfully and, though myths are still popular, his chief interest lies in subjects from everyday life. The red-figured technique, which enabled the decorator to draw the details of figures with greater ease, exhibits some of the finest freehand drawing in the history of art. In his work the painter first sketched the figure with a dull-pointed instrument on the clay; he then painted *around* this outline and thus obtained a red silhouette, since, as in the case of the black-figured style, the vase had already received a transparent wash. The details of muscles and drapery were drawn in relief lines and wash lines, and the whole background was painted with a black varnish. Finally, the pot was fired.

ARCHITECTURE. During the archaic period a preparation was made in architecture for the triumphs of the fifth century. The typical Greek building was the temple. Its floor plan resembles the Mycenaean megaron, but it seems clear that the two descended from a common prototype, each being brought to Greece by a wave of northern invaders. In time the side walls of the main room, or cella, projected to the front and rear, forming vestibules known as *pronaos* and *opisthodomus*; between the projecting walls (*antae*) were placed columns to carry the superstructure. Such a temple was accordingly called a temple *in antis*. A temple with columns in front was known as *prostyle*; the diagram illustrates some of the floor plans that were developed. The greatest temples, which of course were evolved after long experimentation, had columns in front of the *pronaos* and *opisthodomus* and along the sides. The covered walk around the temple between columns and cella was known as the *peristyle*, and the temple itself was called *peripteral*; the external columns often numbered 6 by 13.



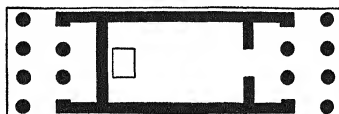
TEMPLE IN ANTIS



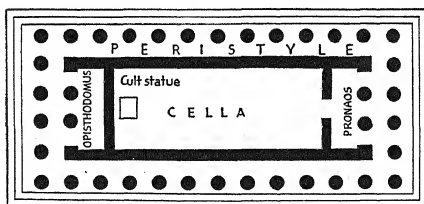
PROSTYLE TETRASTYLE TEMPLE



PROSTYLE TEMPLE IN ANTIS



AMPHIPROSTYLE TEMPLE IN ANTIS



PERIPTERAL TEMPLE

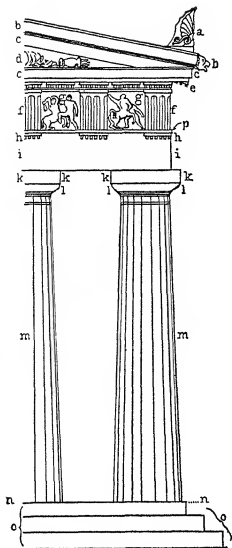


Diagram of a Doric Column and Entablature:

- a Corner-Akroterion
- b Sima with a lion's head as waterspout
- c Geison (cornice)
- d Tympanum
- e Mutule with Guttae (drops)
- f Triglyphs
- g Metopes
- h Regulæ with guttae
- i Architrave or Epistyle
- k Abacus
- l Echinus
- m Shaft with 20 sharp-edged flutings
- n Stylobate
- o Krepidion or Krepidoma
- p Taenia

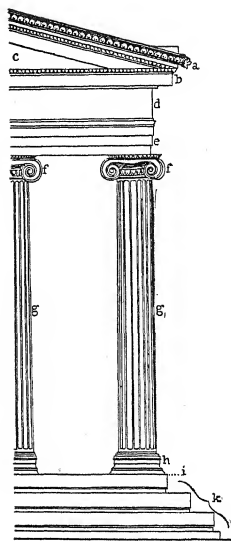


Diagram of an Ionic Column and Entablature.

- a Sima
- b Geison (cornice)
- c Tympanum
- d Frieze
- e Architrave or Epistyle (in three parts)
- f Capital with Volutas
- g Shaft with 24 flutings separated by fillets
- h Attic Base with double Torus and a Trochilos
- i Stylobate
- k Krepidion or Krepidoma



Corinthian Capital

THE ARCHITECTURAL ORDERS. Eventually two great orders¹ were evolved for the superstructure: the noble majesty of the Doric, which grew up in old Greece and the West, and the delicate grace of the Ionic, which developed in Ionia. Ultimately temples of the two orders were found side by side, especially in Athens where all ideas were at home. The two orders developed from construction in wood, with Mycenaean and Egyptian influences, and a glance at the diagram will show how different they are in detail. Each order has the column, crowned by a capital, and an entablature: first the architrave course, then the frieze course, and finally the horizontal cornice, and roof.

ARCHITECTURAL REFINEMENTS. Through the genius of the Periclean architects an incredible elasticity, as well as a perfection of proportions, was breathed into this architecture, which was little more than simple post and lintel construction; for example, the platform upon which the temple rose was curved and crowned—originally perhaps to get rid of rain water—in order to do away with an inevitable impression of sagging. The column itself leaned a little inward, so that the long row would not appear rigid, and swelled (*entasis*) to create the optical illusion that it had already yielded to its load and was not about to fall from the great weight resting on it.

Every city-state had one or more temples, for the greater glorification of the state and its gods. Enough is preserved of the temple of Hera at Samos and that of Artemis at Ephesus to justify the Ionian reputation for colossal size and magnificence. The early sixth-century temple to Hera at Olympia throws much light on the development of the Doric order. Curiously enough, the best preserved Doric temples are not in Greece itself, but in the West, at Acragas, Selinus, Syracuse, and Paestum, silent reminders of the widespread culture of the ancient Greeks. All temples stood in an open sanctuary, or *temenos*, facing the east generally, and, except for lamps, the sole illumination came from the door at the east end of the cella. Opposite this, at the far end of the cella, stood the large cult statue of the god or goddess to whom the temple was dedicated.

SCULPTURE. Although statues were frequently carved without any reference to a building, sculpture was in many ways a handmaiden of architecture. The earlier examples show strong Egyptian and Mesopotamian influence. It must be emphasized that, while the willingness of the Greeks to borrow ideas from any quarter redounds to their credit, these influences were quickly absorbed. Even where they are obvious, as in the stance of the early male figures,² they touch the surface only, and the great qualities are essentially Greek.

The consuming interest of the early sculptor was Man, not mere men and women. That is to say, he portrayed the generic and the typical rather than the

¹ The Corinthian order, except for its acanthus capital, is substantially the same as the Ionic.

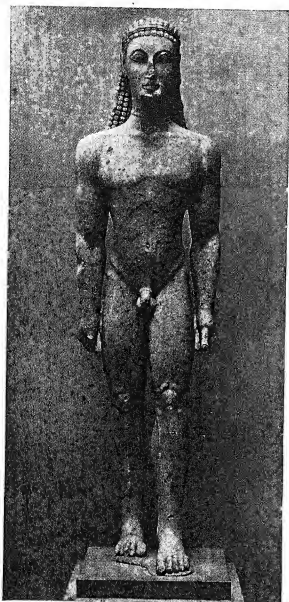
² These standing male figures, generally nude, are popularly called "Apollos," but it is best to speak of them simply as *kouroi* (*kouros*, youth) and of the draped female figures as *korai* (*kore*, maiden).

particular and the unique. It delighted him to paint his statues and stylize their features. Because of his inability to carve the figures according to nature, the early sculptor resorted to a certain decorativeness, which is the chief characteristic of the art; there is also a grand aloofness, an otherworldly quality, as befitted statues of gods when carved by a people devoted to goodness. Since, however, the Greek believed also in reason, the whole course of the sculpture is toward greater realism, and this became doubly certain with the progress of observation and sculptural technique.

TECHNIQUE. If Greek artists made any large statues before 650 B.C., they were of wood and have long since perished. All we know is that they worked in limestone and marble, terracotta and bronze. Bronze became the most popular material after the discovery, in the late sixth century, of how to cast large figures, though the melting pot has claimed most of them. Rough sketches and living models served the sculptor, and the worker in stone had many tools, not unlike modern ones, to his hand. He first blocked out his statue with iron chisels and abrasives, and as the work progressed he called upon pointed and dentated chisels, the claw chisel, gouge, and running drill. A straight chisel and drill were used for folds of drapery and locks of hair, and at the end the statue's surface was smoothed with soft stones and emery, but the surface remained relatively rough and was never polished.

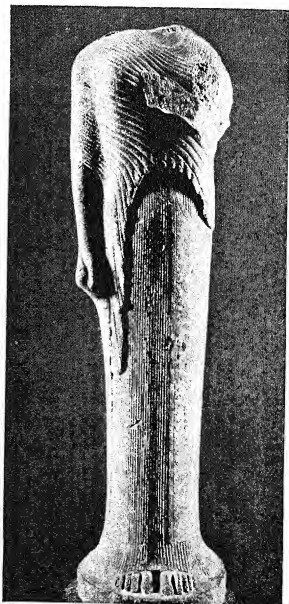
EARLY KOUROS. One of our earliest statues illustrates the decorativeness and simplicity of archaic Greek sculpture. This is the colossal *kouros* from Sunium, whose spirit suggests the supreme confidence of Man. The broad shoulders, tapering waist, and advanced left leg remind us of Egypt. The formalized treatment of the hair, the broad sweep of the eyebrows, the arched upper eyelid, the decorative rendering of the ears, which are set too far back, and the high cheekbones are characteristic of the period, as is the frontal pose. As we turn from this to a similar figure, the magnificent *kouros* from Attica (ca. 605 B.C.), now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, we begin to realize that exact faithfulness to nature is in itself no criterion, but that through quiet simplicity and fresh vigor or some other way the artist may convey his message. The necklace, the sweep of collarbones and kneecaps, the diamond-shaped abdomen, the sweeping gouges which serve for shoulder blades, these decorative touches add a unique quality to the New York *kouros*. They heighten its charm and tone down (if that is necessary) its deviations from nature. This is not academic art, but a vital, national style. The similarity of the two statues derives from a common background, for artists, like other people, traveled about, especially to the tyrants' courts.

SCULPTURAL PROGRESS. Not a decade passes without improvement in the rendering of the human form. Attic sculpture continued to resemble the Peloponnesian, with its Dorian emphasis on the physical, until about 550 B.C.



*Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art,
New York*

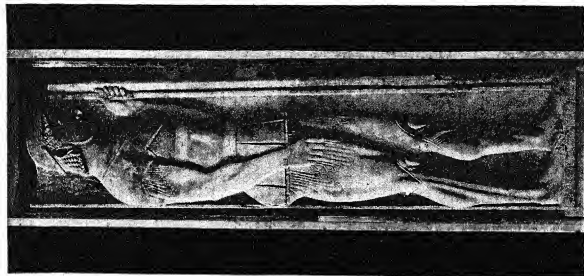
The decorative rendering of eyes, collarbones, abdomen breathe a wonderful simplicity and vigor into this Attic *kouros*, ca. 605 B.C. The general impression is that of the supreme confidence of man. In the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York



Photograph by Giraudon

Hera, from the island of Samos, dedicated by Cheramyes. About 550 B.C. A wonderful example of the Ionian love of fine garments in life and of stylization in art. In the Louvre, Paris

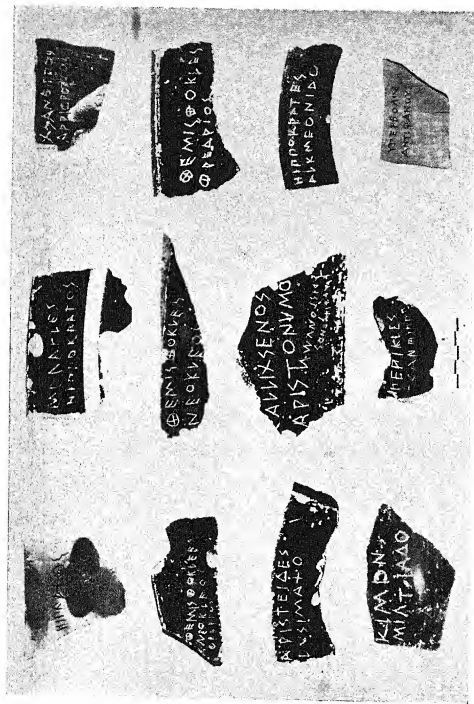
Heracles, wearing the lion's scalp. A fine example of late archaic art, ca. 480 B.C., with an emphasis, characteristic of Pionnesian work, on body rather than details. From the east pediment of the temple of Aphaia at Aegina. In the Glyptothek, Munich



Photograph by Altinari



A gravestone, or stela, of Aristion by Aristocles. About 510 B.C. A noble portrayal of a confident heavy-armed Athenian (hoplite) who was probably killed in battle. In the National Museum, Athens



Ostraka—ballots used in voting at ostracisms—from the excavations in the Athenian Agora. The ballot against Hipparchus, the first person to be ostracized (487 B.C.), is shown in the upper left; that against Hyperbolus, the last time ostracism was used (417 B.C.), in the lower right. Ballots against Xanthippus, father of Pericles, upper right; Themistocles, second row; Aristides "the Just," third row left; Cimon, son of Miltiades, bottom left; Pericles, who was never ostracized, bottom center. In the Agora Museum, Athens

when the effect of Solon's invitation to foreign artists, especially Ionians, to settle in Athens began to make itself felt. Ionian sculpture loved the magnificent, and emphasized details such as hair and drapery. In particular, the women wear the diagonal himation, which is asymmetrical and presents complex areas, while beneath it is the thin long-sleeved linen chiton, whose ruffled surfaces invite decorative stylization. Athenian women were slow to give up the Doric *peplos*, but the influx of Ionian artists, combined with the splendor of Peisistratus' court, introduced a new and extraordinarily sophisticated mode in art as in life itself.

Great Attic art resulted in part from the happy union at Athens of Peloponnesian and Ionian influences. The task of combining these influences with the early sixth-century emphasis on simplicity was facilitated by political developments. When the Peisistratidae were expelled, an exciting, but superficial, sophistication was removed from both Athenian life and art. On the other hand, the establishment of democracy permitted the Athenians to express themselves as they genuinely felt. Thus in the field of sculpture we have an immediate return to simplicity, for love of simplicity was fundamental to the Greek. We can see this, as we come into the fifth century, in the magnificent Euthydikos *kore*, strong, simple, restrained, and vital. The wavy lines of the hair, the horizontal eyes, the sculpturesque face, the truly three-dimensional body hold out to us the promise of the great works which have made the fifth century so famous.

The marvelous achievements of archaic Greece in literature and art were quickly leading to an era of even greater power, at the very time when the danger of oriental conquest, which would have stifled further development, presented itself. A Greek victory, on the other hand, would have a tremendous effect upon the country. For some years the decision remained in the balance.

XI

THE PERSIAN EMPIRE

1. EUROPE AND ASIA

Scattered as they were around the Mediterranean and Black Seas, the Greeks were in constant touch with other peoples. This contact greatly stimulated their development, as we have seen, but it also led to many petty quarrels and wars. A real conflict was inevitable, however, as soon as the expansion of a first-rate power brought it actually and actively within the orbit of the Greeks. In the West, Etruria was a potential danger, but it was too far north in Italy to be a serious one. Carthage, on the other hand, was disputing Sicily with the Greeks, and it was merely a question of time before that issue would be settled. The main struggle was destined to take place in the East, the home of older and more powerful empires.

It is a strange yet characteristic fact that the growth of the brilliant Ionian culture was accompanied, as cause and effect, by continued wars among the states which produced this splendid, versatile life, and by fiercer factional struggles within the individual cities. In some states aristocracy survived; in others democracy had gained the upper hand; but in the general internal weakness the governments were giving way, one after another, to tyranny. Civil discord and interstate warfare, while stimulating the mind to intense productivity, rendered the Asiatic Greeks unfit to defend themselves against foreign attack. (See map, p. 135.)

The need for united action increased with the growth of Lydia in the interior of Asia Minor to a strong aggressive power under King Gyges (ca. 660 B.C.). It was probably in resistance to this aggression that twelve cities of Ionia joined in a league, whose center was the Panionion, a shrine of Poseidon on the promontory of Mycale. In a spirit of exclusiveness they styled themselves groundlessly the only true Ionians and would admit no other states to their union. The Aeolians and Dorians of Asia Minor formed similar leagues, but the idea of uniting all the Asiatic Greeks under a single government seems to have occurred to no one. On critical occasions the deputies of the allied Ionian states met at the Panionion to deliberate on the common welfare; but the central government possessed no means of enforcing harmonious or efficient action.

Under these circumstances the Lydian conquest of the Asiatic Greeks was commenced by Gyges and completed by Croesus (ca. 560–546 B.C.). Miletus alone, which had taken no part in the resistance, remained an ally under treaty. These momentous events were quickly followed by Cyrus' overthrow of the Medes and by his defeat of Croesus. Lydia then became a part of the Persian Empire (546 B.C.).

The Aeolians and Ionians were loth to exchange Croesus, a benevolent Hellenized king, for the new Persian conqueror. Having treated his messengers coldly at the beginning of the war, they now sought from him the same terms of subjection as they had received from Croesus. When Cyrus refused, the Greeks began to wall their towns; and calling a council at the Panionion, the Ionians resolved to ask the aid of Sparta, the strongest power in Greece, but the Lacedaemonians would not consider so distant an enterprise. It is said, however, that they sent an embassy to warn Cyrus at his peril not to harm any city of Hellas. The Persian king heard the message with contempt and ordered his lieutenant, Harpagus, to attack the Greek cities along the coast of Asia Minor. Unwilling to submit, the Phocaeans sailed away in a body to found a colony in Corsica. In like manner the people of Teos abandoned their city and founded Abdera in Thrace. The rest of the Ionians, with the exception of the Milesians, who had allied themselves with Cyrus, submitted; and most of the neighboring islands followed their example. Meanwhile, Cyrus had overthrown the Chaldaean Empire and captured its capital, Babylon (539 B.C.). This cardinal event in the history of the ancient Near East established a fresh and mighty empire throughout Asia. It must have seemed to many a mere matter of time before the new state would descend on the Greek mainland.

Our chief source of the ensuing Persian Wars, as they are called, is the famous and delightful *History* of Herodotus. Herodotus was a native of Halicarnassus in Asia Minor; he was perhaps four years old at the time of the battle of Salamis. Later on, at Athens, he wrote of the stirring events of his youth. The following passage illustrates his philosophy of history, the divine working of Nemesis (Retribution) and the transitory nature of human fortunes. In Herodotus, as in Sophocles and other writers, we catch the Greek admiration for *arete*, the "equivalent" of the Latin *virtus* and as difficult to translate, but suggesting goodness and excellence.

In his fabulous account of a conversation between Solon and Croesus, Herodotus tries to make the reader understand at the very outset the nature of the contestants in the forthcoming world struggle. The fundamental difference of ideals between East and West is heightened by Herodotus' choice of the Hellenized Lydian king as the exponent of non-Greek ways. During a visit to Croesus, late in life, Solon was shown the royal treasures. Croesus then asked him who, in his opinion, was the happiest of mortals, for he had

no doubt that Solon would name him. When Solon mentioned first one person and then another, Croesus angrily protested, and Solon replied:

"For yourself, Croesus, I see that you are wonderfully rich, and the lord of many nations; but with respect to your question, I have no answer to give, until I hear that you have closed your life happily. For assuredly he who possesses great store of riches is no nearer happiness than he who has what suffices for his daily needs, unless it happens that luck attend upon him, and so he continue in the enjoyment of all his good things to the end of life. For many of the wealthiest men have been unfavored of fortune, and many whose means were moderate, have had excellent luck. Men of the former class excel those of the latter but in two respects; these last excel the former in many. The wealthy man is better able to content his desires, and to bear up against a sudden buffet of calamity. The other has less ability to withstand these evils (from which, however, his good luck keeps him clear), but he enjoys all these following blessings: he is whole of limb, a stranger to disease, free from misfortune, happy in his children, and comely to look upon. If, in addition to all this, he end his life well, he is of a truth the man of whom you are in search, the man who may rightly be termed happy. Call him, however, until he die, not happy but fortunate. Scarcely, indeed, can any man unite all these advantages: as there is no country which contains within it all that it needs, but each, while it possesses some things, lacks others, and the best country is that which contains the most; so no single human being is complete in every respect—something is always lacking. He who unites the greatest number of advantages, and retaining them to the day of his death, then dies peaceably, that man alone, sire, is, in my judgment, entitled to bear the name of "happy." But in every matter it behooves us to mark well the end; for oftentimes God gives men a gleam of happiness, and then plunges them into ruin."

"Such was the speech which Solon addressed to Croesus, a speech which brought him neither largess nor honor. The king saw him depart with much indifference, since he thought that a man must be an arrant fool who made no account of present good, but bade men always wait and mark the end."¹

Another Greek, the poet Aeschylus, who fought at both Marathon and Salamis, was also able to catch the fundamental difference between Oriental and Occidental. In the *Persians*, which is a valuable eye-witness account of the battle of Salamis, the Persian queen asks a question, to which no one has found the answer, "What is this Athens, of which all men speak?" But perhaps the answer was best suggested by the ancient playwright himself when he set the quality of Athens in the democratic spirit of her people, and let a Persian give his queen the incomprehensible response, "They bow to no man and are no man's slaves."

¹ Herodotus, I, 32-33. Translated by G. Rawlinson.

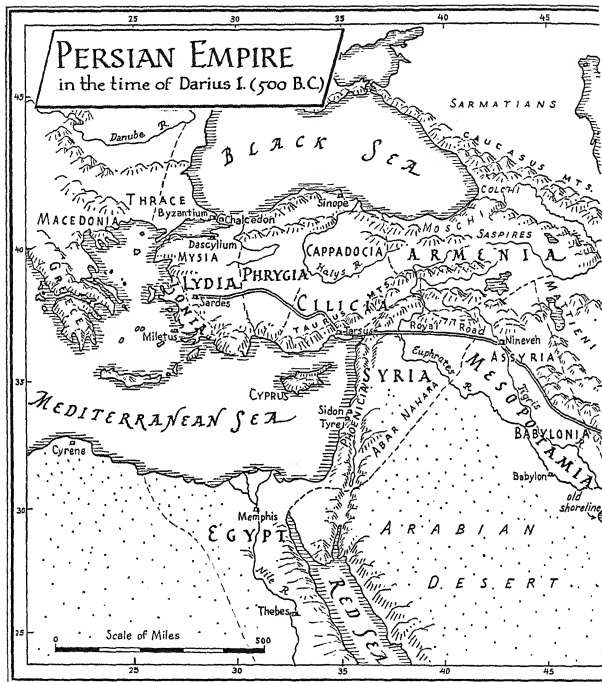
The city-states of Greece were destined to become locked in mortal combat with the Persian Empire. The two ways of life, Europe and Asia, had each its strength, weakness, and ideals. As soon as the Persian Empire had been consolidated, the issue was joined.

2. THE REIGN OF DARIUS I (522-486 B.C.)

CAMBYSES. When Cyrus the Great—famous conqueror of Medes, Lydians, Asiatic Greeks, Chaldeans—died in 529 B.C., his son and successor, Cambyses (529-522 B.C.), inherited an empire that stretched from the Hellespont to the frontiers of India. Egypt alone was missing from the list of ancient states which might round out the boundaries of an Oriental empire. In 526-525 B.C. Cambyses, puffed up with pride and convinced that he could conquer the world, subjugated the land of the Pharaohs. Misfortune, however, befell his other ambitions. His Phoenician sailors refused to follow him in an attack on Tyre's colony of Carthage; an army was destroyed by a sandstorm as it crossed the Libyan desert to the oasis of Ammon (cf. map, rear endpaper); and an attempt to conquer southern Ethiopia failed.

DARIUS. The conquest of Egypt and northern Ethiopia was a solid achievement. Cambyses was then called home by the revolt of a Median pretender, who asserted that he was Smerdis, the brother whom Cambyses had secretly murdered on his accession. On the way back to Persis Cambyses, for some mysterious reason, committed suicide. The Median pretender did not last long, and his place was taken by Darius, the son of Hystaspes, a high Persian official. Darius belonged to a collateral line of the royal Achaemenid family and was forced to spend several years putting down revolts. The Behistun cuneiform inscription (p. 11) proudly records his trials and achievements.

GOVERNMENT. The chief task facing a Persian monarch at this time was to assimilate the vast Empire which had been gained so rapidly. Fortunately Persia possessed in Darius I (522-486 B.C.) one of the great organizers and administrators of history. Following and developing the Assyrian imperial system, Darius divided the Empire—except for the homeland of Persis—into more than twenty satrapies or provinces. Each satrapy was under a satrap, or governor, who belonged either to the royal family or the nobility. The satrap was appointed by the king and held office at his pleasure, often for a long term; there were occasions when son succeeded father. According to the Persian scheme, military and civil functions were divided, so that the satrap was the civil head of his satrapy; in case of real danger, however, he had limited military authority. Among his chief duties was the collection of tribute and taxes. In general, the western satrapies, which were accustomed to coinage, made their annual payments in money, whereas the payments of the eastern satrapies were made in kind. Persis was not taxed, but together with





Media it supplied some of the finest imperial troops: two thousand nobles, who constituted the royal bodyguard, the Ten Thousand Immortals, famous bowmen. All the subject peoples were required to furnish troops for the imperial army; they were armed in their national fashion and fought according to their own ways. The Phoenicians, Egyptians, and Asiatic Greeks made up the navy.

The satraps, particularly those in the far-off satrapies, were in effect prince-lings; often jealous of one another, they could contrive to wage war beyond the confines of the Empire and, of course, they might at any time declare their independence of the central government. As a check on them, therefore, the king appointed a Secretary, responsible to himself alone, with the duty of sending periodically confidential reports about the satrap. Another check was provided by the military commander. He, too, was independent of the satrap. As the military head of the satrapy, in command of the garrisons in the chief towns, the military commander embodied the armed authority of the king. Darius developed yet another means of controlling his officials. From Susa, the former capital of Elam and now his administrative capital, the famous Royal Road ran a distance of almost 1,500 miles to Sardes in Lydia. Other excellent roads connected the remotest satrapies and cities of his Empire; cities such as Pasargadae, the ancient capital where Cyrus was buried; nearby Persepolis, the royal residence; Babylon; Ecbatana; Memphis. The roads made possible fast communication, with relays of mounted messengers available at short intervals for the forwarding of official letters. A chief duty of the postal inspectors was to report to the king about his officials. Finally, the "King's Eye," a near relative of the sovereign and invested with great dignity and military power, traveled throughout the Empire and noted the efficiency and loyalty of the officials. (Cf. map, p. 218.)

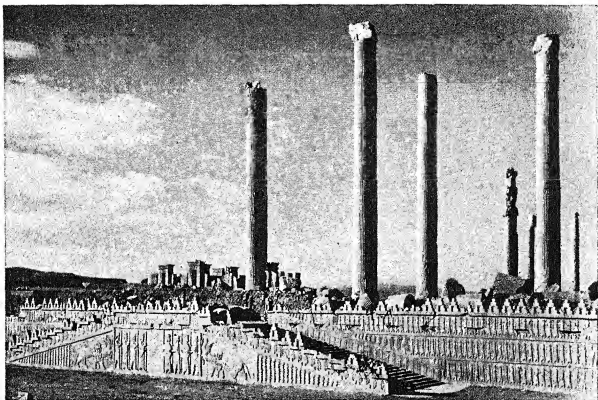
It was the genius of Darius to show great tolerance toward the various peoples within his state; doubtless this was one of the main reasons for the Empire's survival until the coming of Alexander the Great. As a rule, local self-government was permitted. For example, the satrap of Lydia, with his capital at Sardes, governed the Greeks along the coast by means of tyrants. The Greeks chafed under the arrangement, but at least they were under the direct rule of persons of their own race, and, moreover, the system of tyranny antedated the Persian conquest. Persian tolerance extended to national customs and religions, which permitted the Jews, for instance, to initiate a religious revival. This is not to suggest, however, that Darius was not an absolute monarch, who ruled by the grace of God. With the high-sounding title of "The Great King, King of Kings," he was an hereditary sovereign, surrounded by a complex bureaucracy and a court ceremonial that included *proskynesis* (prostration) in his presence. His power was checked by a large council of nobles,

whom he consulted concerning policy. In routine matters he was aided by seven councilors; appeals direct to the king were possible for any subject within the Empire.

PROSPERITY. Despite tribute and taxes, the support of the army and forced labor on public projects, the Persian Empire brought great prosperity and relative peace to a large area of the world. To promote trade, Darius reopened the old canal connecting the Nile and Red Sea and caused the water route between India and Egypt to be explored. The Empire's economy was further stimulated by uniform weights and measures, and very especially by Darius' creation of a system of coinage. The gold coin, which the king alone might strike, was known as the "daric" and was worth about \$9.50. The satraps were allowed to strike silver and bronze coins (the gold and silver ratio of value was approximately thirteen to one). Coinage was the popular medium of exchange in the western satrapies; barter prevailed elsewhere. Vast hoards of gold and silver were collected in the royal storehouses.

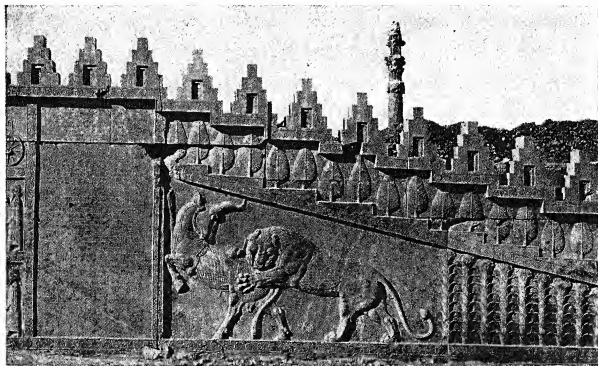
ART. The Persians were a hardy race of mountaineers, who were long able to maintain their simple habits in a world that had been accustomed for centuries to Oriental luxury. Herodotus tells us that they educated their children "in three things only: in riding, in shooting, and in speaking the truth." Since their empire had been won so rapidly, it was inevitable that their arts should have been extensively borrowed from others, from Assyrians, Babylonians, Egyptians, and even Greeks. From the Babylonians they borrowed the terrace, which was the chief feature of their architecture. With an abundance of fine limestone in their country, they were original enough to use it to a great extent in their buildings, and they showed their independence of Babylon by employing the stone column as a second great feature of their architecture. In contrast with the Egyptian, Persian columns were tall and graceful, doubtless owing to Greek influence. They were placed farther apart than in Egyptian temples, thus giving the Persian building a lighter and more airy effect. For the foundation of his marvelous palace at Persepolis (which was later fired by Alexander the Great) Darius erected a terrace of stone, mounted by beautifully sculptured stairways. On one part of the terrace stood his dwelling, a large hall with a porch in front and rooms on the rear and sides. Nearby was the pillared audience hall for state and festive occasions. Colored glazed tiles decorated Persian palaces. Among the reliefs are lions, bulls, and monsters reminiscent of Assyria, though better proportioned and more natural. Some reliefs show the king fighting with lions, others represent courtly pleasures and religious formalities.

RELIGION. In religious matters the Persian masses long continued polytheistic and worshiped the powers of nature. A professional priesthood, known as Magi, ministered to their needs. Our word "magic" is derived from this caste,



Courtesy of the Oriental Institute, Chicago

The great ceremonial stairway leading to the royal Audience Hall of Darius and Xerxes at Persepolis. Early 5th century B.C. The sculptures—court dignitaries, guards, foreign peoples bringing tribute—depict a New Year's festival of the mighty Empire



Courtesy of the Oriental Institute, Chicago

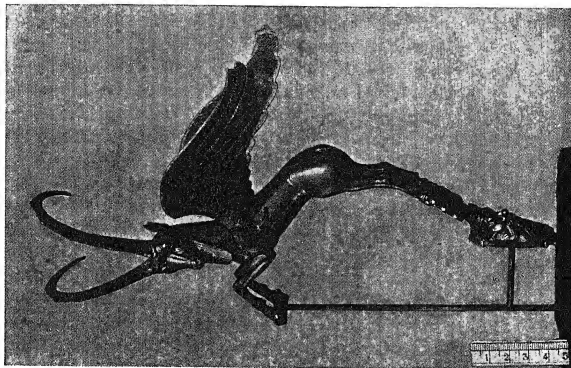
A detail from the stairway at Persepolis. The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago is recovering the magnificent ruins of the palace fired by Alexander the Great in 330 B.C.



Courtesy of the Oriental Institute, Chicago

The great stairway at Persepolis. Five envoys from a subject nation bring tribute—a horse, bracelets and garments—to the Persian King

Handle of a Persian vase in the shape of a winged ibex; the horns and wings of the ibex are of electrum, the rest of silver. The merging of Persian and archaic Greek styles—witness the satyr's head and the palmette—have produced a work of astonishing excellence, one of the greatest treasures of the Louvre



Photograph by Girandon

for one of its functions was to win the gods and expel evil spirits by charms. During the course of the sixth century, however, there arose in Media a great religious leader, Zoroaster by name, who preached a monotheistic, militant, ethical religion. Zoroaster taught the existence of one supreme God, Ahura Mazda, creator of heaven and earth and man. Ahura Mazda was wise and holy; he honored truth, goodness, and bravery. As the god of light, he warred continuously against the forces of darkness and evil. These were led by Ahri-man, the counterpart of our devil. Those who supported Ahura Mazda gained a happy immortality, whereas the wicked fell into the pit of the demons. Occasionally Ahura Mazda was represented by symbols and images, but more generally he was worshiped on hilltops with fire, prayers, and drink offerings. The Magi were happy to serve the new cult, especially after Darius had established it as the official religion. During the third century of our era there was a great resurgence of Zoroastrianism under a new Persian dynasty, that of the Sassanids. Their collection of sacred hymns and prayers, known as the *Avesta*, contains but little that can be traced to Zoroaster himself.

IMPERIAL EXPANSION. During his long and brilliant reign Darius extended his empire in the hope of winning more defensible frontiers. Eastward he conquered as far as the Indus River and perhaps beyond. Westward the problem was somewhat different. On the one hand, what should be his policy toward the Greeks of the mainland? Absorption was a tempting answer, for he knew that the Asiatic Greeks were good fighters and mariners, civilized, virile, and rich. Before he could think of an invasion of Greece, however, it was necessary to make certain that his long line of communications would not be attacked on the flank by the Scythians, who even now were raiding his realm. Apparently Darius conceived the idea of attacking the new Scythian Empire, which had been established on the north of the Black Sea, in the rear, from the European side, and perhaps of conquering the Scythians in a return march through their country. If so, he must have seriously underrated the difficulties of the expedition. However that may be, Darius led a large army in 512 B.C. across the Bosphorus on a bridge of boats and thence marched away to the Danube. This he crossed on a similar bridge made from the fleets of the Ionian tyrants who were supporting him. As the Scythians would not meet Darius in open battle, but harassed his army interminably, and as provisions and water were insufficient, a conquest of the Scythians proved impossible. Darius was forced to retreat into Asia with considerable loss. He had, however, made his might known in that part of the world. Of greater consequence, through his lieutenant Megabazus, Thrace, from the Propontis to the Strymon River, together with the islands of Lemnos and Imbros, became a Persian province.

The Athenians, probably more than anyone else, realized the approaching

danger, for they had lost Sigeum and the Thracian Chersonese to Persia. They knew, too, that their exiled tyrant Hippias, now at Sigeum but hoping to be restored through Persian aid, was doing his utmost to persuade Artaphrenes, the satrap of Sardes, to undertake an expedition against Athens. To counteract the influence of Hippias, the Athenians sent an embassy to Artaphrenes, but the Persian abruptly ordered them to receive Hippias back, if they wished to escape ruin. Thereupon the Athenians, who had no idea of accepting the proposal, felt that a state of war was threatening between them and Persia. The Persians, having a foothold in Europe, were certain of it.

XII

THE PERSIAN WARS

1. THE IONIAN REVOLT (499-493 B.C.)

THE IONIAN GREEKS REVOLT. Darius was unable to follow up his victories in Thrace immediately, because the Ionian Greeks chose this moment to revolt. Herodotus, who is our chief source here and who is never entirely satisfactory, fails to make clear the cause of the Ionian Revolt, but we may be certain that the Greeks of Asia Minor were gravely discontented under Persian rule. Not only was their great prosperity of former days declining, but they chafed under the system of tyrants which the Persians had imposed. This must have been a particularly sore point, for after the suppression of the Revolt Darius permitted democratic government in most of the states. The immediate cause of the Revolt, however, lay in the ambition of Aristagoras, tyrant of Miletus, who hoped to add the island of Naxos to his rule, and, needing help, suggested to Artaphrenes, the Persian satrap, that here would be a good way to advance gradually upon Greece. The enterprise failed, and the tyrant, to escape the inevitable punishment, and realizing that the Greeks were ready to strike for liberty, decided on revolt (499 B.C.).

AID FROM ATHENS. Abdicating his tyranny and accepting a constitutional office, Aristagoras proceeded to overthrow the despots in the remaining Ionian cities, so that now all Ionia was free from tyranny and committed to a hopeless rebellion. Aristagoras then went to Sparta to ask for an alliance, but the Lacedaemonians, as usual, could not think of so distant an expedition. Thereupon he went to Athens, where the threats of Artaphrenes and Hippias, and the loss of territory, had produced conditions more favorable to himself. The Athenians resolved therefore to send twenty ships, which were reinforced by five from Eretria. The crews of these vessels joined with the Ionians in an attack on Sardes, hoping that a victory at this vital point might decide the issue. They burned the city, but, failing to take the citadel, were forced to retreat; on their way to the coast they were overtaken and defeated by the Persians at Ephesus. The Athenians then returned home, and would have nothing more to do with the war.

DESTRUCTION OF MILETUS. The burning of Sardes, however, encouraged the Revolt, which rapidly spread to all western Asia Minor, Thrace and Cy-

prus. At the same time it roused Darius to extraordinary efforts. A decisive battle was fought in 494 B.C. off Lade, near Miletus, between the Greek and Phoenician fleets, 353 ships against 600 according to Herodotus, who for obvious reasons exaggerated the size of the enemy's fleet. The Greeks might easily have won, but for the treachery of the Samians, who at the critical moment and in typical Greek fashion deserted. The result was disaster. Miletus, which was now besieged by land and sea, was captured and sacked, and most of the surviving population was transplanted, in Asiatic style, to the mouth of the Tigris. By 493 B.C. the entire rebellion was suppressed, and Darius, by his generally lenient treatment of the Greeks, proved himself a wise ruler.

THEMISTOCLES ARCHON. It would be difficult to overrate the significance of these events. For centuries the Ionians had been standard bearers of the world's civilization. Miletus, the home of commerce and industry and of the fine arts, of poetry and science, the most brilliant city in Hellas, was blotted out of existence. The effect on Athens was electric. When the poet Phrynichus produced his play, *The Capture of Miletus*, in 493 B.C., the Athenians were so overcome that they fined him a thousand drachmas for reminding them of their own misfortunes. The poet had made them see vividly the horrors which attended the Persian triumph over a city of kindred blood, and which surely impended over themselves. In this mood they elected to the archonship for 493-492 B.C. an uncompromising advocate of war for the defense of the state, a man of marvelous energy and mental resources, Themistocles. Even at this early date Themistocles seems to have understood the weak point in any effort of Persia to conquer Greece. The country was too barren to support an invading army, which consequently would be dependent on a fleet for its provisioning. It seemed obviously necessary to Themistocles to build a fleet large enough to gain the supremacy of the sea. Thus Greece would be saved and his own city raised to a towering preëminence. During his year of office he improved the three natural harbors of Piraeus, which would serve not only the new fleet but the merchant ships that till now had been content with the open roadstead of Phaleron.

TRIAL OF MILTIADES. The rise of Themistocles, a *novus homo*, illustrates the progressive democratization of Athens. His support came largely from the industrial and commercial classes, the very element, that is, which had supported the Alcmaeonid Cleisthenes. The alignment of the political parties at Athens at this time is not wholly clear, but it is commonly assumed that the Alcmaeonidae, opposing Themistocles, were necessarily pro-Persian, even though this policy would drive them into the arms of their enemy Hippias. We understand the factional struggles better if we imagine the Alcmaeonidae and Themistocles as appealing for support to the same body of voters, the city masses. The issue was brought to a head by the sudden return to Athens of

Miltiades, nephew of the settler in the Thracian Chersonese. Miltiades was thoroughly familiar with the Persians and their military tactics, for he had served under Darius on the Scythian expedition, but later had won Persia's implacable enmity by joining the Ionian Revolt. Now, in Athens, this leader of the great Philaid clan could not be expected to coöperate with the rival Alcmaeonidae. Indeed, these rivals might be crushed by an alliance between Themistocles, with his popular appeal, and Miltiades, who combined with a distinguished name a useful and timely knowledge of Persia. To prevent defeat, the Alcmaeonidae brought Miltiades to trial on a charge of tyranny in the Chersonese. He was acquitted and elected general for the next year. The Athenians had chosen the radicalism of Themistocles and the special knowledge of Miltiades. Miltiades, for his part, abandoned the naval program of Themistocles and devoted the state's whole attention to the heavy infantry. The Ionian Revolt, then, had given the Athenians time to take their bearings, and this was well, for the Persians were already on the march.

MT. ATHOS. With the crushing of the Revolt, it was clearly Darius' duty to restore his authority in Thrace, a plan which, if successful, might be extended to Greece proper. Accordingly in 492 B.C. he sent his son-in-law Mardonius across the Hellespont at the head of a large army and fleet. Thrace, Thasos, and Macedon were conquered, but the fleet was shattered in an attempt to round Mt. Athos. (See the map, p. 147.) As a consequence Mardonius returned home, though he had accomplished his primary purpose. The next step was to punish Athens and Eretria for their share in the Ionian Revolt. Darius began at once to gather his ships and at the same time sent heralds among the Greek states to demand "earth and water." Though his designs may have been limited to Athens and Eretria, it was essential to prevent those cities from gaining allies. Hopeless of resistance, the islanders yielded; and many on the mainland acted likewise. Among the more independent states which thus "Medized" were the Thessalian cities, Thebes—doubtless irritated by the aggressions of Athens—and Argos, Sparta's enemy. Aegina was hostile to Athens at the moment, but the rest of the Peloponnesian League, directed by King Cleomenes, stood loyally for the cause of Greece. As usual, the Greek states were divided, but fortunately the two strongest, Sparta and Athens, maintained a consistent policy toward Persia. Sparta probably found it easier to coöperate with Athens with Themistocles at the helm instead of her old enemies, the Alcmaeonidae, a fact which, no doubt, had been appreciated at Athens itself. The Athenians exerted themselves to the utmost to prepare for the impending invasion, and, as we have seen, elected Miltiades to the board of generals.

2. MARATHON (490 B.C.)

In the summer of 490 B.C. an Asiatic fleet, conveying a force of infantry and cavalry, moved westward across the Aegean Sea. It was commanded by Datis, a Mede, and Artaphernes, son of the satrap of Sardes and nephew of Darius. Most of the islanders along their route submitted. The immediate object was to subdue Eretria and Athens, and bring the inhabitants as slaves before the Great King. After a siege of six days, Eretria was betrayed by two of her people, the city was sacked, and the population taken captive. From Eretria the Persians, under the guidance of the aged Hippias, crossed over to Marathon, on the coast northeast of Athens, where they hoped for support from partisans. The Athenians, who had been unwilling to send a force to Eretria and thus expose their own city, prepared to take up their position in a narrow valley (Vrana) facing the Persians in the plain by the shore, whence deployment would be easy and, should the Persians take the road to Athens, an attack could be made on their flank. Herodotus (p. 290) paints the picture as follows:

"And first, before they left the city, the generals sent off to Sparta a herald, one Pheidippides, who was by birth an Athenian, and by profession and practice a trained runner. This man, according to the account which he gave to the Athenians on his return, when he was near Mount Parthenium, above Tegea, fell in with the god Pan, who called him by his name, and bade him ask the Athenians 'wherefore they neglected him so entirely, when he was kindly disposed towards them, and had often helped them in times past, and would do so again in time to come?' The Athenians, entirely believing in the truth of this report, as soon as their affairs were once more in good order, set up a temple to Pan under the Acropolis, and, in return for the message which I have recorded, established in his honor yearly sacrifices and a torch race, too.

"On the occasion of which we speak, when Pheidippides was sent by the Athenian generals, and, according to his own account, saw Pan on his journey, he reached Sparta on the very next day after quitting the city of Athens. Upon his arrival he went before the rulers, and said:

"Men of Lacedaemon, the Athenians beseech you to hasten to their aid, and not allow that state, which is the most ancient in all Greece, to be enslaved by the barbarians. Eretria, look you, is already carried away captive; and Greece weakened by the loss of no mean city.'

"Thus did Pheidippides deliver the message committed to him. And the Spartans wished to help the Athenians, but were unable to give them any present aid, as they did not like to break their established law. It was then the ninth day of the month, and they could not march out of Sparta on the

"Then at length, when his own turn was come, the Athenian battle was set in array, and this was the order of it. Callimachus the polemarch led the right wing, for it was at that time a rule with the Athenians to give the right wing to the polemarch. After this followed the tribes, according as they were numbered, in an unbroken line; while last of all came the Plataeans, forming the left wing. And ever since that day it has been a custom with the Athenians, in the sacrifices and assemblies held each fifth year at Athens, for the Athenian herald to implore the blessing of the gods on the Plataeans conjointly with the Athenians. Now, as they marshalled the host upon the field of Marathon, in order that the Athenian front might be of equal length with the Median, the ranks of the center were diminished, and it became the weakest part of the line, while the wings were both made strong with a depth of many ranks.

"So when the battle was set in array, and the victims showed themselves favorable, instantly the Athenians, so soon as they were let go, charged the barbarians at a run. Now the distance between the two armies was little short of a mile. The Persians, therefore, when they saw the Greeks coming on at speed, made ready to receive them, although it seemed to them that the Athenians were bereft of their senses, and bent upon their own destruction; for they saw a mere handful of men coming on at a run without either horsemen or archers. Such was the opinion of the barbarians; but the Athenians in close array fell upon them, and fought in a manner worthy of being recorded. They were the first of the Greeks, so far as I know, who introduced the custom of charging the enemy at a run, and they were likewise the first who dared to look upon the Median garb, and to face men clad in that fashion. Until this time the very name of the Medes had been a terror to the Greeks to hear.

"The two armies fought together on the plain of Marathon for a length of time; and in the mid battle, where the Persians themselves and the Sacae had their place, the barbarians were victorious, and broke and pursued the Greeks into the inner country; but on the two wings the Athenians and the Plataeans defeated the enemy. Having so done, they suffered the routed barbarians to fly at their ease, and joining the two wings in one, fell upon those who had broken their own center, and fought and conquered them. These likewise fled, and now the Athenians hung upon the runaways and cut them down, chasing them all the way to the shore, on reaching which they laid hold of the ships and called aloud for fire.

"It was in the struggle here that Callimachus the polemarch, after greatly distinguishing himself, lost his life; Stesilaüs too, the son of Thrásilaüs, one of the generals, was slain; and Cynaegirus,¹ the son of Euphorion, having seized on a vessel of the enemy's by the ornament at the stern, had his hand

¹ Brother of the poet Aeschylus; he and Callimachus and 190 other Athenians were buried on the battlefield, which is still marked by a great mound.

cut off by the blow of an axe, and so perished; as likewise did many other Athenians of note and name.

"Nevertheless the Athenians secured in this way seven of the vessels; while with the remainder the barbarians pushed off, and taking aboard their Eretrian prisoners from the island where they had left them, doubled Cape Sunium, hoping to reach Athens before the return of the Athenians. The Alcmaeonidae were accused by their countrymen of suggesting this course to them; they had, it was said, an understanding with the Persians, and made a signal to them, by raising a shield, after they were embarked in their ships.

"The Persians accordingly sailed round Sunium. But the Athenians with all possible speed marched away to the defense of their city, and succeeded in reaching Athens before the appearance of the barbarians: and as their camp at Marathon had been pitched in a precinct of Heracles, so now they encamped in another precinct of the same god at Cynosarges. The barbarian fleet arrived, and lay to off Phaleron, which was at that time the harbor of Athens; but after resting awhile upon their oars, they departed and sailed away to Asia.

"There fell in this battle of Marathon, on the side of the barbarians, about 6,400 men; on that of the Athenians, 192. Such was the number of the slain on the one side and the other. A strange prodigy likewise happened at this fight. Epizelus, the son of Cuphagoras, an Athenian, was in the thick of the fray, and behaving himself as a brave man should, when suddenly he was stricken with blindness, without blow of sword or dart; and this blindness continued thenceforth during the whole of his after life. The following is the account which he himself, as I have heard, gave of the matter: he said that a gigantic warrior, with a huge beard, which shaded all his shield, stood over against him; but the ghostly semblance passed him by, and slew the man at his side. Such, as I understand, was the tale which Epizelus told.

"After the full of the moon 2,000 Lacedaemonians came to Athens. So eager had they been to arrive in time, that they took but three days to reach Attica from Sparta. They came, however, too late for the battle; yet, as they had a longing to behold the Medes, they continued their march to Marathon, and there viewed the slain. Then, after giving the Athenians all praise for their achievement, they departed and returned home."²

There were about ten thousand Athenians engaged in this battle, the Persian force being possibly three times as large. The moral effect of the victory was stupendous. Up to this time the very name of "the Medes" had frightened the Greeks, but it was now demonstrated that the Greek warrior was superior to the Persian. The westward advance of the Asiatic empire was halted, and the Greeks were inspired with a fair hope of maintaining their freedom. To

² Herodotus, VI, 105-120. The translations here and elsewhere are those of G. Rawlinson, with a few slight changes and much abbreviated.

the Athenians, who almost single-handed had beaten a power thought to be irresistible, this victory served as an incentive to heroism. The glory of the Marathonian warriors never faded.

THE PARIAN EXPEDITION. The next year, 489 B.C., Miltiades, now the most popular man in Athens, persuaded the people to give him a fleet of seventy ships, saying he would lead his countrymen to a place where they could enrich themselves, but not letting them know definitely his purpose. With this armament he sailed against the Parians, on whom he levied a fine of one hundred talents for having joined the enemy in attacking Athens. On their refusal to pay, he besieged the island, but failed to capture it, and returned home wounded. In their disappointment and anger, the Athenians tried Miltiades before the Assembly on the charge of having deceived the people. He was condemned to death, but because of his former services the punishment was mitigated to a fine of fifty talents. The condemned man died of his wound, and the fine was paid by his son Cimon.

POLITICAL STRIFE AT ATHENS. Miltiades had embarked on a policy of conquering the Medizing islanders in order to create a bulwark against the next Persian invasion. His failure gave his enemies their opportunity to strike at him, and so, indirectly, at Themistocles as well. The prosecutor was an Alcmaeonid by marriage, Xanthippus, husband of Cleisthenes' niece, Agariste, and father of Pericles. The ensuing conviction of Miltiades was a great victory for the Opposition, and shortly afterward a member of the Alcmaeonid party, Aristides, was elected to the archonship. But Themistocles struck back. A man of restless energy, a statesman of great vision, he was also vain, and jealous of the fame of others; the thought of Miltiades' trophy is said to have kept him awake at night. In rapid succession his opponents were now ostracized. Themistocles, however, yearned for more than this; he must have power himself, a difficult matter, since reelection to the archonship was not allowed. In 487-486 B.C. through his agency, therefore, the archonship was thrown open to the lot. There was nothing startling in the proposal, for sortition was a common practice; and we can imagine Themistocles urging the people to abolish, in effect, an office so long associated with aristocracy. This represents one of the last great changes in the Athenian constitution after Cleisthenes. Henceforth the archonship lost its importance, for mediocre people were apt to fill it. The board of ten generals now became the new executive body at Athens. One general was elected from each of the ten tribes, and a little later a provision was made that instead of one of these the tenth general should be elected from the entire citizen body.³ The generals were the chief

³ In a crisis the people occasionally gave unusual power—comparable to that of the Roman Dictator—to the tenth general, who was then called *strategos autokrator* (commander in chief); Pericles, for example, received such power at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War.

officials of the state, military functions being only part of their duties, and since repeated reflection was possible, the way had been opened for one-man rule.

Themistocles' victory meant the abandonment of an army policy and the creation of a large navy for the war with Persia. A particularly rich vein in the silver mines at Laurium had recently been tapped, and Themistocles urged that the surplus in the treasury be used for the construction of two hundred ships.

3. THERMOPYLAE (480 B.C.)

XERXES. The battle of Marathon shook the military prestige of the Great King and encouraged rebellion within the Empire. The conquest of Greece became, as a consequence, even more than ever a question of practical necessity as well as of honor. Preparations for a new invasion, however, were suspended by the revolt of Egypt and the death of Darius in 486 B.C. After the reconquest of that country, Xerxes, son and successor of the deceased king, devoted himself to gathering the whole available strength of the Empire with a view to overwhelming Greece by force of numbers. As Mardonius' route of 492 B.C. was to be followed, engineers and workmen were soon engaged in bridging the Hellespont with boats, and in cutting a canal through the isthmus of Mt. Athos. Great depots of provisions were established along the projected route. With his vast host Xerxes spent the winter of 481-480 B.C. at Sardes in the expectation of setting out early the next spring.

ACTIVITY IN GREECE. Thus far, outside of Athens, the Greeks had made no preparation to resist the invader; and no further progress had been made toward unity. The heralds of Xerxes, as they passed to and fro throughout Greece during the winter preceding the invasion, found many states ready to purchase safety by the gift of earth and water. The patriot cause could place no reliance on Thessaly, Thebes, or Argos, or on the less progressive states of the center and west of the peninsula, or on the widely scattered islands. Gelon, tyrant of Syracuse, might have given powerful aid, but had to face a Carthaginian attack. The brunt was to be borne by the Peloponnesian League, Athens, and a few small communities on the peninsula and the neighboring islands; and even here the prevailing sentiment was nearly akin to despair. A feeling of common nationality was, nevertheless, apparent.

Under these circumstances a congress of deputies from the loyal states was held at Corinth in 481 B.C. to discuss measures for defense. The call had been issued by Lacedaemon but at the suggestion of Athens, undoubtedly on the motion of Themistocles. One result was the reconciliation of various states, including Athens and Aegina; another was the sending of envoys to the unrepresented Greek states to invite their active support, a barren hope. Spies,

sent to Xerxes' camp, were captured, shown everything, and dismissed in the expectation that their report of his immense army would induce the Greeks to yield without resistance. The congress of deputies conferred the chief command by sea as well as land on Sparta, to whose leadership most of the states had long been accustomed. There can be no doubt that the proceedings were directed by the mighty spirit of Themistocles, and that his determination to fight out the issue on the sea was accepted by all concerned. The strategy was to try to inflict a decisive defeat on the Persian fleet, for this would automatically cause the army, which needed the fleet for its support, to retire, as in 492 B.C. Meanwhile, the Greek army was to take up its position as far north as feasible, in order to protect as much of the country as possible, and also because all states north of that point would of necessity be pro-Persian. For this reason the Spartan suggestion that the stand be made at the Isthmus was refused. In the north, the vale of Tempe, giving access to Thessaly, was impossible, on account of other passes in the neighborhood. This left Thermopylae, the key to central Greece. (See maps, pp. 147 and 302.)

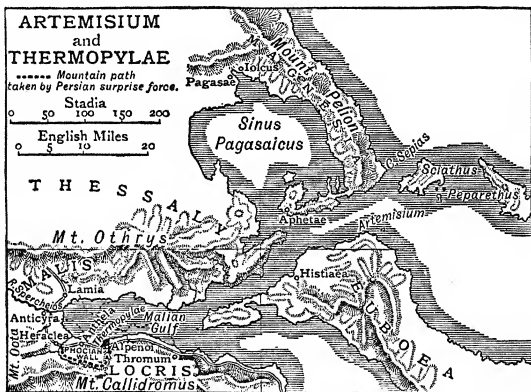
Xerxes, with his vast host,⁴ entered Thessaly unopposed in 480 B.C., whereupon the states of this district under the lead of Medizing oligarchs passed over to his side. In accordance with the plan of Themistocles, who was now general at Athens, the Greek navy of 300 ships took up its station at Artemisium, off northern Euboea, to meet the Persian fleet, while a force of 10,000 Greeks, under Leonidas, king of Sparta, occupied the pass of Thermopylae to hold the enemy in check until the battle at sea had been fought. (See the map, p. 202.)

"King Xerxes [says Herodotus] pitched his camp in the region of Malis called Trachinia, while on their side the Greeks occupied the straits. These straits the Greeks in general call Thermopylae (the Hot Gates); but the natives and those who dwell in the neighborhood, call them Pylae (the Gates). Here then the two armies took their stand; the one master of all the region lying north of Trachis, the other of the country extending southward of that place to the verge of the continent.

"The Greeks who at this spot awaited the coming of Xerxes were the following: From Sparta, 300 men-at-arms; from Arcadia, 1,000 Tegeans and Mantineans, 500 of each people; 120 Orchomenians, from the Arcadian Orchomenus; and 1,000 from other cities; from Corinth, 400 men; from Phlius, 200; and from Mycenae, eighty. Such was the number from the Peloponnesus. There were also present, from Boeotia, 700 Thespians and 400 Thebans.

⁴ The numbers given by Herodotus, amounting to more than five millions, including non-combatants, and 1,207 warships, are an enormous exaggeration. A reasonable estimate would be 150,000 to 200,000 combatants, and 700 warships.

"Besides these troops, the Locrians of Opus and the Phocians had obeyed the call of their countrymen, and sent, the former all the force they had, the latter 1,000 men. For envoys had gone from the Greeks at Thermopylae among the Locrians and Phocians, to call on them for assistance, and to say, 'They were themselves but the vanguard of the host, sent to precede the main body, which might every day be expected to follow them. The sea was in good keeping, watched by the Athenians, the Aeginetans, and the rest of the fleet. There was no cause why they should fear; for after all the invader was not a god but a man; and there never had been, and never would be, a man who was not liable to misfortunes from the very day of his birth, and those



misfortunes greater in proportion to his own greatness. The assailant therefore, being only a mortal, must needs fall from his glory.' Thus urged, the Locrians and the Phocians had come with their troops to Trachis.

"The various nations had each captains of their own under whom they served; but the one to whom all especially looked up, and who had the command of the entire force, was the Lacedaemonian king, Leonidas. He had now come to Thermopylae, accompanied by the 300 men which the law assigned him, whom he had himself chosen from among the citizens, and who were all of them fathers with sons living.

"The force with Leonidas was sent forward by the Spartans in advance of their main body, that the sight of them might encourage the allies to fight, and hinder them from going over to the Medes, as it was likely they might have done had they seen that Sparta was backward. They intended presently,

when they had celebrated the Carneian festival, which was what now kept them at home, to leave a garrison in Sparta, and hasten in full force to join the army. The rest of the allies also intended to act similarly; for it happened that the Olympic festival fell exactly at this same period. None of them looked to see the contest at Thermopylae decided so speedily; wherefore they were content to send forward a mere advanced guard. Such accordingly were the intentions of the allies.

"The Greek forces at Thermopylae, when the Persian army drew near to the entrance of the pass, were seized with fear, and a council was held to consider about a retreat. It was the wish of the Peloponnesians generally that the army should fall back upon the Peloponnesus, and there guard the Isthmus. But Leonidas, who saw with what indignation the Phocians and Locrians heard of this plan, gave his voice for remaining where they were, while they sent envoys to the several cities to ask for help, since they were too few to make a stand against an army like that of the Medes.

"While this debate was going on, Xerxes sent a mounted spy to observe the Greeks, and note how many they were, and see what they were doing. He had heard, before he came out of Thessaly, that a few men were assembled at this place, and that at their head were certain Lacedaemonians, under Leonidas, a descendant of Heracles. The horseman rode up to the camp, and looked about him, but did not see the whole army; for such as were on the further side of the wall (which had been rebuilt and was now carefully guarded) it was not possible for him to behold; but he observed those on the outside, who were encamped in front of the rampart. It chanced that at this time the Lacedaemonians held the outer guard, and were seen by the spy, some of them engaged in gymnastic exercises, others combing their long hair. At this the spy greatly marveled, but he counted their number, and when he had taken accurate note of everything, he rode back quietly; for no one pursued after him, nor paid any heed to his visit. So he returned, and told Xerxes all that he had seen.

"Four whole days Xerxes suffered to go by, expecting that the Greeks would run away. When, however, he found on the fifth that they were not gone, thinking that their firm stand was mere impudence and recklessness, he grew wroth, and sent against them the Medes and Cissians, with orders to take them alive and bring them into his presence. Then the Medes rushed forward and charged the Greeks, but fell in vast numbers: others however took the places of the slain, and would not be beaten off, though they suffered terrible losses. In this way it became clear to all, and especially to the king, that though he had plenty of combatants, he had but very few warriors. The struggle, however, continued during the whole day.

"Then the Medes, having met so rough a reception, withdrew from the

fight; and their place was taken by the band of Persians under Hydarnes, whom the king called his Immortals: they, it was thought, would soon finish the business. But when they joined battle with the Greeks, it was with no better success than the Median detachment—things went much as before—the two armies fighting in a narrow space, and the barbarians using shorter spears than the Greeks, and having no advantage from their numbers. The Lacedaemonians fought in a way worthy of note, and showed themselves far more skillful in fight than their adversaries, often turning their backs, and making as though they were all flying away, on which the barbarians would rush after them with much noise and shouting, when the Spartans at their approach would wheel round and face their pursuers, in this way destroying vast numbers of the enemy. Some Spartans likewise fell in these encounters, but only a very few. At last the Persians, finding that all their efforts to gain the pass availed nothing, and that, whether they attacked by divisions or in any other way, it was to no purpose, withdrew to their own quarters.

"During these assaults, it is said that Xerxes, who was watching the battle, thrice leaped from the throne on which he sat, in terror for his army.

"Next day the combat was renewed, but with no better success on the part of the barbarians. The Greeks were so few that the barbarians hoped to find them disabled, by reason of their wounds, from offering any further resistance; and so they once more attacked them. But the Greeks were drawn up in detachments according to their cities, and bore the brunt of the battle in turns, all except the Phocians, who had been stationed on the mountain to guard the pathway. So when the Persians found no difference between that day and the preceding, they again retired to their quarters.

"Now, as the king was confused, and knew not how he should deal with the emergency, Ephialtes, the son of Eurydemus, a man of Malis, came to him and was admitted to a conference. Stirred by the hope of receiving a rich reward at the king's hands, he had come to tell him of the pathway which led across the mountain to Thermopylae; by which disclosure he brought destruction on the band of Greeks who had there withstood the barbarians.

"The Persians took this path about the time of the lighting of the lamps, and, crossing the Asopus, continued their march through the whole of the night, having the mountains of Oeta on their right hand, and on their left those of Trachis. At dawn of day they found themselves close to the summit. Now the hill was guarded, as I have already said, by 1,000 Phocian men-at-arms, who were placed there to defend the pathway, and at the same time to secure their own country. They had been given the guard of the mountain path, while the other Greeks defended the pass below, because they had volunteered for the service, and had pledged themselves to Leonidas to maintain the post faithfully.

"The ascent of the Persians became known to the Phocians in the following manner: During all the time that they were making their way up, the Greeks remained unconscious of it, inasmuch as the whole mountain was covered with groves of oak; but it happened that the air was very still, and the leaves which the Persians stirred with their feet made, as it was likely they would, a loud rustling, whereupon the Phocians jumped up and flew to seize their arms. In a moment the barbarians came in sight, and, perceiving men arming themselves, were greatly amazed; for they had fallen in with an enemy when they expected no opposition. Hydarnes, alarmed at the sight, and fearing lest the Phocians might be Lacedaemonians, inquired of Ephialtes to what nation these troops belonged. Ephialtes told him the exact truth, whereupon he arrayed his Persians for battle. The Phocians, galled by the showers of arrows to which they were exposed, and imagining themselves the special object of the Persian attack, fled hastily to the crest of the mountain, and there made ready to meet death; but while their mistake continued, the Persians, with Ephialtes and Hydarnes, not thinking it worth their while to delay on account of Phocians, passed on and descended the mountain with all possible speed.

"The Greeks at Thermopylae received the first warning of the destruction which the dawn would bring on them from the seer Megistias, who read their fate in the victims as he was sacrificing. After this deserters came in, and brought the news that the Persians were marching round by the hills: it was still night when these men arrived. Last of all, the scouts came running down from the heights, and brought in the same accounts, when the day was just beginning to break. Then the Greeks held a council to consider what they should do, and here opinions were divided: some were strong against quitting their post, while others contended to the contrary. So when the council had broken up, part of the troops departed and went their ways homeward to their several states; part however resolved to remain, and to stand by Leonidas to the last.

"It is said that Leonidas himself sent away the troops who departed, because he tendered their safety, but thought it unseemly that either he or his Spartans should quit the post which they had been especially sent to guard. For my own part, I incline to think that Leonidas gave the order, because he perceived the allies to be out of heart and unwilling to encounter the danger to which his own mind was made up. He therefore commanded them to retreat, but said that he himself could not draw back with honor; knowing that, if he stayed, glory awaited him, and that Sparta in that case would not lose her prosperity. For when the Spartans, at the very beginning of the war, sent to consult the oracle concerning it, the answer which they received from the priestess was 'that either Sparta must be overthrown by the barbarians,

or one of her kings must perish.' The prophecy was delivered in hexameter verse, and ran thus:

O ye men who dwell in the streets of broad Lacedaemon!
Either your glorious town shall be sacked by the children of Perseus
Or, in exchange, must all through the whole Laconian country
Mourn for the loss of a king, descendant of great Heracles.
He cannot be withstood by the courage of bulls nor of lions,
Strive as they may; he is mighty as Zeus; there is nought that shall stay
him,
Till he have got for his prey your king, or your glorious city.

The remembrance of this answer, I think, and the wish to secure the whole glory for the Spartans, caused Leonidas to send the allies away. This is more likely than that they quarreled with him, and took their departure in such unruly fashion.

"So the allies, when Leonidas ordered them to retire, obeyed him and forthwith departed. Only the Thespians and the Thebans remained with the Spartans; and of these the Thebans were kept back by Leonidas as hostages, very much against their will. The Thespians, on the contrary, stayed entirely of their own accord, refusing to retreat, and declaring that they would not forsake Leonidas and his followers. So they abode with the Spartans, and died with them. Their leader was Demophilus, the son of Diadromes.

"At sunrise Xerxes made libations, after which he waited until the time when the market place is wont to fill, and then began his advance. Ephialtes had instructed him thus, as the descent of the mountain is much quicker, and the distance much shorter, than the way round the hills, and the ascent. So the barbarians under Xerxes began to draw nigh; and the Greeks under Leonidas, as they now went forth determined to die, advanced much further than on previous days, until they reached the more open portion of the pass. Hitherto they had held their station within the wall, and from this had gone forth to fight at the point where the pass was the narrowest. Now they joined battle beyond the defile, and carried slaughter among the barbarians, who fell in heaps. Behind them the captains of the squadrons, armed with whips, urged their men forward with continual blows. Many were thrust into the sea, and there perished; a still greater number were trampled to death by their own soldiers; no one heeded the dying. For the Greeks, reckless of their own safety and desperate, since they knew that, as the mountain had been crossed, their destruction was nigh at hand, exerted themselves with the most furious valor against the barbarians.

"By this time the spears of the greater number were all shivered, and with their swords they hewed down the ranks of the Persians; and here, as they

stroke, Leonidas fell fighting bravely, together with many other famous Spartans, whose names I have taken care to learn on account of their great worthiness, as indeed I have those of all the 300. There fell too at the same time very many famous Persians: among them, two sons of Darius.

"Thus two brothers of Xerxes here fought and fell. And now there arose a fierce struggle between the Persians and the Lacedaemonians over the body of Leonidas, in which the Greeks four times drove back the enemy, and at last by their great bravery succeeded in bearing off the body. This combat was scarcely ended when the Persians with Ephialtes approached; and the Greeks, informed that they drew nigh, made a change in the manner of their fighting. Drawing back into the narrowest part of the pass, and retreating even behind the cross wall, they posted themselves upon a hillock, where they stood all drawn up together in one close body, except only the Thebans. The hillock whereof I speak is at the entrance of the straits, where the stone lion stands which was set up in honor of Leonidas. Here they defended themselves to the last, such as still had swords using them, and the others resisting with their hands and teeth; till the barbarians, who in part had pulled down the wall and attacked them in front, in part had gone round and now encircled them upon every side, overwhelmed and buried the remnant left beneath showers of missile weapons.

"Thus nobly did the whole body of Lacedaemonians and Thespians behave, but nevertheless one man is said to have distinguished himself above all the rest, to wit, Dieneces the Spartan. A speech, which he made before the Greeks engaged the Medes, remains on record. One of the Trachinians told him, 'Such was the number of the barbarians, that when they shot forth their arrows the sun would be darkened by their multitude.' Dieneces, not at all frightened at these words, but making light of the Median numbers, answered, 'Our Trachinian friend brings us excellent tidings. If the Medes darken the sun, we shall have our fight in the shade.' Other sayings too of a like nature are said to have been left on record by this same person.

"The slain were buried where they fell; and in their honor, nor less in honor of those who died before Leonidas sent the allies away, an inscription was set up, which said:

Here did four thousand men from Pelops' land
Against three hundred myriads bravely stand.

"This was in honor of all. Another was for the Spartans alone:

Tell them in Lakēdaimon, passer-by,
That here obedient to their word we lie.⁵

⁵ Various Hands, *The Oxford Book of Greek Verse in Translation*.

"This was for the Lacedaemonians. The seer had the following:

The great Megistias' tomb you here may view,
Whom slew the Medes, fresh from Spercheus' fords.
Well the wise seer the coming death foreknew,
Yet scorned he to forsake his Spartan lords.

"These inscriptions, and the pillars likewise, were all set up by the Amphictyons, except that in honor of Megistias, which was inscribed to him (on account of their sworn friendship) by Simonides, the son of Leoprepes." ⁶

Meanwhile the Greeks at Artemisium were encouraged by their successful engagements with the enemy, and by the damaging of the Persian fleet in a storm. When, however, they learned that Xerxes had forced the pass at Thermopylae, they felt compelled to withdraw, though they had fought no decisive battle. The total result of these conflicts by sea and land was victory to the Persians, and a strengthening of the Greek hope that under more favorable conditions the struggle might yet be successful.

4. SALAMIS (480 B.C.)

Xerxes now advanced through Boeotia toward Athens, and the states of central Greece flocked to his standard. As the Greek fleet was retiring to Salamis, Themistocles returned to his city, to find it full of gloom. The Delphic Apollo had said that they should place their confidence in the "wooden wall," which some thought referred to the palisade around the Acropolis. They accordingly took refuge there. Themistocles, however, declared that it meant the fleet, and persuaded most of the Athenians to abandon their homes for Salamis, Aegina, and Troezen. The removal of the population and personal property was supervised by the Council of the Areopagus, now filled with patriots and directed by Themistocles and his associates. The Greek fleet halted in the bay of Salamis to cover the Athenian retreat, with the intention, too, of making there a further stand against the enemy. The place was well chosen, for the enemy would be compelled to fight in the strait, where superior numbers would not count. Further retreat would in fact be almost equivalent to abandoning the cause, for it would leave the enemy free to land troops on the coast of the Peloponnesus in the rear of the Isthmian line of defense then being prepared. (See maps, pp. 152, 156.)

Xerxes laid waste the country as he advanced to Athens. From the island of Salamis, the Athenians could see their city in flames, and scouts reported the Persian fleet at anchor in the bay of Phaleron. These circumstances tended for the moment to lessen the courage of the Greeks and to suggest to the admirals the wisdom of retiring to the Isthmus, where they could coöperate with the land

⁶ Herodotus, VII, 201-228.

forces. Themistocles, however, strongly urged Eurybiades, the Spartan commander in chief, to remain, and even threatened in case of retreat to use his ships in conveying the Athenians to a new home in Italy. While thus pleading with the admirals, Themistocles secretly dispatched a trusty slave to Xerxes, who was encamped on the shore, and falsely informed him that the Greeks, panic stricken, were about to sail away, and urged him to cut off their retreat at once.

"Then the Persian captains [says Herodotus], believing all that the messenger had said, proceeded to land a large body of Persian troops on the islet of Psyttaleia, which lies between Salamis and the mainland; after which, about the hour of midnight, they advanced their western wing towards Salamis, so as to enclose the Greeks. At the same time the force stationed about Ceos and Cynosura moved forward, and filled the whole strait as far as Munychia with their ships. This advance was made to prevent the Greeks from escaping by flight, and to block them up in Salamis, where it was thought that vengeance might be taken upon them for the battles fought near Artemisium.

"The Greeks now made ready for the coming fight. At the dawn of day, all the men-at-arms were assembled together, and speeches were made to them, of which the best was that of Themistocles; who throughout contrasted what was noble with what was base, and bade them, in all that came within the range of man's nature and constitution, always to make choice of the nobler part. Having thus wound up his discourse, he told them to go at once on board their ships, which they accordingly did; and about this time the trireme, that had been sent to Aegina for the Aeacidæ, returned; whereupon the Greeks put to sea with all their fleet.

"The fleet had scarce left the land when they were attacked by the barbarians. At once most of the Greeks began to back water, and were about touching the shore, when Ameinias of Pallene, one of the Athenian captains, darted forth in front of the line, and charged a ship of the enemy. The two vessels became entangled, and could not separate, whereupon the rest of the fleet came up to help Ameinias, and engaged with the Persians. Such is the account which the Athenians give of the way in which the battle began; but the Aeginetans maintain that the vessel which had been to Aegina for the Aeacidæ, was the one that brought on the fight. It is also reported that a phantom in the form of a woman appeared to the Greeks, and, in a voice that was heard from end to end of the fleet, cheered them on to the fight; first, however, rebuking them, and saying, 'Strange men, how long are you going to back water?'

"Against the Athenians, who held the western extremity of the line toward Eleusis, were placed the Phœnicians; against the Lacedæmonians, whose station was eastward towards the Piræus, the Ionians. Of these last a few only

followed the advice of Themistocles, to fight backwardly; the greater number did far otherwise.

"Far the greater number of the Persian ships engaged in this battle were disabled—either by the Athenians or by the Aeginetans. For as the Greeks fought in order and kept their line, while the barbarians were in confusion and had no plan in anything that they did, the issue of the battle could scarce be other than it was. Yet the Persians fought far more bravely here than at Euboea, and indeed surpassed themselves; each did his utmost through fear of Xerxes, for each thought that the king's eye was upon himself.

"There fell in this combat Ariabignes, one of the chief commanders of the fleet, who was son of Darius and brother of Xerxes, and with him perished a vast number of men of high repute, Persians, Medes, and allies. Of the Greeks there died only a few; for, as they were able to swim, all those that were not slain outright by the enemy escaped from the sinking vessels and swam across to Salamis. But on the side of the barbarians more perished by drowning than in any other way, since they did not know how to swim. The great destruction took place when the ships which had been first engaged began to fly; for they who were stationed in the rear, anxious to display their valor before the eyes of the king, made every effort to force their way to the front, and thus became entangled with such of their own vessels as were retreating.

"When the rout of the barbarians began, and they sought to make their escape to Phaleron, the Aeginetans, awaiting them in the channel, performed exploits worthy to be recorded. Through the whole of the confused struggle the Athenians employed themselves in destroying such ships as either made resistance or fled to shore, while the Aeginetans dealt with those which endeavored to escape down the strait; so that the Persian vessels were no sooner clear of the Athenians than forthwith they fell into the hands of the Aeginetan squadron."⁷

Too thoroughly crippled to renew the fight, the Persian fleet retired to Asia. Thereupon Themistocles urged the Greeks to sail at once to the Hellespont, and by destroying the bridge, cut Xerxes off from his base of supplies. The advice was sound, and, if taken, would probably have ended the war; but to the other Greeks the idea seemed too venturesome, and the war continued another year. Xerxes himself returned to Asia, leaving Mardonius with the best part of the army to spend the winter in Thessaly. Mardonius' plan was to make peace with Athens, and then, freed from the threat of the Athenian fleet, to crush Sparta at a blow. He sent Alexander, king of Macedonia, as his emissary, but Athens refused to desert the allied cause. There were doubts, however, and an apparent desire to hedge. Under a general amnesty decreed the year before, the exiles had returned to the city. Among them were Themis-

⁷ Herodotus, VIII, 76-91. •

toles' opponents Xanthippus and Aristides; the former was now placed in charge of the Athenian navy, and the latter was given command of the army.

5. PLATAEA AND MYCALE (479 B.C.)

It became clear to Sparta that speed was essential if Athens was to be kept in line. Once again Attica had been ravaged by the enemy. The Spartans therefore abandoned their insistence that the stand should be made at the Isthmus, and marched north (479 B.C.). At Plataea, just across Mt. Cithaeron in Boeotia, the allied Greek army gathered under the command of the Spartan Pausanias, who was the regent for the young son of Leonidas. The Greeks numbered 60,000 to 80,000 men, only slightly less than the Persian force. For almost two weeks there were maneuvers and counter maneuvers, until at last Mardonius saw his opportunity to attack the Greeks while they were in the midst of changing their position. The main attack was directed against the Peloponnesians, who patiently waited under the shower of arrows from the enemy's horsemen. But when the main body of Persians had drawn up within bowshot behind their fence of wicker shields, the order to charge was given, and the heavy Peloponnesian infantry dashed at a run upon the enemy's line. Mardonius and those about him fell. The result was decisive. The remnant of the Persian army under Artabazus hurriedly retreated to Asia. The Greek allies then besieged Thebes, and upon its fall the Boeotian League was disbanded.

The Greek ships, meanwhile, had been at Delos, keeping an eye out for the Persian fleet. Assured of help from Chios and Samos, they crossed over to the Asia Minor coast and landed at Mycale, where the Persians held a fortified position. During the battle that followed, the Asiatic Greeks in the Persian force deserted, the Persian army was destroyed, and the warships burned. This victory, according to legend fought on the same day as Plataea (late August, 479 B.C.), pointed the way to the liberation of Asiatic Greece. Sestos, on the Hellespont, was now besieged, but as it promised to be a lengthy undertaking, the Peloponnesians, under King Leotychidas of Sparta, returned home. The Athenians, to their credit, remained. The essential difference between Athens and Sparta was here revealed, and inevitably it led to rivalry and conflict.

6. THE CARTHAGINIAN INVASION OF SICILY

CARTHAGE. During these momentous events a life-and-death struggle took place in the West between the Sicilian Greeks and Carthage. Carthage, the famous Phoenician colony, was the head of a wealthy commercial empire that extended along the North African coast from the Cyrenaica to the Atlantic; it included settlements in Sicily, Sardinia, and Spain. By the middle of the sixth century Carthage had begun to form treaties with the individual coast towns



Above: Obverse and reverse of a Demareteion. Silver decadrachm (10 drachmas) of Syracuse struck in honor of the victory at Himera, 480 B.C.; the crouching lion under the victorious quadriga symbolizes Africa. *Center:* Portrait of the deified Alexander on a silver tetradrachm (4 drachmas) of Lysimachus. 3rd century B.C. *Below:* Silver tetradrachm of Heliocles of Bactria (left); silver tetradrachm of Antimachus I of Bactria. 2nd century B.C. The realism of the later coins is in striking contrast to the idealization of the earlier. A drachma "equals" 18 American cents. In the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

of Etruria for the regulation of trade and the defense of their common interests against the Greeks. Although the Greeks of Massilia were able to maintain their independence, an allied fleet of Carthaginians and Etruscans defeated the Phocaeen colonists in a naval battle at Alalia (535 B.C.) and drove the Greeks from Corsica. (Cf. the map, pp. 144, 145.)

THE BATTLE OF HIMERA (480 B.C.). Fortunately for the cause of western Hellenism, the Greeks of Sicily during the fifth century tended toward political unification, under the leadership of a young cavalry officer of remarkable genius in war and statecraft, Gelon by name. Tyrant of Gela, Gelon also made himself master of Syracuse and took up his residence in this, the richest and most powerful city of Sicily. To strengthen himself further, he married Demarete,⁸ the daughter of Theron, tyrant of Acragas. These developments thoroughly alarmed the Carthaginians, who resolved upon attack. In 480 B.C., doubtless in collusion with Persia, a Carthaginian army, consisting of many mercenaries and under the command of Hamilcar, advanced upon Sicily (map, p. 255). A fierce battle was fought before Himera, but by the end of the day the Carthaginian army was routed, much of the fleet went up in flames, and vast spoils and countless prisoners were taken. To save her Sicilian colonies, which in reality were trading posts, Carthage bought peace with a heavy war indemnity.

In East and West Hellenism had won, and the Greeks were free to work out their destiny. Persia henceforth was on the defensive, and not for seventy years did Carthage dare attack again. The success of Gelon in defeating Carthage added to the prestige and power of Syracuse, which, under him and his brother Hiero, became the head of a Sicilian union. But the spirit of liberty and equality, which was working its spell upon the minds of older Hellas, lived, too, among the western Greeks, provincial though they were. By the middle of the fifth century, democratic waves swept over Sicily and Italy and converted tyrannies and aristocracies into more popular forms of government.

⁸ Among the most beautiful Greek coins ever struck are the "Demareteia," issued in memory of the victory at Himera (p. 212).

XIII

THE ATHENIAN EMPIRE

1. THE DELIAN LEAGUE

The victories of Plataea and Mycale threw down a challenge to the Greeks to clear the Persians from the Aegean world, and naturally it was expected that Sparta, by virtue of her chief command at the decisive battles, would take the lead. This indeed she did, and in 478 B.C. an allied fleet under Pausanias sailed for Cyprus, where the Greek cities were freed; soon thereafter Byzantium was captured and the grain route to the Black Sea opened. Pausanias now began to assume the airs and habits of an oriental despot, and the Spartans, feeling that they never should have engaged in so distant an enterprise in the first place, recalled Pausanias and settled down to their familiar Peloponnesian isolation.

The people of Athens, on the other hand, by their character and very outlook on life, regarded the new opportunity with enthusiasm, for they, and many with them, considered the Athenian fleet, and the strategy back of it, as the real saviors of the West. It was highly proper, so they thought, that they should be the ones to free the Ionians, who after all were their kinsmen. Athenian success in this undertaking, combined with the expulsion of the Persians from Sestos and Thrace, foretold the eclipse of Sparta and the emergence of Athens as the center of the civilized world, greater than Ionia in its prime. Even within Greece itself Athens was strong enough to oppose Sparta, for apparently Sparta had asked, or perhaps commanded, her not to rebuild her walls, but to join with her in razing the fortifications of all Greek cities outside the Peloponnesus. This proposal quite clearly would have been fatal to Athens. To give his city precious time, Themistocles went to Sparta as an envoy, and there, first by delays and then by deliberate falsehoods, concealed the truth while the Athenians feverishly rebuilt their walls. Not long afterward he persuaded his fellow citizens to build dockyards at Piraeus and surround the whole promontory, known as Munychia, with a massive wall, pointing out that, in case of trouble, they should go there to live, since their command of the sea would save them from starvation.

ALLIANCE AGAINST PERSIA. The bold and elastic imagination of Athens, however, could not content itself with mere victories over Persia, for no one

could yet be certain that there would not be another invasion. In the year 477 B.C., accordingly, representatives from the islands and the coast of Asia Minor joined with Athens in an offensive and defensive alliance against Persia. Casting masses of iron into the sea, they swore to remain faithful to their obligations till the metal should rise and float on the surface. They chose the island of Delos, which was sacred to all Ionians, and its temple of Apollo as the meeting place and treasury of the new confederacy. Nothing was said about possible withdrawal from the alliance, but the individual states were bound by treaty to Athens, which from the very beginning was the dominant partner. Athens, for her part, swore to respect the constitutions of the members, to allow them representation in the central synod, and, in return for an annual payment, to give them protection. The larger states, such as Lesbos, Chios, Samos, Naxos, and Thasos, preferred to make this payment in ships, whereas the smaller communities found it easier to contribute money. An Athenian, Aristides—known for his fairness as “the Just”—was appointed to carry through the first assessment; while the figure is now unknown to us, the tribute (*phoros*) a little later, when the Delian League was larger, stood at 460 talents (\$552,000). (One talent “equals” \$1,200.)

CIMON. If the statesmanship of Themistocles laid the foundation of this confederacy, the work of expanding it fell chiefly to Cimon, the son of Miltiades. By his marriage to the granddaughter of Megacles he had allied himself with the Alcmaeonidae, while his sister was married to Callias, the wealthiest man in Athens. Winning brilliant victories between 476 and 462 B.C. Cimon raised Athens to great heights of power and secured the political eclipse of Themistocles. It seems one of the tragedies of history, albeit eminently Greek, that the great patriot should have become a victim of party politics and died in Asia Minor as a puppet of the Persians.

IMPERIALISM. Cimon, as a noble, believed in coöperation with Sparta, but he was sensitive enough to democratic sentiment to realize the popularity of the Delian League, with its advantages of a mild imperialism. Between warring on Persians and pirates he found time to add to the might of Athens by founding cleruchies, as the distinctive Athenian colonies were called. Unlike an ordinary colony, which became a free state, all the people of a cleruchy remained Athenian citizens; it was like a bit of Athens planted in foreign soil. When, however, Cimon forced Carystus, a state of southern Euboea, into the League, many Greeks began to wonder if liberty and poverty were not worth more than Athenian aggrandizement, and in 468 B.C. Naxos announced its intention to withdraw. Athens promptly met this threat to her leadership by crushing the Naxians. Adopting a policy that was to be characteristic, she compelled them to embrace a democratic constitution and, as a sign of dependence, to contribute money rather than ships to the treasury.

Cimon's greatest victory was gained in the year 466 B.C. at the mouth of the Eurymedon River in Asia Minor, where he destroyed a strong Phoenician fleet, a fact that made it clear to the world that all danger from Persia had ceased. The neighboring people of Caria and Lycia were joined to the League. Continuing his career of welding the maritime confederacy into an empire, Cimon forcibly added the Thracian Chersonese and then proceeded to the Strymon River. Here, at a place known as "The Nine Ways," Cimon tried to settle 10,000 colonists, but they were badly beaten by the Thracians, and the venture had to be abandoned for some years. Later on, the place was colonized as Amphipolis. It was a site of great strategic strength, the only spot where the Strymon could be bridged, commanding at once the route to the Bosphorus and the road to the mines of Mt. Pangaeus.

The obviously complete defeat of Persia brought to the fore the question whether contributions for military and naval expenses were to end with the establishment of peace in Asia or whether Athens, on the plea of eternal vigilance, could maintain the League by force. The answer was soon given when revolting Thasos met the fate of Naxos; there was really no difference of opinion among the leading statesmen of Athens concerning the confederacy. Imperialism and democracy were in fact correlative, since the imperial revenue alone made possible the participation of the Athenian masses in public affairs. In domestic politics, on the other hand, there was a sharp line of cleavage. Because Sparta was secretly encouraging rebellion within the Delian League and stood forth as the champion of particularism, of the complete independence and isolation of the city-states, those Athenians who favored the popularization of the constitution believed it was the duty of Athens to break away from Sparta in order unhampered to make the most of her opportunity in world politics. The conservatives, however, had a natural affinity for Sparta and, though they dared not give up the Delian League, feared the consequences if Sparta were added to Persia as an enemy. Cimon's downfall was intimately connected with his support of Sparta.

THE MESSENIAN REVOLT. The situation at Sparta was disturbed by unrest within the Peloponnesian League, among other things, and then in 464 B.C. a terrible earthquake leveled most of the houses and killed thousands of the inhabitants. The helots took this moment to revolt and, seizing Mt. Ithome, inaugurated the so-called Third Messenian War. They defended themselves so stoutly that Sparta had to appeal for aid to its allies, including Athens. The democratic Opposition, led by Ephialtes with the aid of a young noble who was just entering upon his public career, Pericles by name, believed that the request should be declined. Cimon, who was popular with the sailors by reason of his victories and with the city workers because of his extensive public improvements, won the day, however, and marched to the relief of

Sparta with a force of heavy infantry. For some reason not now wholly clear, the Spartans dismissed Cimon and his troops soon after their arrival.

CIMON AND EPHIALTES. This insult outraged the Athenians and, paralyzing the Spartan faction within the city, brought to the front Ephialtes and the democratic party, which was determined to make the city independent in Hellenic politics. The first fruits of the new policy were the ostracism of Cimon (461 B.C.) and a reform of the ancient Council of the Areopagus, whose members held office for life and were associated in the public mind with aristocracy.¹ The Reform left to the Areopagus jurisdiction in matters of homicide, but divided its other powers—"the guardianship of the laws," as they were vaguely defined—among the Council of Five Hundred, the Assembly, and the *heliaea*. Ephialtes, however, was soon murdered by a member of one of the oligarchical clubs, and his place as leader of the democratic party was taken by Pericles.

2. THE GREEK WORLD AFTER PLATAEA

ECONOMIC LIFE. The Greek world, which Athens came to dominate, was united by trade and commerce, no less than by the exchange of ideas. Its economic basis, however, was agriculture, and concerning this the Greeks knew surprisingly little. Even in the fifth century the advantage of rotating crops was but slowly recognized, and half the land was allowed to lie fallow in alternate years; the farms were small, the plough simple, and the use of manure was restricted by the lack of animals. The farmer, nevertheless, took pride in being engaged in an ancient profession, where only citizens were allowed to own land, and he worked his field himself, aided perhaps by a few slaves. Certain areas naturally lent themselves better to the cultivation of specific crops; for example, Sicily, Egypt, Cyprus, Euboea, and southern Russia were the chief grain-growing districts; wine and oil were prized products of Attica and the Aegean islands; the uplands of Asia Minor were famous for their woolens; flax came from the Black Sea regions, dried fish from the Bosphorus; but as more and more land was put under the plough, timber had to be imported, for warships and buildings, from the Black Sea, Thrace, and Magna Graecia.

The chief industrial centers were Athens, with its famous potteries; Corinth, Sicyon, Argos, and Chalcis, which were noted for their metalwork; Miletus and Samos, for their furniture and textiles. Marble came from the quarries of Pentelicus and Paros, silver from Laurium and Mt. Pangaeus, gold from Mt. Pangaeus and Thasos, iron from Laconia and the Black Sea, copper from

¹ The Council, however, must have been full of mediocrities, for it consisted of ex-archons who, since Themistocles' reform, were chosen by lot.

500 Miles



Cyprus, tin from southern Gaul and Spain. The Orient produced a variety of luxury wares. (See the map, p. 218.)

It was left to private initiative to arrange for export, since Greek states rarely had a commercial policy. The exchange of goods—the products of small shops, where specialization, in our sense, was unknown—was facilitated by the widespread use of coinage. The many different issues and weights must have been confusing (p. 359), but in practice it was the money of the great commercial states that circulated widely, such as the “owls” of Athens, whose coinage the Empire was compelled to adopt. On account of the rough nature of Greece and the poor roads, most traffic was by sea, in boats of about 250 tons. These were propelled by oars and sail and could cover more than 125 nautical miles in a twenty-four hour run. For the first and last time between the empires of Crete and Rome the sea was cleared of pirates, by Athenian triremes, but commerce was constantly disturbed by warfare, which remained nevertheless a very inexact science conducted by citizen armies, who as a rule were willing to fight only in the summer.

LITERATURE. During this period, when the Delian League was being transformed into an Empire, Athens won the leadership of the intellectual world. In the hands of Aeschylus of Eleusis (ca. 525–456 B.C.), for example, the drama became a new and great art, casting off all traces of its primitive beginning.² Though the most creative of Athenian dramatists, Aeschylus desired above all else to be considered a loyal citizen who had fought for his country at Marathon. With Athenian thought and custom gravitating irresistibly toward democracy, Aeschylus, Eupatrid though he was, glowed with a passion for freedom and gave his sympathy without reserve to the lowly. Against the aristocratic tradition which made the Eupatrid good and god-beloved and the poor base and vicious, he upheld a more rational view of right and wrong and of their reward and punishment (p. 290).

Aeschylus wrote approximately ninety plays, of which seven are now extant. Of these the *Oresteia*, which deals with the culmination of the succession of curses that fell upon the House of Atreus, is the only trilogy³ to have survived from antiquity. An ominous gloom pervades the *Agamemnon*, the first and probably the greatest of the trilogy, but it is broken now and then by moments of joy. Above all stands Zeus, who brings all things to pass, but the characters are strongly drawn and are given some opportunity for the display of personal initiative. Into their mouths Aeschylus, a man of deep religious conviction and a poet of beautiful language and imagery, puts noble sentiments.

² Aeschylus reduced the number of the chorus from 50 to 12 and diminished its share in the performance, which until now had consisted chiefly of singing; moreover, he added a second actor and made possible real conflict, with the chorus taking sides.

³ A group of three plays, often on the same general theme, for consecutive presentation on the same day.

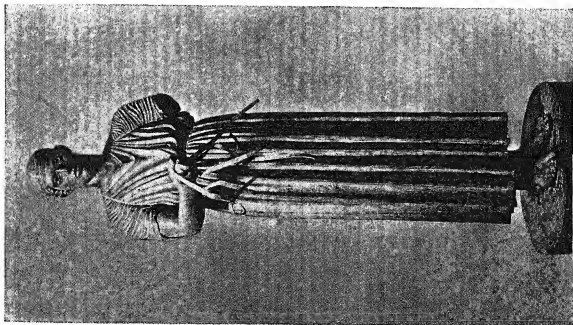
Aeschylus tells us in the *Agamemnon* that the gods are merciful and have provided a way of escape from sin. Agamemnon's father had committed an enormous crime, and he had inherited the curse, which drove him madly to more serious offences. He sacrificed his own daughter, Iphigeneia, before sailing to Troy, and after capturing the city violated the temples and altars of its gods. When, therefore, he returned home, he reaped his reward, death at the hand of his wife Clytemnestra, the strongest human character in the play. In killing her husband she but served as a link in the resistless chain of blood revenge, a tool, as it were, of the inevitable retribution that overtakes evil.

In the next play, the *Choëphoroe* (*Libation Bearers*), the children of Agamemnon and Clytemnestra, Electra and Orestes, as the avengers of their father, murder their mother, this monstrous act being the by-product of their inherited guilt. In the *Eumenides* (*Furies*), the last play in the trilogy, the dread Furies, who seem to typify both conscience and a Mosaic justice, pursue Orestes, tormenting him with the most intense suffering, but by the agonizing experience he expiates the crime he had to commit as a duty; with suffering come obedience and wisdom. He is, accordingly, purified by Apollo at Delphi and acquitted by the Athenian Council of the Areopagus sitting under the presidency of Athena. In this way the family is ultimately saved from the recurrence of its guilt. With the gods' aid a family worked out its own redemption in suffering.

This tempering of justice with mercy, symbolized by Zeus himself, was in keeping with the growing sense of kindliness and the religious spirit of the day, which expressed itself in diverse forms. Progressive though he was, Aeschylus held fast to the hereditary faith of his race, exalted and purified by his splendid intelligence and brilliant imagination. In touch with the best thought of the time, he could only conceive of Zeus as combining in the highest degree power, splendor, and sublimity; he gives us scenes and conceptions which, in their grandeur, are altogether too bold for representation.

Contemporary with Aeschylus lived great lyric poets, such as Simonides of Ceos, Bacchylides of Ceos, and Pindar, a Boeotian noble who glorified his class by his choral songs in honor of victors at the national games. The Pindaric glitter, however, reflects the glory of earth and of the gods who live no higher than Olympus, whereas the words of Aeschylus spring from a loftier spiritual and moral inspiration.

ART. The emphasis of these decades between 480 and 450 B.C.—the so-called "transitional period" between the end of the Persian Wars and the firm establishment of the Athenian Empire—was on moderation. This can be seen as clearly in art as in literature. The most beautiful building erected during this time was the temple of Zeus (ca. 460 B.C.) in the Altis, or sanctuary, at Olympia (p. 152). The grand pedimental sculptures are almost exact in

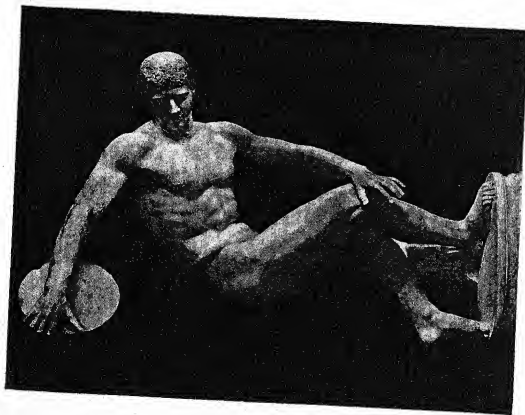


Photograph by Alinari



Aphrodite on a goose, from Rhodes. White-ground Attic kylix, ca. 465 B.C., attributed to the workshop of Pisto Xenos. Although one of the most beautiful examples of drawing in the history of art, the artist's name (as is the case with most Greek works) is uncertain. In the British Museum, London

The bronze charioteer, found by the French in their excavations at Delphi. About 477 B.C. Although bronze was the favorite medium of ancient sculptors, most bronze statues have long since been melted down. In the Delphi Museum

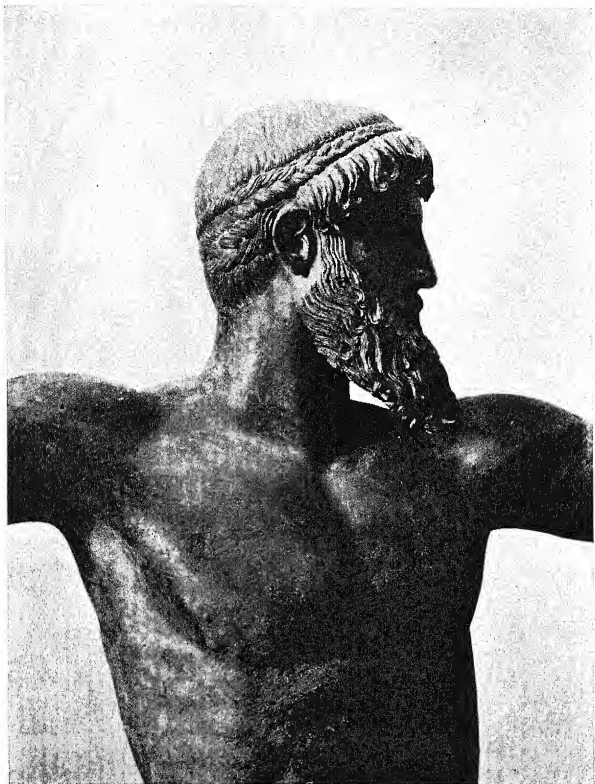


Photograph by Alinari

Composite cast of a Roman copy of Myron's Discobolus. The bronze original, ca. 460 B.C., has long since been lost. Copies of famous Greek works were made in Roman days to satisfy the demand for art



A mighty paradigm of divinity. Apollo, from the temple of Zeus at Olympia, ca. 460 B.C. The general subject of the west pediment is the triumph of civilization over barbarism. In the Olympia Museum



Photograph by Boissonnas

The father of gods and men. This statue of Zeus, a bronze equivalent of profound Aeschylean grandeur, was found by fishermen in the sea off Cape Artemisium, Euboea. It was probably made about 455 B.C. by Ageladas of Argos, teacher of Myron, Pheidias and Polycleitus. In the National Museum, Athens

their portrayal of the human form, strong, virile figures with varying emotions freely expressed or suggested. They have a quiet simplicity and restraint that make even the mortals appear superhuman. The western pediment has the conventional scene of violence, but it is no ordinary violence, for the tremendous struggle between Lapiths and Centaurs symbolizes the never-ending conflict between civilization and barbarism. In the center, undisturbed by the confusion around him, stands Apollo, the great god of youth and Hellenism, looking along his extended right arm and leaving us in no doubt as to the outcome.

The only statue from ancient Greece that can compare with the Olympia Apollo in profound Aeschylean grandeur is the large bronze Zeus, found by fishermen in 1927 in the sea near Cape Artemisium off Euboea. Here is depicted the father of gods and men in all his simple, yet mighty majesty. There is a wonderful balance to the figure as he hurls the thunderbolt. In the bronze charioteer from Delphi, and more particularly in Myron's discus thrower, we notice that the faces are often idealized and have a quiet expression that contrasts with their bodily action. The old archaic stiffness with its frontal pose has disappeared, and the figures are at once simpler and more massive, beautifully noble. Neither Empire nor great wealth produced these magnificent achievements of the mind and spirit. As we have already said, the emphasis of Greek life in the three decades after Plataea was on moderation; indeed, the period has been called the end of the Hellenic moral experiment.

3. THE ATHENIAN DEMOCRATIC CONSTITUTION

No great contemporary historian has left a detailed history of the momentous half century between 478 and 431 B.C. (the so-called *Pentecontaetia*), for Herodotus concluded his *History* with the Persian Wars, Thucydides' chief interest was in the Peloponnesian War, and later writers, such as Ephorus, have survived only in fragments. And yet it is a period of peculiar fascination and value, because, in addition to the transformation of the Delian League into a maritime empire, we have the growth of an Athenian land empire and the concomitant democratization of the constitution. Athens had not the strength to maintain her land empire for long, the excesses of the masses eventually wrecked the constitution, and by the end of the century the maritime empire had also disappeared. Meanwhile the high enthusiasm and taste and ability of the Athenians produced prodigious achievements in art and literature, their city became "the teacher of Greece," the meeting place of most of the leading minds of the time. By the suppression of piracy and the elimination of the Persian danger, as well as by the promotion of commerce and prosperity, their empire benefited all Greece and seemed to promise security and stability for the morrow. There is no doubt, however, about a corresponding loss of life

and liberty, and the steady interference in the affairs of sovereign states; a task of the historian, therefore, is properly to evaluate and weigh the successes and failures of Periclean imperialism.

PERICLES. It was Pericles, of course, who brought his community to a summit of civilization never before reached by the human race and who incorporated and expressed in his own personality the highest ideals of his age. He inherited the inspiring traditions of two illustrious families, those of his father Xanthippus, who had been an admiral at the battle of Mycale, and of his mother Agariste, a niece of Cleisthenes, the great Alcmaeonid reformer. The thrilling events of his childhood and youth attending the struggle for freedom and the founding of empire were in Pericles transmuted into force and nobility of character directed to the political, intellectual, and moral elevation of his country. The friend and associate of artists and thinkers throughout his life, Pericles had been instructed in music by Damonides, who became a political adviser, and in philosophy by Anaxagoras of Clazomenae, who freed his mind from superstition by directing it to a search for natural causes. Character and education combined to give weight to his words and majesty to his person, and his obviously deep earnestness won the confidence of the people in his patriotism, wisdom, and incorruptibility. Except for two brief years following Cimon's return from exile, Pericles, as an annually elected general, was the master of Athens almost continuously from the time of Ephialtes' murder (461 B.C.) to his death in 429 B.C. In spite of the creation of an undiluted democracy, and all the great achievements in art and literature, it is probably correct to say that Pericles was not a distinguished military commander, and certainly his foreign policy was unsuccessful (p. 279).⁴

CLASSES OF SOCIETY. It was the possession of an empire, and the concentration of its control in the city masses of Piraeus and Athens, that determined the character of the Athenian constitution. The metics (resident aliens) and slaves had, of course, no political rights, but within the citizen body the old issue of the Few against the Many persisted, and in the new democratic world many of the old nobility, the Eupatrids, found themselves totally out of place. One of their number, aptly called the Old Oligarch, has left us a political treatise whose words reveal the existence of a class of men, strong in wealth, social standing, and intelligence, who were watching their opportunity to usurp the government and enslave the populace. Under Pericles they could

⁴ A kinswoman, Telesippe by name, became Pericles' wife, but as they could not live happily together, he found her another husband at her request, and afterward was himself attracted to Aspasia, a highly accomplished woman from Miletus. As Athenian women had merely a domestic education and were now kept more strictly at home, a class of non-Athenian women, termed *hetaerae* or "companions," better educated and more attractive, usurped their place in the society of men. It may be added that divorce at Athens was easy for a man, more difficult for a woman, and that parents not only had the power to name their sons (the eldest being named generally after his grandfather), but could also delete their names from the register and disinherit them, though the sons would not lose their political status.

only indulge in grumblings and indirect attacks upon the leading statesmen, but later days were to see examples of their political methods.

Notwithstanding such people, the commons cherished profound respect for the nobility, and it was chiefly the Eupatrids, not men from the masses, who created Athenian culture and the democratic constitution. The nobility formed a small minority of the population, but its sympathies were largely shared by the *zeugitae*, the freeholders of little farms, conservative middle-class citizens who were opposed to forces that made powerfully for innovation. The "poor," whom the Old Oligarch so despised, were in general self-sustaining—the smallest land proprietors, shepherds, shopkeepers, artisans, laborers, and sailors; in short, the lowest class in the Solonian census (the *thetes*). The growing complexity of economic conditions, created by the development of commerce and industry and making greater and greater demands upon the intelligence, produced an increasing number of persons who were incompetent to earn a living for themselves. Under an aristocracy they would have died of want or fallen into slavery, and the task of the broader and more humane democracy was to lift them to a place of respectable citizenship. This it did through colonization, through military and civil service, and vast public works. A large state income, however, was necessary for all this. The masses, taking apparently the easy road, decided to maintain and organize the Empire for their own benefit. Since that Empire was dependent upon the navy, and the navy upon the poorest citizens who acted as rowers, the *thetes* exerted special influence upon the development of the constitution.

ASSEMBLY AND COUNCIL. The sovereignty of the people was vested in the popular Assembly (*ecclesia*),⁵ which met forty times a year, passed the laws, and decided matters concerning foreign policy, war, food, and a multitude of details. Any person could debate in the Assembly, but, since it could not initiate a measure, a resolution (*probouleuma*) was brought before it by the Council of Five Hundred (*boule*). The members of the Council were chosen by lot from citizens over thirty years of age, were paid a drachma a day (ca. 18 American cents), and acted as the presiding officers of the Assembly. The Council examined the fitness of candidates for office, arranged for their election or sortition, kept strict watch over the magistrates, and attended to many other matters, such as the construction of public buildings and triremes and other ships of war, and prosecuted before the Assembly cases of treason (*eisangelia*). Far from giving rein to license and lawlessness, Athenian democracy in the lifetime of Pericles sternly enforced the moral discipline to which the people had grown accustomed under aristocratic rule. But the theory that, under the laws, the people themselves were sovereign could not be put into

⁵ The Assembly embraced all male citizens over 18 years of age, but men of 19 and 20 were generally absent on military service.

strict practice, for the actual administration had to be entrusted to the Council, and through it to the prytanies, the ten smaller groups (fifty from each tribe) who served, each of them, as a committee of the Council for 36 or 37 days.⁶

THE HELIAEA. The Council, through its prytanies, was in continuous session and, since it formulated the measures to be considered by the people, served as a brake on the Assembly, as did the *heliaea* (popular courts). Athens outstripped other Greek states in the conception of its duties and powers in criminal law, but it had an undeveloped idea of public justice, for much was left to private initiative; each person, perhaps after paying some one to write his speech, had to plead his own case. The court was a panel drawn from the six thousand jurors (*dicasts*, 600 chosen annually by lot from each tribe)—it might be a panel of five hundred and one, large enough, in any case, to prevent both bribery and intimidation—and it served as a jury without a judge. The chairman was a mere archon who possessed neither the knowledge nor the right to guide proceedings. Under these circumstances every heliastic decision was a fresh restatement of the general sense of right, which the Athenians considered superior to case law and precedent. With the growth of her Empire Athens gradually obtained jurisdiction over the allies in important cases. While this was another factor in the political education of the Athenian citizens, their delays and democratic bias made many states wonder if they were not paying a high price for the suppression of piracy and Persia.

In the year 451–450 B.C. Pericles carried a measure for the payment of jurors, at the rate of two obols (ca. 6 American cents) a day. This act completely democratized the constitution since it enabled the poorest to attend regularly. The jurors were old men as a rule, and the introduction of pay, in lieu of an old-age pension, was in itself a sound idea, even though it was made at the time of party strife with Cimon. On the other hand, Pericles' other measure of this year, that limiting the franchise to those who could claim citizenship on both sides of the family, was a selfish desire to restrict the benefits of empire to as small a group as possible. In this virtual democracy there remained but one safeguard to the constitution, the *graphe paranomon*, an indictment for bringing before the Assembly measures in conflict with the laws.

MAGISTRATES. The number of officials at Athens was very large, and since all the magistrates were paid, excepting the military officers, there must have been 20,000 people on the pay roll, when we consider jurors, soldiers, and sailors. The Empire made all this possible, and payment simply meant that every Athenian had the rich opportunity of sharing in the actual government of his state. The highest magistrates were the ten generals, who were elected annually, reelection being allowed; in addition to commanding the army and

⁶ This was the term between 450 and 410 B.C.

navy they embraced most of the functions falling in a modern state to the Ministry or Cabinet. An Athenian, accordingly, who undertook to guide the policy of his state had to bear a heavier weight of responsibility than has been necessary in any less democratic form of government, for the Assembly could not be expected to have the same acquaintance with the details of policy that might be presupposed in a select body of men, such for instance as the Roman Senate or a modern parliament. The democracy had to place greater trust in its advisers, although it did not always realize that the right of debate in the Assembly allowed a demagogue to force upon a magistrate a policy in which he had no confidence.

4. THE LAND EMPIRE

Cimon's dismissal from Mt. Ithome, his subsequent ostracism, and the triumph of the anti-Spartan democratic party of Ephialtes and Pericles meant that Athens was now committed to the possibility of simultaneous war on land and sea. When an Athenian embassy under Callias sought peace with Persia and returned without success, Athens decided that at any rate Persia would not dare to attack her fleet. She then resolved to weaken the Peloponnesian League by an indirect blow at Corinth, its most powerful member.

ATHENIAN AGGRESSION. This she did in 460 B.C. by accepting the plea of Megara for aid against Corinth. The alliance with Megara gave Athens control of the mountain passes leading to the Isthmus and of a convenient harbor, Pegae on the Corinthian Gulf, from which to trade with the West. Moreover, when the rebellious helots on Mt. Ithome surrendered a few years later, with the privilege of withdrawing from the Peloponnesus, Athens settled them at Naupactus, a Gibraltar near the entrance of the Corinthian Gulf (map, p. 152). It was becoming abundantly clear that Athens intended to gain the same control over this water that she exercised in the Saronic Gulf and Aegean Sea; in fact, that she proposed to drive Corinth from the western markets. It is little wonder, as the historian Thucydides remarks, that the Corinthians now conceived an "extreme hatred" for Athens.

The resources of Athens, however, were apparently matched only by her vitality. Although she had a large fleet before Egypt and Cyprus, she was able to lay siege to and conquer Aegina. After a preliminary reverse in Boeotia, where Sparta was trying to erect a counterweight to Athens, Myronides, the Athenian general, conquered all Boeotia except Thebes. Locris was forced into the League, Phocis became an ally, Troezen, on the opposite Peloponnesian coast, and Achaia cast their lot with Athens. At the same time the Athenians completed their Long Walls, which connected the city with Piraeus, four and a half miles distant, and insured that they could never be effectively besieged as long as their fleet held the sea (map, p. 267).

HEIGHT OF THE LAND EMPIRE. The height of Athenian power on land was reached in 456 B.C. The imperial ambition of Pericles seemed to be wholly justified, for in a period of five years Athens had built up a continental federation which included parts of the Peloponnesus and the entire territory from the Isthmus to Thermopylae and embracing intermittently the inconstant Thessalians. Here truly was a threat to the Peloponnesian League. Could Athens hope, however, to maintain both her land and sea empires? As if the control of the Saronic Gulf, through her possession of Megara, Aegina, and Troezen, were not enough, she now became, thanks to Pegae, Achaea, and Naupactus, a power on the western seas as well. Could Athens with impunity offend the pride of the Peloponnesians by opposing to them a mightier empire than their own and win their hatred by ruining their markets? And, above all, could she fight Persia at the same time? Even if she had the money, did she possess the man power?

CALLIAS' EMBASSY TO SUSA. Maneuvers of the Persian navy off Phoenicia, which resulted ultimately in a devastating attack upon the Athenian fleet before Egypt, led Pericles to fear that in reality the Persians might be planning a descent upon the Aegean. In 454 B.C., therefore, he transferred the treasury of the League from Delos to Athens for safekeeping. The next years were disturbed by Cimon's return from exile (451 B.C.) and party strife, during which Cimon won control of foreign policy at Athens. Making peace with Sparta, he set sail with two hundred ships for Cyprus, where his troops won a brilliant victory that raised immeasurably Athenian prestige in the eastern Mediterranean, though he himself was killed. This left Pericles supreme at Athens and, recognizing the limitations on the capacity of his city and the futility of war with Persia, he sent an embassy under Callias to Susa to make peace. Artaxerxes, the proud king who had succeeded to the inglorious Xerxes, refused to acknowledge formally the cession of his former Greek provinces in Asia Minor, but he did consent to leave them undisturbed. Athens, on her part, agreed to cease attacks upon the possessions of the Great King.

FROM DELIAN LEAGUE TO EMPIRE. The Peace of Callias, as it is called, meant that the war with Persia was finally finished, and consequently very little tribute came into the treasury of the Delian League for that year (449 B.C.). During the spring, however, Pericles suggested that the end of the war be celebrated by a Panhellenic congress at Athens to discuss the rebuilding of the temples destroyed during the Persian invasion. It was a shrewd idea calculated to win for Athens the implied moral leadership of the Greek world and was certain of prompt refusal by the Peloponnesian states. Pericles then proposed to the Athenians that they at least should rebuild their own temples and pay for them with the allied money. This was in the care of the goddess Athena, whose treasurers could use the funds as they saw fit. The idea was

popular, and in this momentous year of 449 B.C. the Athenians decided to charge tribute once more (beginning with 448-447 B.C.), an act that marks the formal change of the Delian League into the Athenian Empire. As Plutarch remarks, Pericles now set about adorning Athens like a vain woman, draping around her neck precious stones and statues and temples and teaching the people that, as long as they protected the allies, they did not need to give them any reckoning.

COLLAPSE OF THE LAND EMPIRE. The very next years, however, witnessed a general revolt in Greece against Athens. The Theban oligarchs won back Boeotia; Locris and Phocis deserted their alliance; Megara returned to the Peloponnesian League; Pleistoanax, the Spartan king, invaded Attica; and even Euboea attempted rebellion. In fact, the Athenian land empire collapsed almost overnight (446 B.C.).

5. THE THIRTY YEARS' PEACE

Pericles saw the exhaustion of the state, and in 445 B.C. agreed with the Peloponnesians to a Thirty Years' Peace. Athens surrendered her entire land empire, including Megara's harbor Nisaea, Pegae, Troezen, and Achaea, and retained only Plataea, Aegina, and Naupactus. Her situation differed little from that of 461 B.C., when Pericles had succeeded to Ephialtes' leadership. Sparta, on her part, acknowledged Athens' maritime empire, and neither party was to interfere with the allies of the other. Thus ended the conflict which is sometimes referred to as the First Peloponnesian War. Pericles had had the wisdom to act in time to save the Athenian Empire in the Aegean, and he was lucky to get such easy terms from Sparta. Sparta, however, had lost much man power in the terrible earthquake of 464 B.C. and, besides, had long been living on her past; nor could her chief ally, Corinth, be dissatisfied with a treaty that promised to restore her trade with the West.

ADVANTAGES OF EMPIRE. By drawing on the imperial tribute, Pericles was able to continue his great building program for the Athenian Acropolis, which included the Parthenon, to erect an Odeon, or music hall, on its southern side, and to carry on the construction of a new Hall of the Mysteries at Eleusis. The dockyards of Piraeus were substantially enlarged, and Hippodamus, a philosopher and practical scientist of Miletus, was engaged to lay out anew the harbor town, with broad straight avenues crossing each other at right angles. All this imperial activity, which was thrown into high relief by the fact that the synod of the old League no longer met and its officials (the *Hellenotamiae*) were Athenian magistrates, roused the conservatives to action. Their leader, Thucydides the son of Melesias, charged that Pericles was a traitorous tyrant, in very truth another Peisistratus.

THE TRIBUTE DISTRICTS. The ostracism of Thucydides in 443 B.C. left

Pericles without opposition. In order to bring more system into the administration of the Empire, it was divided, for purposes of quadrennial assessment, into five tribute districts—Ionia, the Hellespont, the Thracian district, Caria, and the islands—but in 438 B.C., Caria was merged with Ionia. These four districts remained until the last assessment in Athens in 410 B.C. It should be emphasized, because it illustrates so well the Greek ideal of the man of action, that the person Pericles saw fit to appoint as chief treasurer for the reorganization of the Empire in 443 B.C. was the poet Sophocles, who produced his *Antigone* the following year, and two years later was general at Samos.⁷

THE ALLIED STATES. Athens brought peace and prosperity to her Empire, but they were regarded as mixed blessings because of the steady encroachment of the Attic language and laws, monetary standards, and cleruchies. All this pointed to the ultimate consolidation of the Empire into a single state, but on the other hand no ally demanded citizenship in Athens, and had it been offered, few perhaps would have accepted. The fundamental defect in the Athenian imperial system was that the allies were given no hope of acquiring representation in the central government, but were convinced that Athens was bent on forever maintaining her place, not as president, but as master. Hence the scheming market-place politicians, who saw in revolt their way to leadership, and the old families, who had lost their political ascendancy, were ready for rebellion. The masses and the merchants, however, continued to feel that the economic advantage of Athenian rule outweighed the hardship of the tribute and their genuine love of sovereign independence.

ATHENIAN POWER EAST AND WEST. Perhaps with the hope of weakening Dorian Syracuse, and certainly with the idea of creating a commercial depot in the West, Pericles established a great colony in 443 B.C., made up of Athenians and other Greeks, at Thurii, a marvelously fertile spot in southern Italy. War with the Peloponnesus was always a possibility, Pericles realized, and accordingly in 437 B.C. he set out on an impressive voyage around the Black Sea, with the intention of cementing commercial ties that would render Athens independent of supplies from Dorian Sicily. This same year a colony was planted at Amphipolis, the Strymon crossing that controlled the approaches to the mines of Mt. Pangaeus and, moreover, could watch the growing Macedonian and Thracian kingdoms; and, in the northwest, the Athenian admiral, Phormio, was busy weakening the prestige of Corinth. East and West the might of Athens was respected and feared, but in spite of Pericles' own unassailable position the ever fickle and ungrateful people exiled his instructors, Damonides and Anaxagoras, and even the great sculptor Pheidias,

⁷ After its revolt was put down (439 B.C.), Samos received the punishment formerly meted out to Naxos and Thasos.

on the charge of embezzling gold and ivory intended for the statue of Athena in the Parthenon.

THE "GRIEVANCES." The Athenian Empire, which had destroyed the prosperity of Aegina and was choking the industrial and commercial life of other states, was hated by Corinth. If Corinth was to persuade Sparta to lead the Peloponnesian League to war, an overt act had to be committed, or, as Thucydides expresses it, a "grievance" had to be found. Sparta, however, refused to stir even when Athens violated the Thirty Years' Peace at the sea battle of Sybota by preventing the Corinthians from taking vengeance on their colony, Corcyra. Then, a second "grievance" came from the north. Potidaea, a member of the Athenian Empire though a colony of Corinth, chafed under her recently increased tribute and the presence of nearby Amphipolis. Urged on by Perdiccas, the ambitious king of Macedon, Potidaea revolted in 432 B.C. Athens dispatched forces to besiege the city, and Corinth replied with aid. Pericles, to bring matters to a head and perhaps too to obtain again a western outlet in the Megarid, issued his famous decree which excluded Megara from the harbors and markets of the Empire and meant her ruin. Would the Peloponnesians dare help? If not, a few years' grace might make Athens invincible. Pericles, using all his diplomatic skill, offered to arbitrate as the Peloponnesian League, goaded by Corinth, prepared for war. Thus the winter dragged on, when suddenly in March, 431 B.C., Thebes set the Greek world afire by claiming Plataea, Athens' ally, as a member of the Boeotian League and laid siege to the city. The Thirty Years' Peace had not run half its course.

XIV

THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR

(431-404 B.C.)

1. THE CAUSES OF THE WORLD CONFLICT

Our chief source of the terrible and tragic war between Athens and Sparta is the *History* of Thucydides.¹ An impartial writer, with the ability to penetrate beneath the surface, Thucydides also had the genius to reduce the actualities of life to their generic and hence their lasting patterns. Small though his world may have been, he was able to expose the forces which move political man. Some of these forces, he believed, sprang from chance or Fate. It is because of Thucydides' great powers that the Peloponnesian War assumes the qualities of a universal conflict of eternal significance. He opens his *History of the Peloponnesian War* with these words:

"Thucydides, an Athenian, wrote the history of the war in which the Peloponnesians and the Athenians fought against one another. He began to write when they first took up arms, believing that it would be great and memorable above any previous war. For he argued that both states were then at the full height of their military power, and he saw the rest of the Hellenes either siding or intending to side with one or other of them. No movement ever stirred Hellas more deeply than this; it was shared by many of the barbarians, and might be said even to affect the world at large. The character of the events which preceded, whether immediately or in more remote antiquity, owing to the lapse of time cannot be made out with certainty. But, judging from the evidence which I am able to trust after most careful inquiry, I should imagine that former ages were not great either in their wars or in anything else. And, though men will always judge any war in which they are actually fighting to be the greatest at the time, but, after it is over, revert to their admiration of some other which has preceded, still the Peloponnesian, if estimated by the actual facts, will certainly prove to have been the greatest ever known.

¹ Thucydides, the son of Olorus, took part in the Peloponnesian War; see p. 293 ff. for a fuller discussion. The translations are those of B. Jowett, with a few slight changes and much abbreviated. Thucydides' *History* comes to an end in the course of 411 B.C.; for the remainder of the War we are dependent on Xenophon's *Hellenica* (H. G. Dakyns' translation). Also useful are Diodorus (who drew from Ephorus), various *Lives* of Plutarch, the comedies of Aristophanes, the tragedies of Sophocles and Euripides, Aristotle's *Constitution of Athens*, and inscriptions.

"As to the speeches which were made either before or during the war, it was hard for me, and for others who reported them to me, to recollect the exact words. I have therefore put into the mouth of each speaker the sentiments proper to the occasion, expressed as I thought he would be likely to express them, while at the same time I endeavored, as nearly as I could, to give the general purport of what was actually said. Of the events of the war I have not ventured to speak from any chance information, nor according to any notion of my own; I have described nothing but what I either saw myself, or learned from others of whom I made the most careful and particular inquiry. The task was a laborious one, because eyewitnesses of the same occurrences gave different accounts of them, as they remembered or were interested in the actions of one side or the other. And very likely the strictly historical character of my narrative may be disappointing to the ear. But if he who desires to have before his eyes a true picture of the events which have happened, and of the like events which may be expected to happen hereafter in the order of human things, shall pronounce what I have written to be useful, then I shall be satisfied. My history is an everlasting possession, not a prize composition which is heard and forgotten.

"The greatest achievement of former times was the Persian War; yet even this was speedily decided in two battles by sea and two by land. But the Peloponnesian War was a protracted struggle, and attended by calamities such as Hellas had never known within a like period of time. Never were so many cities captured and depopulated—some by barbarians, others by Hellenes themselves fighting against one another; and several of them after their capture were repeopled by strangers. Never were exile and slaughter more frequent, whether in the war or brought about by civil strife. And rumors, of which the like had often been current before, but rarely verified by fact, now appeared to be well grounded. There were earthquakes unparalleled in their extent and fury, and eclipses of the sun more numerous than are recorded to have happened in any former age; there were also in some places great droughts causing famines, and lastly the plague which did immense harm and destroyed numbers of the people. All these calamities fell upon Hellas simultaneously with the war, which began when the Athenians and Peloponnesians violated the thirty years' truce concluded by them after the recapture of Euboea. Why they broke it and what were the grounds of quarrel I will first set forth, that in time to come no man may be at a loss to know what was the origin of this great war. The real though unavowed cause I believe to have been the growth of the Athenian power, which terrified the Lacedaemonians and forced them into war; but the reasons publicly alleged on either side were as follows."²

² Thucydides, I, 1; 21-23.

In effect, Thucydides makes it clear that the ancient naval democracy—guided by the stern hand of one man, though opposition among the rich existed—pursued revolutionary policies which so terrified the upholders of the *status quo* that a world conflict became inevitable. This was emphasized by the Corinthian envoys at Sparta before the outbreak of hostilities, when they said: "The Athenians are innovators, equally quick in the conception and in the execution of every new plan; you, on the other hand, are conservative, careful only to keep what you have." With remarkable candor the Athenian envoys remarked: "An empire was offered to us: can you wonder that, acting as human nature always will, we accepted it and refused to give it up again, constrained by three all-powerful motives, ambition, fear, interest. We are not the first who have aspired to rule; the world has ever held that the weaker must be kept down by the stronger. And we think that we are worthy of power; and there was a time when you thought so too; but now, when you mean self-interest, you resort to talk about justice. Did justice ever deter anyone from taking by force whatever he could?"

Of course, no one incident or factor was in itself sufficient for a conflict of interests and ideas that involved the entire Hellenic world. There is no denying the difference in outlook between Sparta and Athens, however. One, a Dorian state, was reactionary and narrow-minded, and in her splendid isolation headed a powerful land empire. The other, Ionian in blood and tradition, was democratic and progressive, the intellectual capital of Hellas and the possessor of a far-flung empire. On the other hand, the dualism into which Greece had settled might have lasted, in spite of the growing antipathy between Sparta and Athens.

The point about Athenian aggressions in the preceding half century was not simply that they had often been successful, but that they had been aimed at many different quarters. Was there a limit to Athenian ambition, or must all states eventually bow before it? The Athenian claim to leadership was generally considered incompatible with the liberties of individual states and with the long-established policy of Lacedaemon. The Athenians, however, asserted that their hegemony had been forced upon them by Sparta's unwillingness to continue the war with Persia, that circumstances not under their control had converted the Delian League into an Empire, and that, though they had been compelled thus to usurp an authority, they had made good their right to it by a justice and a moderation unparalleled in history. Against this claim their enemies, particularly the Corinthians, charged Athens with the enslavement of her allies and with the design of reducing other Hellenes to servitude, and called upon Sparta to take the lead in putting down the tyrant. The Spartans, in spite of their own constitution, considered themselves champions of the principle of city sovereignty, and were so regarded by their allies. Fear of

Athens and the universal Greek love of liberty were certainly contributing factors to the Peloponnesian War.

Rivalry in trade was another irritant. For many decades Athenian pottery had enjoyed a virtual monopoly of the Italian market. Furthermore, the presence of Naupactus and the recent alliance with Corcyra proved that Athens wished to control the West as she did the East. The trade of Megara, Corinth, and Sicyon had been badly hurt. Here, then, was a variety of ideas and factors which so charged the atmosphere of Greece with suspicion and hatred that any incident might force Sparta to lead the Peloponnesians against her rival. Even so, Greece might have survived the Megarian decree and the incidents at Corcyra and Potidaea, but the Theban attack on Plataea showed that it was futile to hope for peace any longer.

2. THE ARCHIDAMIAN WAR (431-421 B.C.)

THE STRATEGY. Pericles, now a man of sixty, not only was reconciled to war, but was convinced that it was better that it should come while he was still in the prime of life and Athens in excellent military condition. Hence he persuaded his countrymen to oppose every concession to the Peloponnesians. Knowing better than any contemporary the resources of Athens and her enemy, Pericles had ground for confidence. Arrayed against his state were the forces of nearly all the Peloponnesians, consisting of 24,000 hoplites and many light-armed troops; of the Boeotian confederacy under Theban leadership, with 10,000 hoplites and 1,000 cavalry; of lesser allies in the center and west of the peninsula. Obviously, the strategy of the Peloponnesians was to invade Attica and devastate the fields, hoping that the Athenians would be provoked into making a sally from their walls. But this was just what Athens must not do. The Athenian army consisted of 1,000 cavalry and 13,000 hoplites, but many of these were necessary to defend the Long Walls and the frontier forts, while others were absent at the siege of Potidaea. The strategy of Pericles, therefore, was to bring the entire population of the country, with their movable goods, into the city, although this meant the devastation of the fields. The enemy would not remain long in the country, because most of the Peloponnesians were small farmers, who personally tilled their lands, and because they had to bring their food supplies with them. However much they might ravage the fields, they could accomplish nothing against the strong fortifications of Athens and Piraeus. The Athenian fleet, manned by the *thetes* and allies, commanded the sea and would ensure the steady arrival at Athens of food supplies. In addition, the fleet would attack the coasts of the Peloponnesus and cut off its commerce; thus, while partially compensating the Athenians for damage to their fields, Pericles would gradually force the enemy to a

more favorable peace than that of 445 B.C. Against the almost total lack of public funds among the enemy could be reckoned 6,000 talents stored in the treasuries on the Acropolis and an annual income from the tribute and other sources amounting to about 1,000 talents. The Peloponnesians conceived the idea of borrowing from the treasuries of Delphi and Olympia to enlarge their fleet, but it proved an idle dream.

In the spring of 431 B.C. the enemy entered Attica, under the able Spartan king, Archidamus, after whom the first ten years of the Peloponnesian War have been named. The orchards and the ripe grain in the fields were cut down. Pericles' cold calculating plan of removing the population into the city subjected Athenian nature to an excessive strain. The people were reluctant to leave their homes because of their long-continued life of independence in the country districts. They longed to go forth and fight the enemy. Gathering in knots on the streets, they complained bitterly of their plight, and laid the whole blame of the war and their losses upon Pericles. Tragic as was this first year in the struggle between two evenly balanced foes, it was as nothing compared to the years ahead. Two decades later, while the war still had several years to run, we can catch the pathos of it all in the *Lysistrata* of Aristophanes, for, in spite of the buffoonery of the comic poet, we see the ruin of family life at Athens, we see generation after generation of men swept away, leaving the women desolate, robbed of husbands, lovers, and children.

THE FUNERAL ORATION. Pericles, however, maintained his policy at home in spite of the grumblings, and sent a fleet to ravage the Peloponnesian coast. In the autumn he persuaded the people to decree a reserve of 1,000 talents, to be used only in case of an attack by sea, and to keep 100 triremes always at home in defense of Piraeus. In his naval operations and in diplomacy he had made real gains, and was undoubtedly pleased with the results. After the campaign the remains of those who had fallen in battle during the summer were solemnly conveyed to the cemetery in the Cerameicus—a beautiful spot outside the walls—and interred amid the lamentations of their kin, citizens and metics, women, and men. An empty bed, covered with a sheet, honored those whose bodies had not been recovered. After the burial Pericles addressed the people in a Funeral Oration, one of the most precious documents in the history of civilization. The Funeral Oration is much more than a defense of his own policy or a mere eulogy of Athens. It is a description of the ideal of Pericles in his best moments, and an analysis of the strength of ancient democracy. Perhaps it is well to recall in this connection that Athens was never really checked until it came up against democratic Syracuse. The Funeral Oration lets us see the value of majority rule and free public debate. We sense, too, the tolerance of an ancient democracy which permitted Aristophanes, for example, to produce during the war several plays on the theme of peace.

Above all, however, the Funeral Oration makes clear a fundamental trust in human nature and a belief in progress.

"Our constitution is called a democracy [Thucydides reports Pericles as saying] for the administration is in the hands of the many and not of the few. But while the law secures equal justice to all alike in their private disputes, the claim of excellence is also recognized; and when a citizen is in any way distinguished, he is preferred to the public service, not as a matter of privilege, but as the reward of merit. Neither is poverty a bar, but a man may benefit his country whatever be the obscurity of his condition. There is no exclusiveness in our public life, and in our private intercourse we are not suspicious of one another, nor angry with our neighbor if he does what he likes; we do not put on sour looks at him which, though harmless, are not pleasant. While we are thus unconstrained in our private intercourse, a spirit of reverence pervades our public acts; we are prevented from doing wrong by respect for authority and for the laws, having an especial regard to those which are ordained for the protection of the injured as well as to those unwritten laws which bring upon the transgressor of them the reprobation of the general sentiment.

"And we have not forgotten to provide for our weary spirits many relaxations from toil; we have regular games and sacrifices throughout the year; at home the style of our life is refined; and the delight which we daily feel in all these things helps to banish melancholy. Because of the greatness of our city the fruits of the whole earth flow in upon us; so that we enjoy the goods of other countries as freely as of our own.

"We are lovers of the beautiful, yet simple in our tastes, and we cultivate the mind without loss of manliness. Wealth we employ, not for talk and ostentation, but when there is a real use for it. To avow poverty with us is no disgrace; the true disgrace is in doing nothing to avoid it. An Athenian citizen does not neglect the state because he takes care of his own household; and even those of us who are engaged in business have a very fair idea of politics. We alone regard a man who takes no interest in public affairs, not as a harmless, but as a useless character; and if few of us are originators, we are all sound judges of a policy. The great impediment to action is, in our opinion, not discussion, but the want of that knowledge which is gained by discussion preparatory to action. For we have a peculiar power of thinking before we act and of acting too, whereas other men are courageous from ignorance but hesitate upon reflection. And they are surely to be esteemed the bravest spirits who, having the clearest sense both of the pains and pleasures of life, do not on that account shrink from danger. In doing good, again, we are unlike others; we make our friends by conferring, not by receiving favors. To sum up: I say that Athens is the school of Hellas, and that the individual Athenian in his own

person seems to have the power of adapting himself to the most varied forms of action with the utmost versatility and grace.

"I have paid the required tribute, in obedience to the law, making use of such fitting words as I had. The tribute of deeds has been paid in part; for the dead have been honorably interred, and it remains only that their children should be maintained at the public charge until they are grown up: this is the solid prize with which, as with a garland, Athens crowns her sons living and dead, after a struggle like theirs. For where the rewards of virtue are greatest, there the noblest citizens are enlisted in the service of the state. And now, when you have duly lamented, every one his own dead, you may depart."³

THE PLAGUE. In the second year of the war there was the usual invasion of Attica by the Peloponnesians and the Athenian voyage of desolation along the Peloponnesian coast. In fact, these operations were as a rule repeated during the early period of the war. The season had not far advanced, however, before a terrible plague, beginning in the East, reached Piraeus. Soon it passed up between the Long Walls to Athens.

"As to the plague's probable origin [says Thucydides] or the causes which might or could have produced such a disturbance of nature, every man, whether a physician or not, will give his own opinion. But I shall describe its actual course, and the symptoms by which any one who knows them beforehand may recognize the disorder should it ever reappear. For I was myself attacked, and witnessed the sufferings of others.

"The season was admitted to have been remarkably free from ordinary sickness; and if anybody was already ill of any other disease, it was absorbed in this. Many who were in perfect health, all in a moment, and without any apparent reason, were seized with violent heats in the head and with redness and inflammation of the eyes. Internally the throat and the tongue were quickly suffused with blood, and the breath became unnatural and fetid. There followed sneezing and hoarseness; in a short time the disorder, accompanied by a violent cough, reached the chest; then fastening lower down, it would move the stomach and bring on all the vomits of bile to which physicians have ever given names; and they were very distressing. An ineffectual retching producing violent convulsions attacked most of the sufferers; some as soon as the previous symptoms had abated, others not until long afterwards. The body externally was not so very hot to the touch, nor yet pale; it was of a livid color inclining to red, and breaking out in pustules and ulcers. But the internal fever was intense; the sufferers could not bear to have on them even the finest linen garment; they insisted on being naked, and there was nothing which they longed for more eagerly than to throw themselves into cold water. And many of those who had no one to look after them actually plunged into the

³ Thucydides, II, 37-46.

cisterns, for they were tormented by unceasing thirst, which was not in the least assuaged whether they drank little or much. They could not sleep; a restlessness which was intolerable never left them. While the disease was at its height the body, instead of wasting away, held out amid these sufferings in a marvelous manner, and either they died on the seventh or ninth day, not of weakness, for their strength was not exhausted, but of internal fever, which was the end of most; or, if they survived, then the disease descended into the bowels and there produced violent ulceration; severe diarrhoea at the same time set in, and at a later stage caused exhaustion, which finally with few exceptions carried them off. For the disorder which had originally settled in the head passed gradually through the whole body, and, if a person got over the worst, would often seize the extremities and leave its mark, attacking the genitals and the fingers and the toes; and some escaped with the loss of these, some with the loss of their eyes. Some again had no sooner recovered than they were seized with a forgetfulness of all things and knew neither themselves nor their friends.

"The crowding of the people out of the country into the city aggravated the misery; and the newly arrived suffered most. For, having no houses of their own, but inhabiting in the height of summer stifling huts, the mortality among them was dreadful, and they perished in wild disorder. The dead lay as they had died, one upon another, while others hardly alive wallowed in the streets and crawled about every fountain craving for water. The temples in which they lodged were full of the corpses of those who died in them; for the violence of the calamity was such that men, not knowing where to turn, grew reckless of all law, human and divine. The customs which had hitherto been observed at funerals were universally violated, and they buried their dead each one as best he could. Many, having no proper appliances, because the deaths in their household had been so frequent, made no scruple of using the burial place of others. When one man had raised a funeral pile, others would come, and throwing on their dead first, set fire to it; or when some other corpse was already burning, before they could be stopped would throw their own dead upon it and depart.

"There were other and worse forms of lawlessness which the plague introduced at Athens. Men who had hitherto concealed their indulgence in pleasure now grew bolder. For, seeing the sudden change, how the rich died in a moment, and those who had nothing immediately inherited their property, they reflected that life and riches were alike transitory, and they resolved to enjoy themselves while they could, and to think only of pleasure. Who would be willing to sacrifice himself to the law of honor when he knew not whether he would ever live to be held in honor? The pleasure of the moment and any sort of thing which conduced to it took the place both of honor and of ex-

pediency. No fear of God or law of man deterred a criminal. Those who saw all perishing alike, thought that the worship or neglect of the gods made no difference. For offenses against human law no punishment was to be feared; no one would live long enough to be called to account. Already a far heavier sentence had been passed and was hanging over a man's head; before that fell, why should he not take a little pleasure?"⁴

DEATH OF PERICLES (429 B.C.). Perhaps a third of the population was swept away by the plague. The discouragement was all the greater because at the beginning of the war the Delphic Apollo had promised aid to the foe; and the people now attributed the plague to his enmity. Humbly the Athenians sought peace of Sparta; but, repulsed by her, they turned against Pericles as the author of their woes. In spite of all he could say in defense of his policy, they suspended him from office and fined him. Having thus satisfied their resentment, they soon afterward reelected him general with absolute power. In 429 B.C., however, Pericles himself fell a victim of the plague. Thus died the only man who stood sufficiently high above all individuals and parties to command universal respect. The leadership of the government now passed to men of the industrial class, demagogues such as Cleon the tanner, who, unable to win the powerful support of the old nobility and of the moderate class, had to resort to lower politics and cater to the baser and more brutal desires and instincts of the populace. The revolution, thus silently effected, was as great as the century-long conflict at Rome which opened the consulship to the plebeians, and in its immediate consequences far more sweeping, for in her war with the Peloponnesus Athens lost through the death of Pericles centralization of leadership and continuity of policy.

The war, with its many expeditions, small defeats, and victories, was a grievous affliction to the Athenians. No land could be tilled beyond the neighborhood of Athens and Piraeus; the work in the mines of Laurium nearly ceased; and in spite of the Athenian naval supremacy, commerce was hampered by pirates and by the enemy's fleet. As the revenues decreased, the expenses greatly increased. For a time the difference was met by loans from the funds of Athena and of the Other Gods. The desire for profit helped keep the war going. Merchants and mechanics expected to suffer little from it, and might hope to extend their business through conquests, while the poor found a livelihood in naval service, or looked to the enlargement of the Empire for increased tribute and a lengthened pay roll. The intellectuals, the landed aristocracy, and most farmers of moderate wealth, however, longed for peace.

MYTILENE. In spite of the plague and the hardships, the advantage lay with Athens in the first years of the war. Potidaea finally fell in 430 B.C., but the siege had cost Athens 2,000 talents and she was unable to follow up her suc-

⁴ Thucydides, II, 48-53.

cess in the Chalcidice. Similarly, in the northwest, the admiral Phormio won naval victories and damaged Corinthian trade, but no permanent gain resulted. The Peloponnesian army avoided Attica in 429 B.C., on account of the plague, and after a siege of two years took Plataea. The Peloponnesians constantly hoped for aid from Persia and Sicily, but in vain. In 428 B.C., however, news arrived that Mytilene and most of the other towns of Lesbos had revolted. In the face of this new peril and the huge cost of sieges, the Athenians for the first time resorted to a property tax (*eisphora*), which yielded 200 talents. The following year Mytilene fell, and the Athenians, exasperated by the revolt and wishing to strike terror into the hearts of disaffected allies, voted to put to death all the men of Mytilene and to enslave the women and children. The advocate of this policy of terrorism was Cleon. The next day the Athenians met again to reconsider their cruel sentence. Cleon urged them not to repent: "I still maintain that you should abide by your former decision, and not be misled either by pity, or by the charm of words, or by a too forgiving temper. There are no three things more prejudicial to your power." The arguments against Cleon prevailed, not, however, because of an appeal to pity or kindness or justice, but simply to Athens' self-interest. The punishment of death was limited to the few Mytileneans most guilty, but the lands of the rebels were confiscated and divided among Athenian colonists.

Thucydides' *History* is in part the story of how the most humane of ancient states descended into an abyss of cynicism and cruelty. Athens lost the war, he believes, because, against the advice of Pericles and on the urging of extreme democrats, it pursued a policy of further conquest while the war was still on. Another reason for Athens' fall, he says, was intense party warfare, for many felt that "enslavement to the opposite faction is worse than the dominion of a foreigner." Thucydides' judgment—that, as long as Pericles lived, "Athens, though still in name a democracy, was in fact ruled by her first citizen"—is an interesting commentary on his ideal democracy. Nevertheless, the descent after Pericles' death was both rapid and real, and doubtless we would do well to emphasize the terrible effect of the plague upon the Athenians. What happens to a people, when in the midst of war a third of the civilian population is suddenly swept away? Pericles' successors, according to Thucydides, "were more on an equality with one another, and, each one struggling to be first himself, they were ready to sacrifice the whole conduct of affairs to the whims of the people." Cleon, for example, deliberately prolonged the war, "because he fancied that in the days of peace his rogueries would be more transparent and his slanders less credible."

REVOLUTION AT CORCYRA. In spite of his admiration of Pericles—in spite of the fact that both men saw in power the basis of civilization—Thucydides tells us that the real cause of the Peloponnesian War was the fear of the Lacedae-

monians for Athens' growing power. That is to say, it was Periclean imperialism that produced the war. It is possible to agree further with Thucydides when he says that war produces violence, and violence political chaos. This he brings out with a vivid psychological insight when, in his description of revolution at Corcyra (427 B.C.), he analyzes the effect of war on man's character: "Revolution brought upon the cities of Hellas many terrible calamities, such as have been and always will be while human nature remains the same, but which are more or less aggravated and differ in character with every new combination of circumstances. In peace and prosperity both states and individuals are actuated by higher motives, because they do not fall under the dominion of imperious necessities; but war which takes away the comfortable provision of daily life is a hard master, and tends to assimilate men's characters to their conditions.

"When troubles had once begun in the cities, those who followed carried the revolutionary spirit further and further, and determined to outdo the report of all who had preceded them by the ingenuity of their enterprises and the atrocity of their revenges. The meaning of words had no longer the same relation to things, but was changed by them as they thought proper. The lover of violence, moreover, was always trusted, and his opponent suspected. The tie of party was stronger than the tie of blood, because a partisan was more ready to dare without asking why. The seal of good faith was not divine law, but fellowship in crime. Revenge was dearer than self-preservation.

"The cause of all these evils was the love of power, originating in avarice and ambition, and the party spirit which is engendered by them when men are fairly embarked in a contest. For the leaders on either side used specious names, the one party professing to uphold the constitutional equality of the many, the other the wisdom of an aristocracy, while they made the public interests, to which in name they were devoted, in reality their prize. Thus revolution gave birth to every form of wickedness in Hellas. The simplicity which is so large an element in a noble nature was laughed to scorn and disappeared. An attitude of perfidious antagonism everywhere prevailed. Each man was strong only in the conviction that nothing was secure; he must look to his own safety, and could not afford to trust others. Inferior intellects generally succeeded best."⁵

PYLOS AND SPHACTERIA. During the early years of the war Athens sent aid to her friends in Sicily, to Segesta, Rhegium, and Leontini, the purpose of which was to check the power of Dorian Syracuse and possibly to prevent the export of grain to the Peloponnesus. The expeditions, however, led to no permanent result, for the Sicilians ironed out their differences in a conference at Gela. In May, 425 B.C., however, an Athenian fleet, which was supposed to

⁵ Thucydides, III, 82-83.

bring aid to Corcyra, was driven by a storm into the harbor of Pylos on the southwestern coast of the Peloponnesus. One of the generals, Demosthenes, had hoped to halt here in any case, for it was an excellent spot from which to raid the Peloponnesian coast. The other generals, Eurymedon and Sophocles, dared not disobey orders and, at storm's end, proceeded on their journey, leaving Demosthenes with five triremes. Demosthenes set to work to fortify the peninsula of Pylos, both on the south and at the north, where a narrow neck of sand connected it with the mainland.

Alarmed by the news that an Athenian contingent was actually established in southwestern Peloponnesus, the Spartan government ordered its army home from Attica and told Brasidas, its courageous and extraordinarily able general at Corcyra, to return with the fleet. On his arrival at Pylos, attacks were launched by land and sea on Demosthenes, but Demosthenes held and Brasidas was wounded. The Spartans then landed 420 hoplites, with their helots, on the island of Sphacteria, which was separated from Pylos by a narrow strait, and prepared to blockade the Athenians by sea. At this point Eurymedon and Sophocles, who were no longer needed at Corcyra, returned and in a surprise attack overwhelmed the Spartan fleet.

The Peloponnesians on Sphacteria were now the besieged, and the Spartan government was so disturbed by their predicament that a truce was negotiated, and envoys were dispatched to Athens to offer not only peace but alliance. Cleon, however, with the arts and ambitions of the demagogue, destroyed all hope of a truly great Hellenic peace by demanding Nisaea and Pegae, Troezen and Achaëa, which Athens, twenty years earlier, in the days of Pericles, had been too weak to hold. So the war continued.

Demosthenes, however, could not take Sphacteria, and by August Cleon was demanding in the Assembly that reinforcements be sent. Nicias, the commander in chief, told Cleon that he might have his own powers as general, if he were so sure of himself; and Cleon, his bluff called, went off with overwhelming forces, saying that he would be victorious in twenty days. He relied, not without reason, on the generalship of Demosthenes. A surprise dawn attack on the island was successful, the Spartans were driven behind some prehistoric walls, and then Cleon, realizing the value of capturing the enemy alive, offered quarter. The Spartans—their commander and 128 hoplites dead, no succor in sight, and being altogether in dire straits—asked their comrades on the mainland for advice and, when they were told to consult their own safety as long as it did not bring dishonor on them, surrendered. This act, which was so unusual for Spartans, astonished the Greek world. Cleon, ready to reap the fruits of Demosthenes' victory, hurried back to Athens with his prisoners.

Cleon now stood without a rival at Athens, and in the flush of victory a reassessment of the Empire's tribute was carried through in 425 B.C. The allies

were invited to send envoys to Athens to learn their fate, but they could hardly have guessed the cruel surprise in store for them: the new assessment stood at more than 1,460 talents, perhaps three times the original assessment of Aristides. The Athenians were now able to prosecute the war with greater energy and to raise the daily pay of the jurors from two obols to three. In vain the conservatives stood against Cleon; in vain Aristophanes sought in the *Knights* to crush him with ridicule and contempt. Although without military experience, Cleon was elected general in the spring of 424 B.C. and became more popular and dominant than ever.

DEATH OF CLEON AND BRASIDAS. It was unfortunate for Athens that Brasidas, Sparta's ablest general, now found the weak point in the Athenian Empire—the only part assailable by a land army—Chalcidice and its Thracian neighborhood. With a small force he stole northward, and appearing before Amphipolis persuaded that important city to revolt. These reverses induced the Athenian majority again to think of peace (423 B.C.). A truce of one year was followed by a renewal of the war, and then in a battle before Amphipolis both Brasidas and Cleon, the chief obstacles to peace, were killed.

PEACE (421 B.C.). Both sides were disappointed with the results of the war. The Peloponnesians had hoped to bring Athens to speedy terms by invading her territory, but had accomplished nothing in this direction, and they now saw their coast ravaged, their commerce cut off, and slaves and helots incited to desertion or rebellion by permanent Athenian garrisons on their border. In place of the naval supremacy they had hoped to win, they saw their triremes as well as their merchant ships swept from the seas. Athens, too, could balance her gains by as heavy losses in life and money; the reserves in the Acropolis were nearly exhausted; the main sources of prosperity had been choked by invasions; and the temper of the allies under their tribute was ominous. Under these circumstances the peace party, which was always strong, gained a majority in the Assembly. Their leader was Nicias, a man of wealth and respectable family. In the spring of 421 B.C. he negotiated the peace which bears his name. The Spartan king, Pleistoanax, who had been recalled from exile on the death of Archidamus, was equally anxious for peace. The Peace of Nicias, according to the agreement, was to endure for fifty years, and in a general way provided for the exchange of prisoners and captured cities. The Athenian Empire, as Pericles had expected, came through the Archidamian War without great difficulty, but the present problem was to keep the Peace of Nicias.

3. THE PEACE OF NICIAS

Although the terms of peace were kept by neither side, the Lacedaemonians and the Athenians refrained from invading each other's territory for almost seven years. To most of the Athenians, apart from armorers and others whom

war benefited, peace came as a boundless joy. Euripides, in the *Suppliants*, prays that war may never come again. The Agora overflowed with an unwonted happy life, as provisions grew more plentiful and prices dropped. The *Peace* of Aristophanes, presented at the City Dionysia of 421 B.C., represented the rural party as even more delighted with the new conditions. It was not only to labor in the fields that the farmers trooped away, but also to rural pleasures.

THE RISE OF ALCIBIADES. The outstanding feature of Athenian foreign policy in the next years was the dominating influence of Alcibiades, the nephew and ward of Pericles. Handsome, brilliant, vain, and daring, this young man had been petted and spoiled by his family and fellow citizens. Saturated in sophistic instruction, he recognized no principle but self-seeking, and deported himself in reckless violation of law and custom. Combining the arts of the demagogue with his own personal fascination, he won the generalship in 420 B.C., and at once began to rehabilitate the war party, in the hope of advancing his own interest.

Choosing a moment that was unfavorable to Alcibiades, Nicias, who had consistently stood for peace, decided to overthrow him by a vote of ostracism, if that should prove possible. There was, however, a third party to the political struggle, Hyperbolus, the lampmaker, who with no knowledge of military affairs had risen from the industrial class to the leadership of those Athenians who looked to war for gain. Trained in oratory and successor to Cleon, though evidently inferior in ability, Hyperbolus dreamed of conquering Sicily and even of assailing Carthage. Alcibiades suggested to Nicias the advisability of joining forces to rid themselves of a man so hateful to both. The result was the ostracism of Hyperbolus in 417 B.C. (p. 178). It was the last time that ostracism was used at Athens, for the *graphe paranomon* was regarded as a sufficient safeguard for the state and a satisfactory weapon for assailing opponents. Hyperbolus' ostracism increased the importance of Alcibiades, whose war policy continually grew in favor with the Athenians.

MELOS. Under Alcibiades' influence the Athenians sent an expedition against the little island of Melos, a Dorian colony. In the famous Melian Dialogue that follows, Thucydides, seemingly without passion, lays bare the soul of a despot nation, his own. By espousing the policy of "Might makes Right," Athens aroused universal hatred and fear and gave to enemies a certain justification for her overthrow.

"The Athenians made an expedition [says Thucydides] against the island of Melos with thirty ships of their own, six Chian, and two Lesbian, 1,200 hoplites and 300 archers besides twenty mounted archers of their own, and about 1,500 hoplites furnished by their allies in the islands. The Melians are colonists of the Lacedaemonians who would not submit to Athens like the other islanders. At first they were neutral and took no part. But when the Athenians

tried to coerce them by ravaging their lands, they were driven into open hostilities. The generals, Cleomedes the son of Lycomedes and Tisias the son of Tisimachus, encamped with the Athenian forces on the island. But before they did the country any harm they sent envoys to negotiate with the Melians. Instead of bringing these envoys before the people, the Melians desired them to explain their errand to the magistrates and to the chief men.

"Athenians: Well, then, we Athenians will use no fine words; we will not go out of our way to prove at length that we have a right to rule, because we overthrew the Persians; or that we attack you now because we are suffering any injury at your hands. We should not convince you if we did; nor must you expect to convince us by arguing that, although a colony of the Lacedaemonians, you have taken no part in their expeditions, or that you have never done us any wrong. But you and we should say what we really think, and aim only at what is possible, for we both alike know that into the discussion of human affairs the question of justice only enters where the pressure of necessity is equal, and that the powerful exact what they can, and the weak grant what they must.

"Melians: Well, then, since you set aside justice and invite us to speak of expediency, in our judgment it is certainly expedient that you should respect a principle which is for the common good; and that to every man when in peril a reasonable claim should be accounted a claim of right, and any plea which he is disposed to urge, even if failing of the point a little, should help his cause. Your interest in this principle is quite as great as ours, inasmuch as you, if you fall, will incur the heaviest vengeance, and will be the most terrible example to mankind.

"Athenians: The fall of our empire, if it should fall, is not an event to which we look forward with dismay; for ruling states such as Lacedaemon are not cruel to their vanquished enemies. And we are fighting not so much against the Lacedaemonians, as against our own subjects who may some day rise up and overcome their former masters. But this is a danger which you may leave to us. And we will now endeavor to show that we have come in the interests of our empire, and that we are only seeking the preservation of your city. For we want to make you ours with the least trouble to ourselves, and it is for the interests of us both that you should not be destroyed.

"Melians: It may be your interest to be our masters, but how can it be ours to be your slaves?

"Athenians: To you the gain will be that by submission you will avert the worst; and we shall be all the richer for your preservation. We are masters of the sea, and you who are islanders, and insignificant islanders too, must not be allowed to escape us.

"Melians: We know only too well how hard the struggle must be against

your power, and against fortune, if she does not mean to be impartial. Nevertheless we do not despair of fortune; for we hope to stand as high as you in the favor of heaven, because we are righteous, and you against whom we contend are unrighteous; and we are satisfied that our deficiency in power will be compensated by the aid of our allies the Lacedaemonians.

"Athenians: As for the gods, we expect to have quite as much of their favor as you: for we are not doing or claiming anything which goes beyond common opinion about divine or men's desires about human things. For of the gods we believe, and of men we know, that by a law of their nature wherever they can rule they will. This law was not made by us, and we are not the first who have acted upon it; we did but inherit it, and shall bequeath it to all time, and we know that you and all mankind, if you were as strong as we are, would do as we do. So much for the gods; we have told you why we expect to stand as high in their good opinion as you. And then as to the Lacedaemonians—when you imagine that out of very shame they will assist you, we admire the simplicity of your idea, but we do not envy you the folly of it. The Lacedaemonians are exceedingly virtuous among themselves, and according to their national standard of morality. But, in respect of their dealings with others, although many things might be said, a word is enough to describe them, of all men whom we know they are the most notorious for identifying what is pleasant with what is honorable, and what is expedient with what is just. But how inconsistent is such a character with your present blind hope of deliverance!

"Melians: That is the very reason we trust them; they will look to their interest, and therefore will not be willing to betray the Melians, who are their own colonists, lest they should be distrusted by their friends in Hellas and play into the hands of their enemies.

"Athenians: Help may come from Lacedaemon to you as it has come to others, and should you ever have actual experience of it, then you will know that never once have the Athenians retired from a siege through fear of a foe elsewhere. You told us that the safety of your city would be your first care, but we remark that, in this long discussion, not a word has been uttered by you which would give a reasonable man expectation of deliverance. Your strongest grounds are hopes deferred, and what power you have is not to be compared with that which is already arrayed against you. Unless after we have withdrawn you mean to come, as even now you may, to a wiser conclusion, you are showing a great want of sense. For surely you cannot dream of flying to that false sense of honor which has been the ruin of so many when danger and dishonor were staring them in the face. Many men with their eyes still open to the consequences have found the word 'honor' too much for them, and have suffered a mere name to lure them on, until it has drawn down upon them real and irretrievable calamities; through their own folly they have in-

curring a worse dishonor than fortune would have inflicted upon them. If you are wise you will not run this risk; you ought to see that there can be no disgrace in yielding to a great city which invites you to become her ally on reasonable terms, keeping your own land, and merely paying tribute; and that you will certainly gain no honor if, having to choose between two alternatives, safety and war, you obstinately prefer the worse. To maintain our rights against equals, to be politic with superiors, and to be moderate towards inferiors is the path of safety. Reflect once more when we have withdrawn, and say to yourselves over and over again that you are deliberating about your one and only country, which may be saved or may be destroyed by a single decision.

"The Athenians left the conference: the Melians, after consulting among themselves, resolved to persevere in their refusal. The Athenian envoys then returned to the army; and the generals, when they found that the Melians would not yield, immediately commenced hostilities. They surrounded the town of Melos with a wall, dividing the work among the several contingents. The place was now closely invested, and there was treachery among the citizens themselves. So the Melians were induced to surrender at discretion. The Athenians thereupon put to death all who were of military age, and made slaves of the women and children. They then colonized the island, sending thither 500 settlers of their own."⁶

The triumphant rise of Alcibiades meant a resumption of the policy of conquest, and nowhere opened so fair a field as Sicily. Increasing wealth had brought comforts and luxuries to the citizens of Sicily, especially to those of the powerful Dorian state Syracuse. In 416 B.C. Segesta, a Sicilian ally, asked Athens for protection against Selinus, and promised to pay the expenses of an expedition. This was a pretext for an invasion of Sicily. Nicias strenuously opposed the undertaking. His contention was that Athens needed all her strength for restoring and maintaining her Empire, and for her own defense against Thebes and the Peloponnesus. Furthermore, he said, even if Sicily could be conquered, it would be impossible to hold that great island in subjection. Alcibiades, of course, urged war, hoping that it would yield him the mastery of Athens. As a last resort, Nicias tried to dissuade the Athenians by magnifying the size of an expedition needed to conquer Sicily, but the Athenians replied by granting all that he asked.

4. THE SICILIAN EXPEDITION

THE START. All the financial reserves of Athens were devoted to the expedition. The fleet consisted of 134 triremes, with 130 supply boats. Over 5,000 hoplites, 1,300 light-armed troops, and 30 cavalry comprised the army. Counting the crews, at least 27,000 men made up this vast armada. The Athenians

⁶ Thucydides, V, 84-116.

placed three generals in charge, Alcibiades, Nicias, and Lamachus, a fighter of the old school. Shortly before the departure the Athenians were horrified one morning to find that the *Hermæ*—stone busts—in front of their doors had been mutilated. The people were seized with terror lest, as a step toward overthrowing the democracy, a band of conspirators had attempted to deprive the city of her divine protectors. In a panic the citizens assembled on the *Pnyx* and voted immunity and rewards to anyone who gave information against the perpetrators. No one came forward, however, for the deed had probably been committed by drunken youths; but it was revealed that certain persons, among them Alcibiades, had once profaned the Eleusinian mysteries by parodying them at private gatherings in the presence of the uninitiated. Democratic politicians, opposed to Alcibiades, schemed to prosecute him for the sacrilege, and he demanded an immediate trial. But, appreciating his popularity with the soldiers and sailors, they delayed.

Nothing was to be allowed to interfere with the expedition. Various leaders hoped for personal prestige, while the ordinary soldiers saw their chance to escape from humdrum routine and to enrich themselves. "All alike," says Thucydides, "were seized with a passionate desire to sail, the elder among them convinced that they would achieve the conquest of Sicily; the youth were longing to see with their own eyes the marvels of a distant land; the main body of the troops expected to receive present pay, and to conquer a country which would be an inexhaustible mine of pay for the future."

Thucydides paints the picture of the expedition as it was ready to sail in midsummer, 415 B.C.: "Early in the morning of the day appointed for their departure, the Athenians and such of their allies as had already joined them went down to Piræus and began to man the ships. The entire population of Athens accompanied them, citizens and strangers alike. The citizens came to take farewell, one of an acquaintance, another of a kinsman, another of a son; the crowd as they passed along were full of hope and full of tears; hope of conquering Sicily, tears because they doubted whether they would ever see their friends again, when they thought of the long voyage on which they were sending them. At the moment of parting the danger was nearer; and terrors which had never occurred to them when they were voting the expedition now entered into their souls. Nevertheless their spirits revived at the sight of the armament in all its strength and of the abundant provision which they had made.

"No armament so magnificent or so costly had ever been sent out by any single Hellenic power. On the fleet the greatest pains and expense had been lavished by the captains and the state. Men were quite amazed at the boldness of the scheme and the magnificence of the spectacle, which were everywhere spoken of, no less than at the great disproportion of the force when compared

with that of the enemy against whom it was intended. Never had a greater expedition been sent to a foreign land; never was there an enterprise in which the hope of future success seemed to be better justified by actual power.

"When the ships were manned and everything required for the voyage had been placed on board, silence was proclaimed by the sound of the trumpet, and all with one voice before setting sail offered up the customary prayers; these were recited, not in each ship, but by a single herald, the whole fleet accompanying him. On every deck both officers and men, mingling wine in bowls, made libations from vessels of gold and silver. The multitude of citizens and other well-wishers who were looking on from the land joined in the prayer. The crews raised the paeon, and when the libations were completed, put to sea. After sailing out for some distance in single file, the ships raced with one another as far as Aegina."⁷

After the fleet had departed, the Athenians decided to vote an indictment for sacrilege against Alcibiades. The *Salaminia*, the state trireme, was ordered to Sicily to bring him back. On the homeward voyage, however, Alcibiades made his escape to the Peloponnesus, and finally took up his residence at Sparta. There his counsels proved dangerous to his country's welfare.

SYRACUSE. In Sicily, the Athenian commanders, disagreeing as to plan, frittered away several months in petty undertakings, wasting their resources, discouraging their own men, and exciting contempt in the minds of the Sicilian Greeks. The following year, 414 B.C., they besieged Syracuse (see the map of Syracuse, p. 255). A strategic fort, Euryalus, and a commanding plateau, Epipolae, were captured, but in attempting to cut Syracuse off by a wall, Lamachus was killed. This left Nicias, who had opposed the expedition from the beginning, in sole command. The Syracusans were further encouraged by the arrival of an able Spartan officer, Gylippus, with reinforcements. Nicias proved wholly incompetent for a vigorous offensive. When autumn came, the besiegers were in a wretched plight; and Nicias, having made no appreciable headway, would gladly have abandoned the siege, but dared not face the Athenian Assembly. When, however, the Athenians received his report, which detailed the condition of the armament and asked that it be recalled or reinforced, the Assembly, far from abandoning the enterprise, voted heavy reinforcements. Eurymedon was sent off at once with a small force, and the next spring Demosthenes arrived with an armada of 15,000 men. The persistence of the Athenians in their plan of conquest, and their vitality in mustering all available resources, were extraordinary. The new fleet had been prepared in the midst of grave dangers at home, for in the spring of 413 B.C. the Peloponnesians, under King Agis, and the Boeotians resumed the war and invaded Attica. On the suggestion of Alcibiades they established a permanent garrison

⁷ Thucydides, VI, 30-32.

at Decelea in northern Attica, not far from Athens (see map, p. 302). As a result, the Athenians were forced to give up their country houses and to withdraw permanently into the city. Thousands of slaves deserted to the enemy; industry and commerce shrank; and the people were soon cramped with want.

When Demosthenes arrived at Syracuse in 413 B.C., he found the besiegers in a miserable condition. They had lost a naval battle in the harbor, and this failure, together with sickness and privation, had robbed them of all courage. The only hope was in immediate success. The strenuous offensive of Demosthenes, however, utterly failed, and when he proposed to embark the army and sail away, a total eclipse of the moon caused the superstitious Nicias to urge delay. The Syracusans, taking advantage of this, blocked the mouth of the harbor. Now robbed of the advantage of surprise, nothing remained for the Athenian fleet but to try to force its way into the open sea. The description of the ensuing sea battle, the retreat by land and the annihilation of practically all the 45,000 Athenians and their allies, who had sailed in two glorious fleets against Syracuse with such high hopes, gains in the pages of Thucydides the power of a great tragedy:

"When Gylippus and the other Syracusan generals had, like Nicias, encouraged their troops, perceiving the Athenians to be manning their ships, they presently did the same. Nicias, overwhelmed by the situation, and seeing how great and how near the peril was (for the ships were on the very point of rowing out), feeling too, as men do on the eve of a great struggle, that all which he had done was nothing, and that he had not said half enough, again addressed the captains, and calling each of them by his father's name, and his own name, and the name of his tribe, he entreated those who had made any reputation for themselves not to be false to it, and those whose ancestors were eminent not to tarnish their hereditary fame. He reminded them that they were the inhabitants of the freest country in the world, and how in Athens there was no interference with the daily life of any man. He spoke to them of their wives and children and their fathers' Gods, as men will at such a time; for then they do not care whether their commonplace phrases seem to be out of date or not, but loudly reiterate the old appeals, believing that they may be of some service at the awful moment. When he thought that he had exhorted them, not enough, but as much as the scanty time allowed, he retired, and led the land forces to the shore, extending the line as far as he could, so that they might be of the greatest use in encouraging the combatants on board ship. Demosthenes, Menander, and Euthydemus, who had gone on board the Athenian fleet to take the command, now quitted their own station, and proceeded straight to the closed mouth of the harbor, intending to force their way to the open sea where a passage was still left.

"The Syracusans and their allies had already put out with nearly the same

number of ships as before. A detachment of them guarded the entrance of the harbor; the remainder were disposed all round it in such a manner that they might fall on the Athenians from every side at once, and that their land forces might at the same time be able to coöperate wherever the ships retreated to the shore. Sicanus and Agatharchus commanded the Syracusan fleet, each of them a wing; Pythen and the Corinthians occupied the center. When the Athenians approached the closed mouth of the harbor the violence of their onset overpowered the ships which were stationed there; they then attempted to loosen the fastenings. Whereupon from all sides the Syracusans and their allies came bearing down upon them, and the conflict was no longer confined to the entrance, but extended throughout the harbor. No previous engagement had been so fierce and obstinate. Great was the eagerness with which the rowers on both sides rushed upon their enemies whenever the word of command was given; and keen was the contest between the pilots as they maneuvered one against another. The marines too were full of anxiety that, when ship struck ship, the service on deck should not fall short of the rest; every one in the place assigned to him was eager to be foremost among his fellows. Many vessels meeting—and never did so many fight in so small a space, for the two fleets together amounted to nearly 200—they were seldom able to strike in the regular manner, because they had no opportunity of first retiring or breaking the line; they generally fouled one another as ship dashed against ship in the hurry of flight or pursuit. All the time that another vessel was bearing down, the men on deck poured showers of javelins and arrows and stones upon the enemy; and when the two closed, the marines fought hand to hand, and endeavored to board. In many places, owing to the want of room, they who had struck another found that they were struck themselves; often two or even more vessels were unavoidably entangled about one, and the pilots had to make plans of attack and defense, not against one adversary only, but against several coming from different sides. The crash of so many ships dashing against one another took away the wits of the sailors, and made it impossible to hear the boatswains, whose voices in both fleets rose high, as they gave directions to the rowers, or cheered them on in the excitement of the struggle. On the Athenian side they were shouting to their men that they must force a passage and seize the opportunity now or never of returning in safety to their native land. To the Syracusans and their allies was represented the glory of preventing the escape of their enemies, and of a victory by which every man would exalt the honor of his own city. The commanders too, when they saw any ship backing water without necessity, would call the captain by his name, and ask, of the Athenians, whether they were retreating because they expected to be more at home upon the land of their bitterest foes than upon that sea which had been their own so long; on the Syracusan side, whether, when they knew

perfectly well that the Athenians were only eager to find some means of flight, they would themselves fly from the fugitives.

"While the naval engagement hung in the balance the two armies on shore had great trial and conflict of soul. The Sicilian soldier was animated by the hope of increasing the glory which he had already won, while the invader was tormented by the fear that his fortunes might sink lower still. The last chance of the Athenians lay in their ships, and their anxiety was dreadful. The fortune of the battle varied; and it was not possible that the spectators on the shore should all receive the same impression of it. Being quite close and having different points of view, they would some of them see their own ships victorious; their courage would then revive, and they would earnestly call upon the Gods not to take from them their hope of deliverance. But others, who saw their ships worsted, cried and shrieked aloud, and were by the sight alone more utterly unnerved than the defeated combatants themselves. Others again, who had fixed their gaze on some part of the struggle which was undecided, were in a state of excitement still more terrible; they kept swaying their bodies to and fro in an agony of hope and fear as the stubborn conflict went on and on; for at every instant they were all but saved or all but lost. And while the strife hung in the balance you might hear in the Athenian army at once lamentation, shouting, cries of victory or defeat, and all the various sounds which are wrung from a great host in extremity of danger. Not less agonizing were the feelings of those on board. At length the Syracusans and their allies, after a protracted struggle, put the Athenians to flight, and triumphantly bearing down upon them, and encouraging one another with loud cries and exhortations, drove them to land. Then that part of the navy which had not been taken in the deep water fell back in confusion to the shore, and the crews rushed out of the ships into the camp. And the land forces, no longer now divided in feeling, but uttering one universal groan of intolerable anguish, ran, some of them to save the ships, others to defend what remained of the wall; but the greater number began to look to themselves and to their own safety. Never had there been a greater panic in an Athenian army than at that moment. They now suffered what they had done to others at Pylos. For at Pylos the Lacedaemonians, when they saw their ships destroyed, knew that their friends who had crossed over into the island of Sphacteria were lost with them. And so now the Athenians, after the rout of their fleet, knew that they had no hope of saving themselves by land unless events took some extraordinary turn.

"Thus, after a fierce battle and a great destruction of ships and men on both sides, the Syracusans and their allies gained the victory. They gathered up the wrecks and bodies of the dead, and sailing back to the city, erected a trophy. The Athenians, overwhelmed by their misery, never so much as

thought of recovering their wrecks or of asking leave to collect their dead. Their intention was to retreat that very night.

"Hermocrates the Syracusan suspected their intention, and dreading what might happen if their vast army, retreating by land and settling somewhere in Sicily, should choose to renew the war, contrived the following plan: when it was growing dark he sent certain of his own acquaintances, accompanied by a few horsemen, to the Athenian camp. They rode up within earshot, and pretending to be friends (there were known to be men in the city who gave information to Nicias of what went on) called to some of the soldiers, and bade them tell him not to withdraw his army during the night, for the Syracusans were guarding the roads; he should make preparation at leisure and retire by day. Having delivered their message they departed, and those who had heard them informed the Athenian generals.

"On receiving this message, which they supposed to be genuine, they remained during the night. And having once given up the intention of starting immediately, they decided to remain during the next day, that the soldiers might, as well as they could, put together their baggage in the most convenient form, and depart, taking with them the bare necessities of life, but nothing else.

"Meanwhile the Syracusans and Gylippus, going forth before them with their land forces, blocked the roads in the country by which the Athenians were likely to pass, guarded the fords of the rivers and streams, and posted themselves at the best points for receiving and stopping them. Their sailors rowed up to the beach and dragged away the Athenian ships. The Athenians themselves burnt a few of them, as they had intended, but the rest the Syracusans towed away, unmolested and at their leisure, from the places where they had severally run aground, and conveyed them to the city.

"On the third day after the sea fight, when Nicias and Demosthenes thought that their preparations were complete, the army began to move. They were in a dreadful condition; not only was there the great fact that they had lost their whole fleet, and instead of their expected triumph had brought the utmost peril upon Athens as well as upon themselves, but also the sights which presented themselves as they quitted the camp were painful to every eye and mind. The dead were unburied, and when any one saw the body of a friend lying on the ground he was smitten with sorrow and dread, while the sick or wounded who still survived but had to be left were even a greater trial to the living, and more to be pitied than those who were gone. Their prayers and lamentations drove their companions to distraction; they would beg that they might be taken with them, and call by name any friend or relation whom they saw passing; they would hang upon their departing comrades and follow as far as they could, and when their limbs and strength failed them and they

dropped behind many were the imprecations and cries which they uttered. So that the whole army was in tears, and such was their despair that they could hardly make up their minds to stir, although they were leaving an enemy's country, having suffered calamities too great for tears already, and dreading miseries yet greater in the unknown future. There was also a general feeling of shame and self-reproach,—indeed they seemed, not like an army, but like the fugitive population of a city captured after a siege; and of a great city too. For the whole multitude who were marching together numbered not less than 40,000. Each of them took with him anything he could carry which was likely to be of use. Even the heavy-armed and cavalry, contrary to their practice when under arms, conveyed about their persons their own food, some because they had no attendants, others because they could not trust them; for they had long been deserting, and most of them had gone off all at once. Nor was the food which they carried sufficient; for the supplies of the camp had failed. Their disgrace and the universality of the misery, although there might be some consolation in the very community of suffering, was nevertheless at that moment hard to bear, especially when they remembered from what pomp and splendor they had fallen into their present low estate. Never had an Hellenic army experienced such a reverse. They had come intending to enslave others, and they were going away in fear that they would be themselves enslaved. Instead of the prayers and hymns with which they had put to sea, they were now departing amid appeals to heaven of another sort. They were no longer sailors but landsmen, depending, not upon their fleet, but upon their infantry. Yet in face of the great danger which still threatened them all these things appeared endurable."

The long retreat across land ended in the death of many Athenians and their allies and in the capture of the remainder. Nicias and Demosthenes were put to the sword; the others were thrown into the quarries of Syracuse. "Those who were imprisoned in the quarries [continues Thucydides] were at the beginning of their captivity harshly treated by the Syracusans. There were great numbers of them, and they were crowded in a deep and narrow place. At first the sun by day was still scorching and suffocating, for they had no roof over their heads, while the autumn nights were cold, and the extremes of temperature engendered violent disorders. Being cramped for room they had to do everything on the same spot. The corpses of those who died from their wounds, exposure to the weather, and the like, lay heaped one upon another. The smells were intolerable; and they were at the same time afflicted by hunger and thirst. During eight months they were allowed only about half a pint of water and a pint of food a day. Every kind of misery which could befall man in such a place befell them. This was the condition of all the captives for about ten weeks. At length the Syracusans sold them, with the exception of the Athe-

nians and of any Sicilian or Italian Greeks who had sided with them in the war. The whole number of the public prisoners is not accurately known, but they were not less than 7,000.

"Of all the Hellenic actions which took place in this war, or indeed of all Hellenic actions which are on record, this was the greatest—the most glorious to the victors, the most ruinous to the vanquished; for they were utterly and at all points defeated, and their sufferings were prodigious. Fleet and army perished from the face of the earth; nothing was saved, and of the many who went forth few returned home.

"Thus ended the Sicilian expedition."⁸

5. OLIGARCHICAL REVOLUTION IN ATHENS

For a time the Athenians at home could not believe that a disaster so great had befallen them. When, however, they came to appreciate the truth, they vented their rage upon the orators and the soothsayers who had persuaded them to the expedition. At first they were dejected by the utter hopelessness of the situation, their lack of men, money, and ships; but soon their elastic spirits rose, and they determined to persist at all odds. Indeed, to increase their revenue to the uttermost without seeming to add new burdens to their allies, they had displaced the tribute in 414 B.C. by a 5 percent tax on all imports and exports throughout the Empire. The new system was effective, though the tribute was revived in 410 B.C.

The Greeks now eagerly flocked to the Spartan standard in the hope of trampling upon the common foe. The Persian king, on condition of recovering the Greek cities of Asia Minor, gave money and promised the aid of a Phoenician fleet. The maritime allies, including Chios, began to revolt against Athens, and the victorious navy of Syracuse appeared in Aegean waters. But the persistence of the Athenians, stripped of resources, against these overwhelming odds during a period of eight more years is evidence of an almost indomitable will.

THE FOUR HUNDRED. The Sicilian disaster had a serious effect on Athenian politics. There had always been a strong minority opposed to popular government, and it now found its leadership within an oligarchic group of officers encamped in Samos. Alcibiades, who had fallen out with the Spartan king, Agis, and had passed over to the Persians, saw his chance of returning to Athens. He told the group that Tissaphernes, the Persian satrap of Sardes, would transfer his support from Sparta to Athens, if the Athenians set up an oligarchy. With this news, Peisander and other oligarchs went to Athens and reorganized the oligarchic clubs which had existed from immemorial time.

⁸ September, 413 B.C. Thucydides, VII, 69–87.

It was their policy to intimidate the multitude by assassinating their leaders. Terrorized by political murders, the citizens permitted the institution in 411 B.C. of a Council of Four Hundred. It was spoken of as a provisional form of government, which would yield in time to a group of the five thousand wealthiest citizens.

DEMOCRACY RESTORED. The next year (410 B.C.), however, the Athenians restored their democracy. Alcibiades, a democrat once more, was home again and ready to devote his extraordinary talents to repairing his country's fortunes. One of his first achievements was the destruction or capture of an entire fleet of the enemy at Cyzicus. The Spartans now offered peace on the basis of the *status quo*, but the Athenians, led by a new demagogue, Cleophon the lyremaker, rejected the terms. It was a terrible mistake, but the people were unduly elated by their hope in Alcibiades. Cleophon, who had the demagogue's sharp eye for finance, began to build up the state's depleted reserves. In 409 B.C. he started the conversion of temple properties into money; work on the Erechtheum was resumed to provide jobs for laborers; and two obols were distributed daily to the most needy within the city.

In 408 B.C. Darius II, who was dissatisfied with his satraps in Asia Minor, sent his younger son, Cyrus, to Sardes as satrap. Cyrus was given large powers in order to aid the Peloponnesians as much as possible and end the war. The young man brought great ambition and unusual intelligence to the work. In the same year there came from Sparta to the seat of war Lysander, an able commander and crafty manager of men. His ultimate object was nothing less than a throne at Sparta. To reach the goal of his political hope, he needed military renown and an army devoted to himself. In brief, he was the Spartan counterpart of Alcibiades. Cyrus readily fell under his influence. Athenian defeats the following year were a mortal blow to the ascendancy of Alcibiades. He retired to the castles on the Hellespont and Propontis which he had prepared against such a contingency, and from which he quietly reviewed the further operations of the war. The Persians put him to death later on.

6. THE FALL OF ATHENS

Both sides put forth herculean efforts in the hope of deciding the struggle in one more campaign. One hundred and fifty Athenian triremes met and completely defeated 120 Spartan ships near the islands of Arginusae, between Lesbos and the coast of Asia Minor (406 B.C.). Seventy vessels of the Peloponnesians with their crews, amounting to 14,000 men and including their commander, were lost. The Athenians lost twenty-five ships, but, because of a sudden storm, it proved impossible to rescue some 2,000 sailors. Outraged at this, the Athenians at home deposed the commanders from office and brought to trial the six who dared to return. In violation of the constitu-

tion they condemned the accused to death by a single vote. Among these victims of popular fury was Pericles, the son of Pericles and Aspasia.

BATTLE OF AEGOSPOTAMI (405 B.C.). By 406 B.C. the financial strain on Athens was so great that there was a general melting down of the temple properties, gold coins were issued for the first time, and bronze coins were plated with silver. Yet the Athenians could still refuse offers of peace. The obvious step for Sparta to take was to interrupt the transport of food supplies from the Black Sea to Athens. Consequently, Lysander was sent to the eastern Aegean. The Athenians dispatched against him their last possible fleet manned with their last available crews, 180 ships against the 200 Peloponnesian (405 B.C.). The Athenian fleet, stationed on the European side of the Hellespont at the mouth of the Aegospotami River, was taken by surprise while the crews were searching for provisions on shore. The Athenians were massacred. Conon, one of the generals, escaped to Cyprus with eight ships, having sent the state trireme *Paralus* to Piraeus with the sad news. The Athenian Xenophon has left a memorable description of its arrival and the last days (404 B.C.) of imperial Athens:

"It was night when the *Paralus* reached Athens with her evil tidings, on receipt of which a bitter wail of woe broke forth. From Piraeus, following the line of the Long Walls up to the heart of the city, it swept and swelled, as each man to his neighbor passed on the news. On that night no man slept. There was mourning and sorrow for those that were lost, but the lamentation for the dead was merged in even deeper sorrow for themselves, as they pictured the evils they were about to suffer, the like of which they had themselves inflicted upon the men of Melos, who were colonists of the Lacedaemonians, when they mastered them by siege. Or on the men of Histiaea; on Scione and Torone; on the Aeginetans, and many another Hellenic city. On the following day the public assembly met, and, after debate, it was resolved to block up all the harbors save one, to put the walls in a state of defense, to post guards at various points, and to make all other necessary preparation for a siege. Such were the concerns of the men of Athens.

"In obedience to a general order of Pausanias, the Spartan king, a levy in force of the Lacedaemonians and all the rest of the Peloponnesus, except the Argives, was set in motion for a campaign. As soon as the several contingents had arrived, the king put himself at their head and marched against Athens, encamping in the Academy, as it is called. Lysander now anchored at Piraeus with 150 ships, and established a strict blockade against all merchant ships entering that harbor.

"The Athenians, finding themselves besieged by land and sea, did not know what to do. Without ships, without allies, without provisions, the belief gained hold upon them that there was no way of escape. They must now, in their

turn, suffer what they had themselves inflicted upon others; not in retaliation, indeed, for ills received, but out of sheer insolence, overriding the citizens of petty states, and for no better reason than that these were allies of the very men now at their gates. In this frame of mind they enfranchised those who at any time had lost their civil rights, and schooled themselves to endurance; and, although many were dying of starvation, they refused to negotiate for peace. But when the stock of grain was absolutely insufficient, they sent an embassy to Agis, the other Spartan king, proposing to become allies of the Lacedaemonians on the sole condition of keeping their fortification walls and Piraeus; and to draw up articles of treaty on these terms. Agis bade them betake themselves to Lacedaemon, seeing that he had no authority to act himself. With this answer the ambassadors returned to Athens, and were forthwith sent on to Lacedaemon. On reaching Sellasia, a town in Laconian territory, they waited till they got their answer from the ephors, who, having learnt their terms (which were identical with those already proposed to Agis), bade them instantly to be gone, and, if they really desired peace, to come with other proposals, the fruit of happier reflection. Thus the ambassadors returned home, and reported the result of their embassy, whereupon despondency fell upon all. It was a painful reflection that in the end they would be sold into slavery; and meanwhile, pending the return of a second embassy, many must needs fall victims to starvation. The razing of their fortifications was not a solution which any one cared to recommend. Things having reached this pass, Theramenes made a proposal in the public assembly as follows: If they chose to send him as an ambassador to Lysander, he would go and find out why the Lacedaemonians were so unyielding about the walls; whether it was they really intended to enslave the city, or merely that they wanted a guarantee of good faith. Dispatched accordingly, he lingered on with Lysander for three whole months and more, watching for the time when the Athenians, at the last pinch of starvation, would be willing to accede to any terms that might be offered. At last, in the fourth month, he returned and reported to the public assembly that Lysander had detained him all this while, and had ended by bidding him betake himself to Lacedaemon, since he had no authority himself to answer his questions, which must be addressed directly to the ephors. After this Theramenes was chosen with nine others to go to Lacedaemon as ambassadors with full powers.

"Theramenes and his companions presently reached Sellasia, and being here questioned as to the reason of their visit, replied that they had full powers to treat of peace. After which the ephors ordered them to be summoned to their presence. On their arrival a general assembly was convened, in which the Corinthians and Thebans more particularly, though their views were shared by many other Hellenes also, urged the meeting not to come to terms with the

Athenians, but to destroy them. The Lacedaemonians replied that they would never reduce to slavery a city which was itself an integral portion of Hellas, and had performed a great and noble service to Hellas in the most perilous of emergencies.⁹ On the contrary, they were willing to offer peace on the terms now specified—namely, 'That the Long Walls and the fortifications of Piraeus should be destroyed; that the Athenian fleet, with the exception of twelve vessels, should be surrendered; that the exiles should be restored; and lastly, that the Athenians should acknowledge the headship of Sparta in peace and war, leaving to her the choice of friends and foes, and following her lead by land and sea.' Such were the terms which Theramenes and the rest who acted with him were able to report on their return to Athens. As they entered the city, a vast crowd met them, trembling lest their mission should have proved fruitless. For indeed delay was no longer possible, so long already was the list of victims daily perishing from starvation. On the day following, the ambassadors delivered their report, stating the terms upon which the Lacedaemonians were willing to make peace. Theramenes acted as spokesman, insisting that they ought to obey the Lacedaemonians and pull down the walls. A small minority raised their voice in opposition, but the majority were strongly in favor of the proposition, and the resolution was passed to accept the peace. After that, Lysander sailed into Piraeus, and the exiles were readmitted. And so they fell to leveling the fortifications and walls with much enthusiasm, to the accompaniment of female flute players, deeming that day the beginning of liberty to Greece."¹⁰

In September, 404 B.C., the Thirty Tyrants began their rule at Athens. This board was instituted under intimidation from Lysander, ostensibly to draw up a new constitution for Athens, but in reality to govern with absolute sway. One of the leaders was Critias, a Eupatrid writer—poet, rhetorician, political thinker, and atheist—a dilettante in literature, and in politics a heartless, calculating schemer. His colleague in the leadership was the shifty Theramenes who, while preferring a moderate oligarchy, had managed to emerge triumphant from every difficulty through which he had passed.

Beginning in moderation, the rule of the Thirty Tyrants rapidly degenerated to a selfish, bloody despotism. Supported by their Spartan *harmost* (garrison commander), they proceeded to condemn and put to death their political enemies. Executions were always accompanied by confiscations of property. Still needing funds for the payment of the garrison, they even proceeded against wealthy oligarchs and metics. There were wholesale banishments. Many fled, too, through fear, so that the surrounding states were full of fugitives

⁹ In addition to remembering Athens' noble services at the time of the Persian invasions, Sparta was also actuated by the desire to maintain in central Greece a balance to Thebes, whose self-aggrandizement had for some time been exciting her suspicion.

¹⁰ Xenophon, *Hellenica*, II, 2.

from these monsters. Among their oppressive acts was an edict abolishing higher education in literature and philosophy, the effect of which, if long continued, would have been to wipe Athens from the history of civilization. More violent grew the reign of terror, till the number of dead mounted to fifteen hundred in eight months. Even Theramenes was compelled to drink the deadly hemlock.

In spite of orders from Sparta, the neighbors of Athens received the exiles with sympathy and aid. From Thebes, Thrasybulus, one of these refugees, led a small band of patriots across the border to seize Phyle, a fortress on Mount Parnes. Thence, after increasing his force to a thousand, he occupied Piraeus and its hill Munychia. With so small a band it was a bold stroke, but this stronghold of democracy welcomed him and reinforced his army. In the streets of Piraeus the patriots battled with a military force of the Thirty Tyrants, defeated it, and killed Critias (403 B.C.). Soon afterward the democracy was restored.

The Peloponnesian War was a catastrophe for Athens and Greece. The Athenians had had it in their means with wise management to build up a lasting power, the strongest in Hellas, to win recognition of their political leadership from many or all the other Greeks, and to lift their race to a political destiny worthy of its civilization. All these possibilities they sacrificed. They persisted in the War, the Sicilian expedition was a scheme of conquest ill-conceived and conducted with obstinate folly, and they mismanaged their Empire. Never again was Athens a first-rate power, although she remained the cultural leader of Hellas.

XV

THE PERICLEAN AGE

1. SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC LIFE

The culture of the Periclean Age rested on belief in the all-comprehensive perfection of the state, to whose good the citizens were to subordinate their individual interests and devote their lives alike in war and peace. The ability of the Athenians, combined with the attraction their city held for others, realized Pericles' ambition that Athens should be the capital of Hellas, at once the strongest and the most beautiful city in the Greek world. The whole spirit of the Age glorified the greatness of Athens.

The manufactures and commerce of the imperialist democracy, as already explained (cf. map, p. 218), spread far and wide. In the busy city and its port labored citizens, metics (resident aliens), and slaves, while farmers, large and small, cultivated the olive, the vine, the wheat fields, and kitchen gardens. Marble quarries on Mt. Pentelicus, silver mines at Laurium, clay fields of the Attic plain added to the natural wealth; at the same time imperial tribute paid for great public buildings, provided jobs for stone masons and other laborers, and, through payment for public service, gave the ordinary citizen enough leisure to attend actively to the affairs of state.

DAILY LIFE. Life for the Athenian citizen was busy and serious. Quite naturally his chief concern was to provide for himself and his family, but his needs were so simple that they were easily satisfied. His diet, for example, consisted of greens, bread, cheese, and olives, and, though they were considered delicacies, fish and pork were eaten more often than other varieties of meat. The house itself was unpretentious, one or two stories in height, its blank exterior facing the narrow crooked street; life centered around the courtyard within. It took the Greeks long to abandon the simple house (and its practical, though beautiful, furniture), because the custom dated from the time when the city was small and people huddled together for safety. Athenian public opinion, moreover, was always coldly critical and quick to detect the unusual.

The simple abode was more a house than a home, for the warm climate and democratic spirit invited outdoor life. The ordinary Athenian citizen, on a day when work did not call, rose early, dressed in his short woolen chiton,

had a small glass of wine, and then, attended perhaps by a slave or two, walked slowly to that part of the market place in the center of town where he wished to shop—to the section devoted perhaps to clothing, metalwork, fish, or oil. Water clocks and sundials told the time, barbershops provided the gossip, and eventually he returned home for lunch with his family. Unlike the Roman, the Athenian enjoyed neither a large meal nor a long siesta. The afternoon, if it was an off day and affairs of government were not pressing, he might spend at a gymnasium, where he wrestled, boxed, ran, or played games, and he might also listen to his fellow citizens as they discussed some matter of moment with a sophist. The evening would be spent quietly at home, unless guests had been invited to dinner. In that event the men reclined on couches and reached for food on the tables in front of them; at the end of the meal the diners elected the king of the symposium, whose functions were to decide how much water should be mixed with the wine and to choose the topic of conversation. It will be observed that woman played but a small part in public life and was relegated to the home. Women of good families in this hard masculine age rarely appeared on the streets, though they were expected to attend funerals, weddings, the presentations of the tragic dramas, and had their own festival, the Thesmophoria, on the Pnyx.

Since the ancient Greeks took no census, it is impossible to state the population of Hellas or of various sections of it, but reasonable estimates have been made for Athens: 150,000 citizens, 35,000 metics, and 80,000 slaves (men, women, and children in each case) would be the minimum. Within the city there was no housing problem, just as serfdom was unknown in the country, and the extremes of wealth were not as great nor as obvious as in a modern state. The state demanded of each citizen his best and in return gave him ample opportunity to satisfy his ambition. Life was exuberant, throbbing with youth; optimism and a carefree lack of modesty filled the air. The many festivals gave the people the opportunity to gather in holiday mood; here, as elsewhere, complete freedom of speech was enjoyed, and the Athenians endured all sorts of self-vituperation until finally at the end of the fifth century, with the crises and disillusionment produced by the Peloponnesian War, comic license was restrained.

Slavery unquestionably contributed to the leisure of the citizen and made it possible for him to give himself to the affairs of state, but ancient Greece was not a slave society in the accepted sense of that term. A man might own a half dozen slaves, who were non-Greeks, and together, in house, shop, or farm, the master and slave worked. The slave was certain of ultimate freedom.¹ Business at Athens was largely in the hands of the metics, partly because of

¹ In addition to these apprentice slaves, however, there were also chattel slaves, who were worked like animals in the ancient quarries and mines.

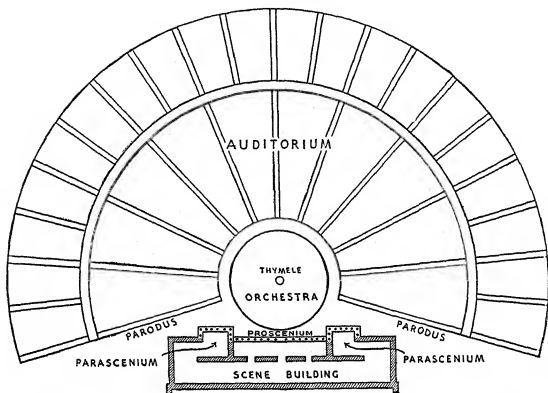
the citizens' prejudice against trade, which in time disappeared, but mainly because agriculture and the task of running and defending the state attracted most citizens. The problems of government and Empire challenged the intellects of the citizens and satisfied their pride, the traffic at Piraeus made them aware of a large world, and a democratic constitution gave an outlet to their inventive minds.

THE AGORA. Much of Athenian life centered in the market place, or Agora, a large public square to the north of the Acropolis, crossed by streets and filled with busy people. The site of shops, temples, and buildings of state, it is being excavated today by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens (p. 12). The Agora was dominated on the west by the hill of Colonus Agoraeus, where the metalworkers congregated, and on its top was placed, appropriately, the great Doric temple of Hephaestus. This was built soon after 450 B.C. and until recently was known as the Theseum. Further to the west lay the potters' quarter, or Cerameicus, from which the Sacred Way led through the Dipylon, or double gate in the city wall, past the cemetery to Eleusis. East of the temple of Hephaestus, and on lower ground, lay some of the chief buildings of the Agora; for example, the Stoa of Zeus, or Royal Stoa, which was a large covered colonnade, adorned with murals, that gave protection from rain and sun; to its south were the Bouleuterion, where the Council of Five Hundred met, and the Tholos, a circular building used by the *prytaneis*. The Stoa of Attalus, which contained shops in the rear, illustrates the way Hellenistic princes, in the days after Alexander, loved to embellish the cultural capital of the world. The Roman Sulla destroyed some of Athens in 86 B.C., but the city was never sacked until the incursion of some Germanic barbarians, known as Herulians, in 267 A.D.

THE THEATER. South of the Acropolis are important structures, such as the stadium, which is across the Ilissus, and the huge temple to Olympian Zeus. On the slopes of the hill itself are located the Odeon of Pericles, at the eastern end, and to the west the Odeon of Herodes Atticus, a public-spirited philanthropist of the second century A.D. In between these two music halls lies the great theater of Dionysus, where the beautiful plays were produced in the days of Pericles.² We must imagine a large outdoor theater, seating perhaps 18,000 spectators, the hillside auditorium lined with stone seats and aisles and looking down upon the dancing floor (orchestra), where the action took place. In the middle of the orchestra was the *thymele*, an altar dedicated

² In Hellenistic times a prince named Eumenes built a long stoa to the west; above the stoa is the sanctuary of Asclepius, the god of healing. It may be added that the theater of Dionysus at Athens was remodeled in later days, as were most Greek theaters, so that the best example of the plan of a classical theater can now be found at Epidaurus (p. 359). In Hellenistic and Roman times the roof, which connects *proscenium* and *skene* and was originally intended for isolated persons such as the *deus ex machina*, was lowered and broadened to form a stage; the orchestra, no longer a circle, was reserved for privileged spectators.

to Dionysus, beside which sat the musicians, for it will be remembered that there was much singing in a Greek play. Beyond the orchestra lay the *skene* (scene building), a long building for properties, from which the actors emerged, and in front of it, connected by a high roof, was the *proscenium*—a line of columns almost tangent with the orchestra—which served as a background for chorus and actors. At either end of the *proscenium* was a projection forward (*parascenium*), and between it and the auditorium was the entrance passage (*parodos*) for chorus and audience.



Plan of a Greek Theater

At the time of the City Dionysia,³ the people of Athens, together with many foreigners, gathered in holiday mood to witness the best plays of the year, produced in a religious atmosphere and supported by the best talent of the state. It was a critical audience, educated as it had been by a succession of great dramatists. A procession normally occupied the first day of the festival; on the second day ten dithyrambic choruses of fifty each competed; and on

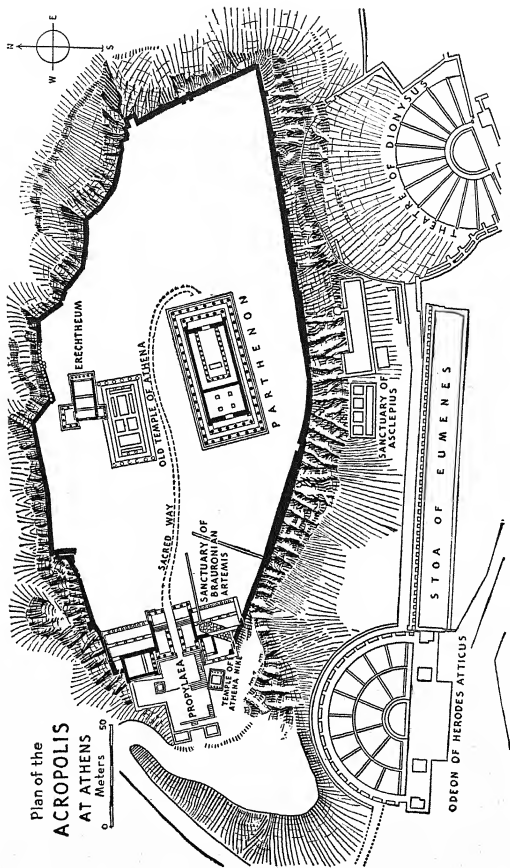
³ Long in advance of the City Dionysia—the March–April festival in celebration of spring and Dionysus, the god of fertility and patron of the theater—authors submitted their manuscripts to a committee, which selected three tragedians and five comic poets to compete. (The Lenaeon festival in January was given over principally to comedy.) To each author was assigned a *choregos*, a wealthy citizen who assumed the financial burden (liturgy) of supplying and training the chorus. Since it would have been unfair for an author to obtain the three best actors, the chief actor (protagonist) was also assigned. On account of his weak voice, Sophocles broke with the rule that dramatist should be protagonist, and it was he who introduced simple scenery (painted panels set between the columns of the proscenium). In the days of Sophocles the chorus numbered fifteen, the actors three, though an actor might take more than one part.

the third, five comic poets each produced a play. The last three days were given over to the tragic poets, each of whom presented a tetralogy; that is, a trilogy, or group of three plays often, though not always, on the same general theme, followed by a mock-heroic piece known as a satyr play. When it was all over, the judges, who had sat in the front row with the priest of Dionysus and other officials, rendered their verdict, and the names of the winning dramatist, his plays, and protagonist, were carved on stone. The fortunate *choregos* was allowed to commemorate his service by building at his own expense a small monument beside the Street of Tripods, which wound around the eastern end of the Acropolis to the theater.

2. ART

THE PARTHENON. It was on the Acropolis that the most beautiful buildings of Athens, and of all Greece, were located. Begun in 447 B.C., the Parthenon was dedicated during the Panathenaic festival of 438 B.C. to Athena Parthenos, the serene Maiden who embodied all that is lovely in life, the patron of arts and labors, the protecting deity and symbol of the state—a summing up, so to speak, of the ideals and ambitions of the Athenians, a grand political spectacle in itself. The architects were Ictinus and Callicrates, the chief sculptor Pheidias. Built of Pentelic marble throughout (except for the timber roof and the doors), the temple was Doric peripteral, with 8 by 17 columns, and measured approximately 100 by 230 feet. There were two cellas, a small one known as the Parthenon, which was used as a treasury, and to the east the main room, called the Hekatompedon.

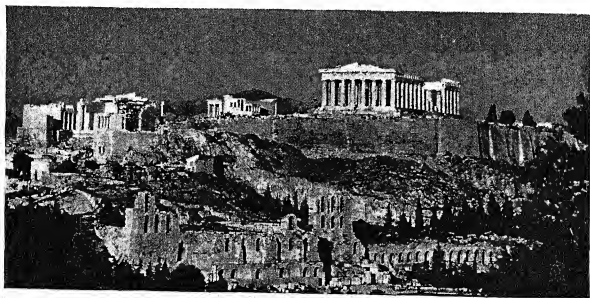
Through the genius of Ictinus the Parthenon achieved a noble majesty, to which the marvelous proportions and the delicate refinements, the curves and deviations from the normal, contributed mightily. Its charm was greatly enhanced by the sculpture. Within the Hekatompedon stood Pheidias' colossal statue of Athena, made of gold and ivory and long since lost. On the outside of the building the carved metopes showed scenes of strife, grand compositions in themselves, while an unusual feature was the continuous Ionic frieze that ran around the outside of the cella, at the top. This famous frieze, a veritable outburst of civic pride and religious feeling, commemorates the Panathenaic procession, when the best blood of Athens, young and old, youths and maidens, brought a new robe or *peplos* for the old wooden statue of Athena on the Acropolis. We can watch them move along, on horseback or with offerings, full of life and pride, free citizens, each an individual and yet each deeply conscious that he is but a part of a great state, which the gods of Olympus are only too happy to bless. For five years after the dedication the sculptors worked on the great figures in the round, which were to go in the pediments. To the west was depicted the momentous struggle between Athena and Poseidon for



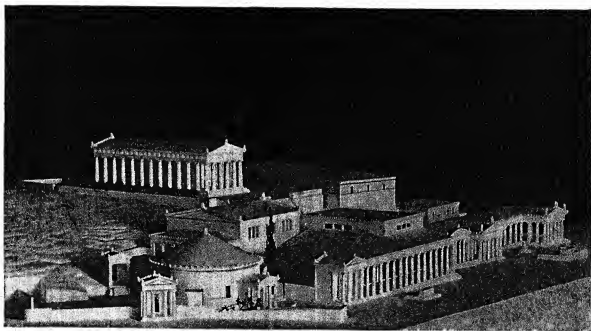
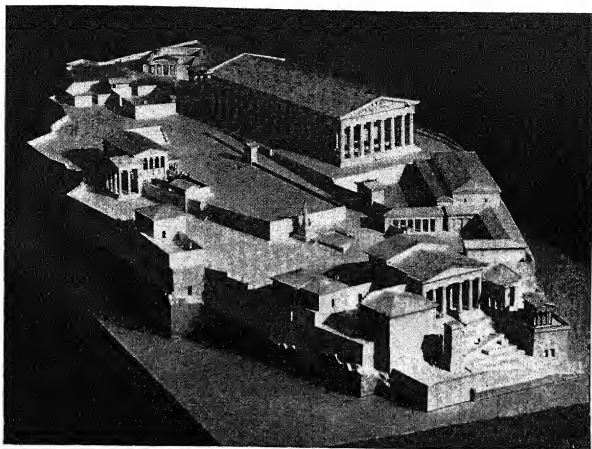


Photograph by Sarah Elizabeth Freeman

The temple of Apollo Epicurius at Bassae, ca. 450 B.C., designed by Ictinus, the architect of the Parthenon. The mountain ranges, in wild Arcadia as elsewhere, help explain the division of Greece into many political units



The Athenian Acropolis, from the southwest, with the Odeon (music hall) of Herodes Atticus in the foreground. Greek archaeologists are restoring a wing of the Propylaea, in front of which stands the temple of Nike. In the middle distance is the Erechtheum, with the Parthenon to the right



Plaster models by G. P. Stevens and J. Travlos. Above: The Athenian Acropolis, from the west. Below, along the west side of the Athenian Agora: The circular Tholos (left), where the committee of the Council met; the temple to the Mother of the Gods; behind it, the hall where the Council of Five Hundred met; far right, the Stoa of Zeus. Metal workers plied their trade near the temple of Hephaestus, which dominates the scene. In the Agora Museum, Athens



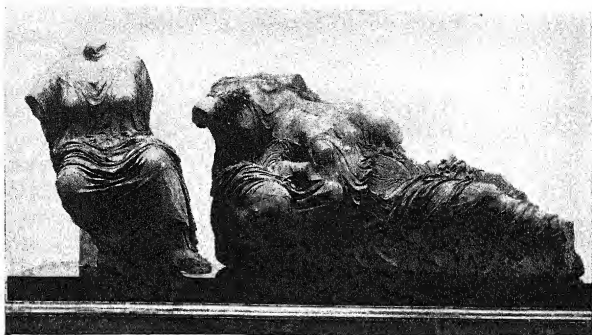
Photograph by Wagner

The Parthenon on the Athenian Acropolis, from the northwest. 447–432 B.C. Built of Pentelic marble from the designs of Ictinus and Callicrates, and made financially possible by imperial tribute, it is as much a grand political spectacle as a religious monument, a glorification of both Athens and Athena

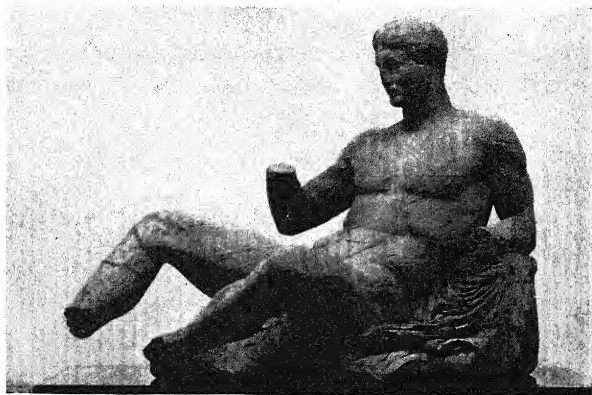


Photograph by Boissonnas

Horsemen, still in position on the west frieze of the Parthenon. The continuous frieze around the outside of the cella (an Ionic feature in this Doric structure) commemorates the Panathenaic procession, when the best blood of Athens—free citizens of an imperial democracy—brought a new robe for the statue of Athena on the Acropolis



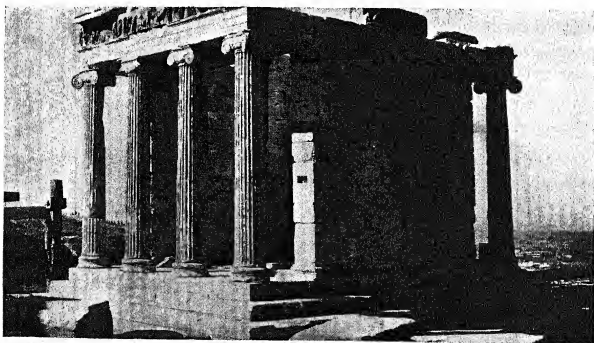
Artemis, Dione and Aphrodite, from the east pediment of the Parthenon. The general subject of this pediment is the wondrous birth of Athena, an event of world-wide significance, as the civic pride of the Athenians insisted. In the British Museum, London



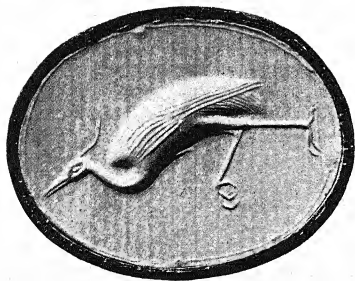
Dionysus, from the east pediment of the Parthenon. The slightly idealized art of the 5th century B.C. speaks directly to the beholder. That the Greek was at home in his world is vividly illustrated by this great figure. In the British Museum, London



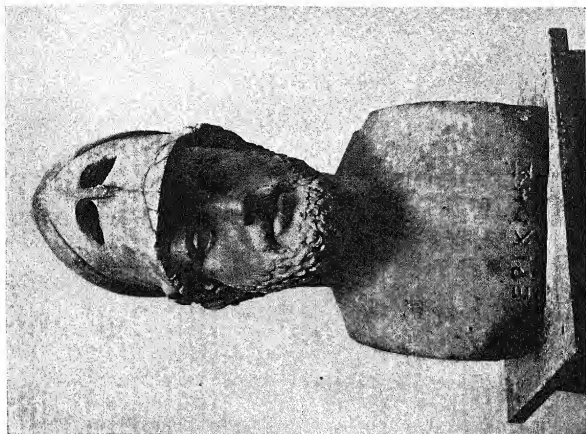
Head of the horse of the moon goddess, Selene, from the east pediment of the Parthenon. The temple's chief sculptor was Pheidias. Another of the famous Elgin marbles in the British Museum, London



Temple of Athena Nike on the Athenian Acropolis, from the northeast. About 423 B.C. Recent excavations have uncovered another temple, about a century earlier in date, immediately below this; and at a still lower level, a Mycenaean altar of the 14th century B.C.



Heron, on an engraved chalcedony (enlarged). Style of Dexamenus of Chios, late 5th century B.C. The Greek artist was able to catch the essential traits of birds and animals. In the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Herm of Pericles. A copy made in Roman times of the 5th century B.C. bronze original by Cresilas. In keeping with the spirit of the 5th century, the portrait is slightly idealized. In the British Museum, London

the lordship of Attica, and to the east, the wondrous birth of Athena, an event of significance for Athens and the whole world.

THE OTHER BUILDINGS OF THE ACROPOLIS. No sooner had the Parthenon been dedicated than Pericles inaugurated the construction of a new and finer gateway to the Acropolis—at its western end, where the only entrance was possible—the great Propylaea, built from the designs of Mnesicles between 437 and 432 B.C. The outbreak of the Peloponnesian War curtailed its original plan somewhat, but in 423 B.C. the Athenians went ahead with a graceful little Ionic temple, that of Athena Nike (Victory), on the bastion before the Propylaea. About the same time, too, a marble parapet, carved with Victories, was placed along the edge of the bastion. The Peace of Nicias (421 B.C.) enabled the Athenians to commence the Erechtheum—sacred to the guardian of the city, Athena Polias, to Erechtheus, the ancestral god of Attica, and to Poseidon—but work on it was soon abandoned and not begun again until 409 B.C. The Erechtheum is easily the most elaborate building on the Acropolis, a marvel of grace and delicacy, rich with the honeysuckle and other ornamentation that blend beautifully with the Ionic order. Built of Pentelic marble, it had nevertheless a frieze of black Eleusinian limestone, against which were pinned white marble sculptures. The opposition of priests of other sanctuaries to encroachment on their land probably accounts for the unusual shape of the Erechtheum, but it was found possible to include two porches, the Caryatid on the south, where stately Maidens support the roof, and an even more beautiful one to the north, with an elaborately carved doorway.

OTHER WORKS. Foreign artists were naturally attracted to Athens, just as Athenians received important commissions elsewhere. Ictinus, for example, designed the temple of Apollo Epicurius at Bassae, in the wild uplands of Arcadia. But in spite of this era of widespread activity in architecture and monumental sculpture—witness the Argive Polycleitus, who was much interested in anatomy—it is perhaps the simple tombstones (*stelae*) from the Athenian Cerameicus, made as they were by unknown sculptors, that impress us most with the artistic genius of the people. The gems and coins also have an exquisite beauty, but all traces of the work of Polygnotus and other painters have long since vanished.

3. LITERATURE

The culture of the Periclean Age, we have said, rested on belief in the all-comprehensive perfection of the state; it rested also on traditional belief purified by an expanding intelligence and humanism—belief in the power, wisdom, and goodness of the gods, in the superiority of the fathers, in the beneficence

of the heroes of old. Into this culture, however, had been implanted the germ of individualism. Poets and sophists took the lead in questioning the problems of life and the old answers to them, and during the second half of the fifth century the new progressive tendencies struggled with the old conservatism in a conflict fiercer and deadlier than was the strife of battle between Athenians and Peloponnesians.

RELIGION. Man's love of symbolism and his hope of future life went far to break the supremacy of the traditional faith. Many people found the Olympian gods too cold and turned from them to the mystery religions and the strange deities brought in by the swarms of foreigners. These were the exciting mysteries from barbaric Samothrace, the worship of Cybele, the Great Mother from Phrygia, and of Aphrodite's companion, Adonis, from Cyprus. They all had their strange priests and curious rites, emotional and noisy, or secret and mystical, and all alike were individualistic in contrast with the recognized civic cults. Scorned by the educated and the conservative, such innovations tended to loosen the hold of the community on its hereditary gods. A far more active solvent, however, was rationalism. Euripides, for example, though he treated with forbearance the myths that formed the tragic poet's stock in trade and the background of his country's history, gives us to understand that many supernatural powers, traditionally assumed, have no real existence. He lays the responsibility for conduct upon the individual and assures us that the Furies that goad Orestes are but the creations of an excited mind. The great comic poet, Aristophanes, in other ways conservative, ridicules the gods and their weaknesses. The drama, then, spread advanced ideas over a large audience.

EDUCATION. The Athenian needed the teaching and inspiration of his great poets, for to meet the various requirements of citizenship in this intense democracy, where life was civic duty, a man had to be well educated, not in books but in public affairs. During his education much attention was paid to manners and morals by parents, nurse, and teachers. He began his training on a small scale in the deme, where local matters were freely discussed in town meeting, and where local offices gave some practice in communal management. Further experience he gained in one or more of the many administrative offices of the state and Empire, and in the Assembly and law courts. But this practical instruction was narrow. A broader, more idealistic education the Athenian received from the choral songs at festivals and particularly from the drama presented in the theater. During the year more than sixty days were given to festivals, including dramatic exhibitions and the holidays of the demes. Every year, moreover, from one to two thousand boys and men appeared before the public in choruses for the dramatic and other exhibitions that required them. These choral services, as well as others, were generally rotated among the

qualified citizens, thus giving all, or nearly all, a training in music and a close contact with literature.

SOPHOCLES. While it is true that the poets were the teachers of Athens, they had no sense of mission. Certainly Sophocles (ca. 496–406 B.C.) did not regard himself as a teacher, nor, on the other hand, was he a skeptic, like Euripides; in religious matters he simply presented the better side of the gods as normal. The real concern of Sophocles was the human fortunes of his characters. This inevitably grew out of his background, for as a man of wealth and education, who had been born in the fashionable suburb of Colonus, he served the state in various capacities and mingled with all classes of people. As a poet, he was chiefly interested in what effect life has upon a man's character and soul. The old legends were his vehicle, and his plays, which combine an exceptional harmony of beauty and reason and are almost perfect from the point of view of dramatic technique, show him to be not only a great artist, but the most human of Greek tragedians (p. 291).

Sophocles composed about one hundred and twenty plays, but only seven survive entire. Of these *Oedipus the King* is probably the greatest. The house of Cadmus, founder of Thebes, is doomed to misfortune because it has offended the gods. Oedipus, heir to the power and the woes of this stock, is driven unwittingly to the commission of a dreadful sin, for he fulfills the dread prophecy that he will murder his father and marry his mother. He suffers unspeakable agony of mind, and his children inherit the curse. His daughter Antigone is buried alive; his two sons kill each other in civil war; the whole family sinks to ruin. The guilt, growing from generation to generation, brings its legitimate punishment. It is natural, however, that the scientific, inquiring spirit of the Periclean Age, involving rationalism and religious doubt, should reflect itself in the troubled life of the play. Oedipus, though by nature essentially religious, doubts the prophetic art of Teiresias, and seems to prove his point by irrefutable argument. His wife Jocasta rejects even the oracle of Apollo, and despising all moral law, advises a random, heedless life. But in the end all doubts are overwhelmed by the catastrophe of the drama.

EURIPIDES. The great exponent of the new spirit of individualism and the new humanism was the poet Euripides (ca. 480–406 B.C.). His life was contemporary with the manhood of Sophocles; his activity, beginning with the Age of Pericles, terminated shortly before the end of the Peloponnesian War; and yet an age seems to separate him from Sophocles. In the older poet beats the heart of Hellenism; his younger contemporary is distinctly the first of the moderns. It is characteristic of Euripides that he held aloof from public life to apply his whole energy to the composition of plays—through no disparagement of politics, but in the consciousness that his own mission was superior to any civic achievement of the individual. The apostle of humanism, he issued

his dramas as epistles to mankind. His message was a moral and spiritual interpretation of the utterance of Protagoras: man is the measure of all things. The keen intellect and the sensitive conscience, developed by a marvelous civilization, are presented with all the artistic allurements of dramatic genius as the standards whereby to judge truth and right on earth and in heaven. Casting off from traditional moorings, he pilots mankind over surging seas of thought and emotion, but his ship reaches no harbor. The poet of the submerged majority of humanity descends to the level of common folk, to sympathize with beggars and cripples, with women and slaves (p. 291).

Skeptic and realist though he was, Euripides nevertheless wrote some magical and brilliant verse; he has not only violent invective, but tender pathos as well. The *Medea*, one of the eighteen plays that have survived from the original total of approximately ninety-two, is high tragedy, the story of a woman who is abandoned by the man she loves and for whom she has surrendered everything. Medea had helped Jason, against tremendous odds, to obtain the golden fleece and had then fled with him from her native country. At Corinth, however, Jason finds that he can marry the daughter of the king and dismisses Medea. Her love is turned to violent hatred and she murders their children. Euripides gives us in Jason the picture of an egotist and a scoundrel; in Medea, a woman who is heartbroken, as anyone is when tragedy falls, but who, having the power to do as she wishes, reacts without the restraints that civilization imposes. There is no solution of the problem, and at the end Medea flees to Athens in a magic chariot drawn by winged dragons.

ARISTOPHANES. Boisterous comedy, rather than tragedy, was of course the usual medium by which a poet sought vigorously to impress his views upon the audience. Aristophanes (ca. 445-385 B.C.), the brilliant, creative poet of Old Comedy, was before all else a comedian, but he did not hesitate to ridicule his enemies and to advance the interests of his own conservative class. Much of the humor of Old Comedy derives from the fact that it violently attacked living persons, who as likely as not were seated in the theater. Many of Aristophanes' plays are full of fierce attacks upon prominent persons, cruel caricatures, although they contain delicious humor and a high quality of true lyric genius. There is much bawdiness as well, which is to be explained partly by the origin of comedy in a fertility rite, partly by the fact that the ancients did not regard sex as sinful, and also by the simple truth that perhaps there was nothing Aristophanes loved more. An especial object of his hatred was Cleon, but the *Knights* failed to crush the demagogue. It was different with the *Clouds*, for this made a lasting impression upon the Athenians and contributed eventually to the death of Socrates. As a conservative of the old school Aristophanes disliked the "new thought," and in one of his greatest plays, the *Clouds*, tried to discredit it by attacking the leading intellectual of the day, Socrates.

Similarly, in the *Frogs*, he attacked Euripides. As might be expected of a conservative landowner, Aristophanes opposed the Peloponnesian War and wrote several plays in favor of peace. It speaks well for Athenian tolerance and willingness to hear all points of view that complete freedom of speech was allowed, but finally in the fourth century, with disillusionment and a new day, comedy forsook politics for social life. This change of subject marks the transformation from Old to Middle Comedy, which was tamer and more realistic and attempted, in quiet humor or good-natured satire, to set forth the manners and morals of the age, to picture scenes and characters from real life.

SCIENCE. The scientific spirit of the Periclean Age was by no means limited to the dramatic poets, or to Athens itself, for ever since the intellectual awakening in sixth-century Ionia it had run swiftly through the length and breadth of Hellas, to incite in individuals a love of collecting facts and of systematizing them on a rational basis. Many literary products of this spirit served useful as well as theoretical purposes. Works on sculpture and architecture, music and literary criticism were in part handbooks for learners of the respective arts. From the time of Pythagoras advances were made in arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy. His followers taught the rotundity of earth, sun, and moon. A more careful study of the heavens enabled the astronomer Meton of Athens to devise a nineteen-year cycle for bringing the lunar and solar year into harmony. In this system the solar year was estimated at $365\frac{1}{4}$ days, about a half-hour short of the truth.

MEDICINE. From the time of Pythagoras, too, notable progress was made in medicine. Although cities were woefully backward in general sanitation, it may be set down to their credit that they supported from the public purse physicians who treated the citizens free of charge. While the masses still believed in expelling diseases by charms and prayer, or by visits to the shrines of Asclepius, the medical profession of the Periclean Age had eliminated magic and every form of superstition from theory and practice, and stood on the solid ground of scientific observation and experiment. Hippocrates of Cos (ca. 460–377 B.C.) was the most celebrated physician of the ancient world. In his family the profession had been hereditary, as was generally true of trades or other fields of technical skill. In view of the fact that medical knowledge had accumulated at the temples of Asclepius, where the sick and the maimed sought divine healing, it is significant of the scientific spirit of Hippocrates that in his writings he never prescribes a visit to such a shrine. "Every illness," he declares, "has a natural cause; and without natural causes, nothing ever happens." He lays great stress on hygiene, especially diet, but he was ready to use drugs or, when necessary, cutting and cauterizing. It was his achievement to repel from his domain all assaults of sophists and speculative philosophers, and while maintaining and expanding the scientific method of his predecessors,

to uphold for his profession the noblest ideals of devotion to duty and right. Physicians today subscribe to the Hippocratic Oath.

PHILOSOPHY. Not only were special branches of knowledge being cultivated, but great progress was taking place in the philosophic attitude toward the world as a whole and its problems. In spite of the repudiation of Being by Heraclitus and his insistence on Becoming as the sole reality, the successors of Xenophanes the Eleatic continued more strongly than ever to deny motion and change, and to claim for Being alone a real existence. An attempt was made by Empedocles of Acragas (ca. 495–430 B.C.) to harmonize these views. With the Eleatics he denied absolute origin and decay; but unlike them, he believed in the plurality of Being; there are, he asserted, four elements—earth, water, air, and fire—of which all things are composed. The forces that combine and separate them are Love and Hate, the poetic antecedents of attraction and repulsion. In this way he was able to use both Being and Becoming in his theory of the formation of the world. He paid less attention to the character of his elements than to the processes of nature. In accounting for plant and animal forms he enunciated a principle crudely anticipative of the “survival of the fittest.”

Every new philosopher, after learning what his predecessors had to teach, attempted to correct the faults of their suppositions or methods with a view to approaching nearer the truth. Thus it was that Leucippus, a younger contemporary of Empedocles, began working out the problem of that thinker in a more scientific way. Seeing no reason why Being should be limited to precisely four elements, he assumed instead its division into an indefinite number of minute indivisible particles, termed atoms. By the side of Being, which he interpreted as matter, he assumed the existence of Void—empty space—in which the atoms moved; in place of the mythical Love and Hate he substituted Gravitation, a strictly physical force. With Being, Void, and Gravitation, he proceeded to explain the formation of the world, the processes of nature, and even feeling and thought in a purely mechanical way. The atomic theory, which was developed into a system by his famous pupil Democritus in the fourth century, was generally denounced by the ancients as materialistic, hence as ethically demoralizing.

More in accord with the general ethical direction of Greek thought, hence more influential, was Anaxagoras of Clazomenae (ca. 500–428 B.C.), the teacher of Pericles. His lasting contribution to philosophy was to substitute for gravitation an infinite and omniscient Intelligence, which orders all things. He did not consciously think of it as a person or as a deity, but regarded it merely as a directing force. If not immaterial, it was at least a substance unmixed and in quality unique. The religious and ethical consequences of his theory, however, were left mainly to future thinkers to draw.

The influence of these philosophers, or scientists, was limited to narrow circles of pupils. To the public the thinker seemed an odd, unnatural being, who in his search for the undiscoverable and the unpractical neglected everything that the Greek held dear—a subject for ridicule in comedy or for prosecution on the charge of atheism, of having substituted whirligig for Zeus. Those who, braving public opinion, became acquainted with the various systems of thought, were generally struck by their contradictions, the uncertain foundations on which they rested, and their utter uselessness in life. Thus far, in fact, Hellenic thinkers, while discovering the most fundamental principles of science and philosophy, had pursued the faulty method of generalization on the basis of too few facts. Little more could be accomplished without a careful and extensive study of nature, and for this scientific instruments were lacking.

THE SOPHISTS. Meanwhile with the rise of democracy, involving the theory of human equality, a demand was created for a technical education that would fit any man who wished for public life; statesmanship, once based on inborn gifts of speech and political wisdom, had to be democratized. This demand could not be met by the philosophers, and called into being the art of rhetoric, whose aim was to equip any man, however humble his talent, for public speaking. Shortly after the establishment of democracy in Syracuse (466 B.C.), Corax of that city developed the first method of juridical oratory. Rhetoric, however, concerned itself with nothing beyond the communication of thought and the persuasion to a belief or an action; it had to be supplemented by a working knowledge of government and society. Hence arose a class of men who professed to teach not only rhetoric, but all knowledge essential to the statesman. Such instructors in wisdom were termed sophists. They traveled from city to city, giving exhibitions of their knowledge and of their skill in argument, and imparting instruction to all who desired it, and who were able to pay the required fee.

The earliest of this class, and by far the most eminent, was Protagoras of Abdera (ca. 485–410 B.C.). The speculations of philosophers had led many to doubt the possibility of knowledge. Abandoning all hope of discovering the one true essence of the Universe, Protagoras boldly declared that "man is the measure of all things." In two respects this declaration opened a new era. First, it directed attention to the mind and its relation to the outside world, and thus paved the way to a Mental Philosophy, or Psychology. Secondly, by shifting the center of attention from the world to man it gave, along with many coöperating forces, a tremendous impetus to the growth of individualism. Protagoras also had a theory to offer as to the basis of society and the state. The desire of self-preservation gathered mankind into cities, but fearing that men might destroy one another, Zeus sent Hermes to them all, bearing reverence

and justice as the ordering principles of cities and the bonds of friendship and conciliation. Here was the beginning of a line of thought which led to the creation of Sociology and Political Science.

Prodicus of Ceos, Hippias of Elis, and other sophists of the age borrowed from Protagoras his theory of knowledge and, with varying motive and ability, pursued the same methods. All laid stress on the distinction between Nature, whose laws, observed by all nations, are morally binding, and convention—man-made customs and statutes, for which they cherish no reverence. The effect of this principle was to dissolve tradition, including the religion and moral usages of the fathers. In their view the past was an age of ignorance and superstition; the present alone was worthy of consideration. The same principle tended equally to break down the barriers of social class and the boundaries of states. Though solvents of the established political, social, and religious order, the sophists were preparing the way to a world-wide humanism, to more friendly relations among states, to federations and empire. It is significant that one of the greater sophists, the Sicilian Gorgias of Leontini, seeing perhaps dimly the need of a universal language of culture, adopted for that purpose the Attic dialect.

Sophists without character or earnest purpose, however, pushed to ridiculous extremes the doctrine of Protagoras, and asserted that everything is precisely as it appears to every individual. No affirmation can be false because it is impossible to state that which does not exist. If a thing is true, the opposite is equally true. Thus arose a class of disputants whose sole purpose was to confute their adversaries by quibbling with words, by fallacies of logic, and by sheer effrontery of manner. The effect was to fill the right-minded with disgust at sophistry. It is not surprising, therefore, that as an escape from the hopeless hubbub of skepticism a reaction should arise toward religious and philosophic faith. Here and there through the plays of Euripides may be found expressions of faith; and in his *Bacchae*, composed shortly before his death, the aged poet, renouncing radicalism, seeks comfort in the ancestral beliefs. The heaven he has learned to adore, however, is not the Homeric council of gods, but a moral and spiritual Power to whose guidance a man may wisely subject his soul.

SOCRATES. A contemporary of Euripides, and a kindred spirit, was Socrates the philosopher (ca. 470–399 B.C.), whom the masses wrongly regarded as a sophist. He was relatively poor; his estate barely enabled him to serve in the heavy infantry; and in youth he had trained as a sculptor in his father's shop. Little schooling fell to his lot; and his moderate acquaintance with existing philosophers was but incidentally gained. From early life, however, he neglected his worldly affairs to devote himself to thought. He had the habit of standing for hours together, even for an entire night, staring at vacancy, totally absorbed in reasoning out a problem that chanced to interest him. Forsaking

a trade which under the circumstances could have afforded him but a meager sustenance, he devoted his entire life to the pursuit of truth. In this vocation he was encouraged by an oracle of Apollo, which declared him to be the wisest of men.

Through his whole life Socrates accepted and faithfully practiced the religion of the state, and was often seen sacrificing at the public altars. His ideas of the gods, however, were enlightened. Whereas the many still believed that their knowledge was limited, Socrates held that the gods were present everywhere and knew all things. A divinity or inner voice (*Daimonion*), accompanying him through life, gave him warnings which he always heeded.

Socrates' belief in the greatness and the wisdom of God was strengthened by the argument of design. The world is made for man, and every part of a human being is admirably adapted to a good purpose. Existing things must, therefore, be the handiwork of a wise artificer, full of love for all things living. As man is superior to animals, the Deity has taken especial thought for him. He is pleased with those things in us which conduce most to our well-being. Socrates drew, too, from experience that the wisest and most enduring of human institutions are the most God-fearing, and that in the individual man the riper his age and judgment, the deeper his religion. It was necessary for Socrates to make his sacrifices correspond with his small means, but he believed that the joy of the Gods is great in proportion to the holiness of the worshiper; and in the conviction that they well knew his own interest, he used to pray simply, "Give me what is best for me."

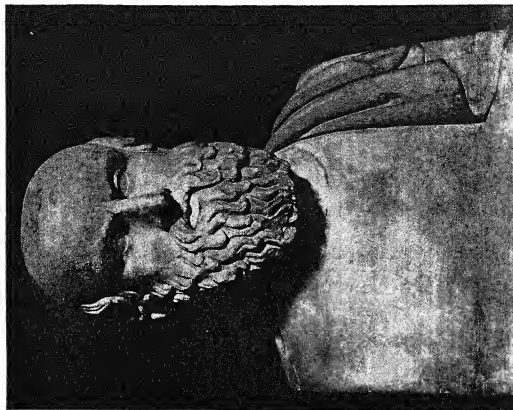
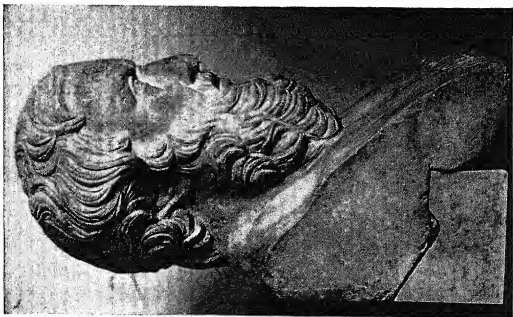
Socrates was not the mere prosaic teacher of Xenophon's memoirs; in addition to an ample fund of common sense he had within him humor, imagination, intellectual power, and a love of truth so burning as to become at times ecstatic. With such qualities he fascinated his young companions, and some of them, especially Plato, he awakened to a life of intense mental productivity. With Socrates true knowledge was not simply the source but the substance of virtue; and he preferably sought that kind of truth which should determine the conduct of men—for example, "what is piety and what impiety? what is the beautiful and what the ugly? what is the noble and what the base? what are meant by just and unjust? what by sobriety and madness? what by courage and cowardice? what is a state and what a statesman? what is a ruler over men and what a ruling character?" and other similar problems.

The Socratic method of research was through conversation with one's fellows. Wherever the crowds were thickest, there Socrates could be found engaged in argument on his favorite subjects. It was easy for him to prove his opponent ignorant of the topic under discussion, as he was the most formidable reasoner of his age. Having thus cleared the ground, he proceeded by induction to establish precise definitions of general terms. "There are two

things," declares Aristotle, "that one would rightly attribute to Socrates: inductive reasoning and universal definition. In fact these two things are the very foundation of knowledge." It was thus that, while professing ignorance on all subjects, he built up a body of ethical science which might serve as a guide to himself and to others. In assuming man to be the measure of all things, he stood on sophistic ground; but he made a vast advance in pointing to the reason, rather than the senses, as the universal and eternal element in man, the infallible criterion of truth, therefore, in the realm of conduct or nature. As intellectual education, however, merely increased a man's power for evil, he was careful first of all to instruct his associates in self-control and to inspire them with a wise spirit in their relations with the Gods. Wisdom and Justice we should seek not only because of their use to us, but also because they are pleasing to the Gods. His teachings were quite as religious as philosophic.

Throughout his life Socrates gave evidence of loyalty and love for his fellow citizens and his country. Living with rare frugality, he charged no fee for instruction, but lavished the wealth of his spirit on rich and poor alike. Many were his exhortations to brothers to love one another, to children to respect and obey their parents, and to citizens to be true to their country. Faithfully he performed his military duties, and as chairman of the Assembly he fearlessly adhered to law against popular clamor for injustice. It is true that he criticized the use of the lot for the appointment of officials on the ground that it brought incompetent men into public service, but with the general principles of democracy he was in full sympathy. Rather than give his time to the holding of offices, he chose as a higher duty the task of preparing men to serve the state in war and peace with strong bodies, clear brains, and upright hearts. It is a sad commentary on the spirit of the Athenians, after the collapse of their Empire, that they could be persuaded to condemn Socrates to death, on the ground that he was a corrupting influence on the young and had introduced new deities.

HERODOTUS. The desire for serviceable knowledge, the interest in mankind, the absorption in the present, which characterized the intellectual movement of the Periclean Age, found notable expression in history. The spirit of scientific inquiry naturally involved an eagerness to know the past of the human race; and this desire created History. The first historian whose works have been preserved was Herodotus (ca. 484-425 B.C.). We are unable, therefore, to say definitely how great an advance he made beyond Hecataeus, his most distinguished predecessor, although we know that he borrowed extensively from him. Born in the period of the conflict with Persia, Herodotus lived through the earlier years of the Peloponnesian War. His native place was Halicarnassus, in Asia Minor. He spent much of his life at Athens, and traveled to Egypt, into



A great historian and a great dramatist. Left: Herm of Herodotus of Halicarnassus. In the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Right: So-called bust of Aeschylus of Athens. In the Capitoline Museum, Rome. Roman copies of 4th century B.C. Greek originals



Sophocles, an outstanding example of the Greek ideal. In 443 B.C. he was chief treasurer of the Athenian Empire; the next year he produced his *Antigone*; two years later he was a general before Samos. A Roman copy of a Greek original of the 4th century B.C. In the Lateran Museum, Rome



Euripides, with papyrus roll and tragic mask. One of the keenest intellects of antiquity, he was attacked by the comic poet, Aristophanes, for his advanced views. A Roman copy of a Greek original of the 4th century B.C. In the Vatican Museum, Rome

Asia as far as Susa, to the countries about the Black Sea, to Italy—in brief, to most of the known world. Everywhere he gathered material which found its way into his work. His sources, accordingly, are of uneven value, but where he trusted his own observations Herodotus is, on the whole, thoroughly reliable.

As the genealogists were the literary descendants of Hesiod, Herodotus was a son of Homer, and his *History* might well be described as a great prose epic, influenced to some extent by Sophocles and contemporary drama. A brief preface explains the object of his work: "This is a presentation of the *Inquiry—Historia—of Herodotus of Halicarnassus* to the end that time may not obliterate the great and marvelous deeds of Hellenes and barbarians, and especially that they may not forget the causes for which they waged war with one another." In his search for causes he narrates from earliest times the notable achievements of all the peoples who were involved in the Persian Wars, and thus his production may be described as a universal history. He used the Persian Wars as the unifying element of his work, and though he was ignorant of strategy and tactics, his *History* remains our chief source for the conflict. A fair-minded historian and a friend of Pericles, Herodotus described the glorious deeds of Athens, for it was Athens that had saved Greece.

As far as we know, Herodotus was the first to apply the word *History*, in its original sense of inquiry, to this field of literature. It aptly describes his method of gathering information by personal inquiry of those who were supposed to know. Often unsatisfied with an individual source, he pursued his investigation among various authorities, thus introducing the comparative method of research. We find him, accordingly, expressing doubt as to what he hears, comparing the more with the less credible, or reasoning about the reliability of his source. Although his work abounds in myths and fictions—for no one loved a good story more than Herodotus—and though he was often at the mercy of untrustworthy informants, he was far from credulous. Even the fictitious tales are of value for illustrating the thought and life of the age.

Another great quality of Herodotus is his broad-mindedness, to which his cosmopolitan birthplace, on the borderland between Hellas and the Persian Empire, and his extensive travels contributed. He could understand that many foreign customs were at least as good as the Hellenic, that there were great and admirable characters among the barbarians, and that monarchy as well as democracy had its good features. A comparison of Egyptian with Hellenic tradition taught him the emptiness of the claim of certain Greeks to near descent from a god. His comparative study of religion convinced Herodotus that his countrymen entertained many false notions as to their own gods and as to the beginnings of the human race. Regarding the existence of the gods, however, and their providential dealings with men, the historian betrays no skepticism.

With other enlightened men of his age he believes in a Divine Providence, who rules the world and in a kindly spirit watches over men, revealing his will through omens, dreams, and oracles. Like Aeschylus he seems to believe that the downfall of the great—for example, of Xerxes—is in punishment for insolence (*hybris*) which unusual prosperity often induces.

In religion, therefore, though casting off much that is extraneous, Herodotus holds firmly to the enlightened orthodoxy of the time, while in moral character and purpose he stands on a level with the best men of his century. From the point of view of strict historical science, while advancing beyond Hecataeus, he is still crude and imperfect, whereas his broad sympathy and kindly interest in everything human, his high religious and moral principles, his inexhaustible fund of anecdotes illustrative of customs and character, his charming style and genial personality have entitled him to his place as the "father of history," as Cicero calls him, and have given his literary production a universal and eternal interest.

THUCYDIDES. The greatest ancient historian, and in some respects still without a rival, was the Athenian Thucydides, son of Olorus (ca. 471–399 B.C.). Thucydides resembled the men of the Periclean Age, not only in intensity and power of thought and style, but also in the fact that he was a man of action, as well as of words, a general in the Peloponnesian War, who could therefore season his writings with practical experience. His slowness in coming to the protection of Amphipolis led to his exile in 424 B.C. At the outbreak of the War, foreseeing that it would be memorable, he had begun to collect material for a history of it; and during the twenty years of his exile he traveled about, visiting the scenes of military operations and ascertaining facts from eye-witnesses. Doubtless he kept a record of events, which he corrected and expanded with the acquisition of new and more precise information. At the close of the War he undertook a final recomposition of his work, which described the great conflict between Athens and Sparta, although the first book contains a valuable sketch of the earlier years of Greece. The *History* comes to an end in the course of 411 B.C., doubtless cut short by his death.

Thucydides carefully examined his evidence and was completely impartial. Though he loved Athens, he did not hesitate to criticize her. Like Pericles he loved magnificence and display, and like Pericles he was an imperialist. He believed that it was natural for a state to expand, since the state represented power, and war, he felt, was but an expression of the state's growth. The Peloponnesian War, Thucydides believed, was the most important event in the entire history of Greece—indeed, he was convinced that, as compared with the present, the past was insignificant. In studying the War he was interested in the causes underlying the political actions of states. With Thucydides the forces that make history are the statesmen, who consciously operate to effect

a given purpose, secondarily the people in their assembly, moved by capricious feeling to a wise or foolish resolution. The ideal republic is one like Athens in the Age of Pericles, in which the best and wisest citizen is able to control the rest, but, he recognized, chance can also affect the course of events.

The *History* is a literary masterpiece, influenced in part by the dramatists and sophists. The speeches, which occupy a large part of the work, are, so to speak, its soul. Usually they are given in pairs, representing the opposing views of a situation or a question for decision before an assembly. The language of the speeches is Thucydides'; the ideas, so far as they could be ascertained, are the orators', though even here, as the actual speeches were unwritten, the historian exercised large discretion in including what he considered appropriate to the occasion. Generally, therefore, the speeches embody the historian's understanding of the situation which they present, and express most adequately his keen analytical intelligence.

Notwithstanding certain differences between ancient and modern conceptions of history, we may still look to Thucydides as a master. In his own personal reserve, in the determination with which he pursues his single aim, rejecting every extraneous matter, in the relentless analysis which lays bare the souls of individuals, of factions, of communities, in the fairness and mental placidity with which he treats of personal enemies and opposing parties, in intellectual depth, keenness, and grasp, we may safely say that he has thus far no equal.

Greece in the fifth century produced a galaxy of brilliant men, many of whom were Athenians, or chose to live in the violet-crowned city. It was a crowded, complex century. While admiring the Parthenon and the Sophoclean drama, we recognize that they are so essentially Hellenic as to defy imitation, whereas the sculpture of the Nike parapet, the plays of Euripides, and the reasoning of Socrates, however high their excellence, have an appreciable kinship with modern civilization. Needless to say, neither the private nor the public life was faultless. The blemishes of the civilization show themselves, for example, in the cramping of the lives of the women, in the existence of slavery, in the narrowness and exclusiveness of Athenian interests, as opposed to those of metics, allies, Hellenes, and the world. A part of this narrowness—at once the strength and the weakness of ancient Greece—was the self-sufficiency, the particularism, of each independent city-state. The morality of Hellas was essentially civic. The fundamental motive to right conduct, as Pericles himself asserts, was the good of the state. The patriotic devotion required was too intense to be lasting. Not long after Pericles the gradual disintegration of the city-states resulted in depriving the citizen of his moral basis, and compelled him to fight out anew the whole battle of conduct on other, very different ground.

XVI

THE FOURTH CENTURY

1. THE NEW DAY

The Peloponnesian War closed an epoch in Greek history. Through waste of life and property and the withdrawal of the energies of states from the productive works of peace, it harmed the victors almost as much as the vanquished. The isolation of the Peloponnesus by the Athenian fleet during the early years of the struggle damaged its commerce. Toward the end of the conflict, however, when all fear of the Athenian naval supremacy had vanished, there began a concentration in cities and an industrial economy. These changes diminished the number of hoplites and farmers, while adding to the day laborers and slaves. Hence, while the total population remained about the same in numbers, it underwent social deterioration. Indeed, the military decline of the Peloponnesus during the fourth century may be traced to political disintegration more than to waste of war or economic factors, for the Spartan character had been sadly undermined.

Naturally Athens was among the chief sufferers in the Peloponnesian War. Her country was more systematically harried than any other in Hellas, and the thin soil deteriorated not only from the lack of opportunity to fertilize it, but also from the enemy's ravages. Country dwellings and barns had been burned or torn down and carried off by the Spartans and Thebans; the livestock had been killed and eaten by the owners or stolen by the invaders. More than 20,000 slaves, many of them skilled workmen, had deserted to the enemy, thus depriving many citizens of their shophands and livelihood. Industry shrank; merchant ships and war galleys perished. The islanders also lost much property. Even more deplorable was the loss of life. In battle, plague, starvation, and executions under the Thirty Tyrants, the number of adult male citizens at Athens had appreciably sunk.

No people can live through so great a conflict and remain unchanged. The psychological effect of the collapse of the Athenian Empire was tremendous, for now the one institution which promised stability and some sort of union was gone. The significant point about fourth-century Greece is the apparent disintegration of society. Henceforth, wider group loyalties seem to be subordinated to narrower ones; the individual, who through sophistic training had

learned to question all authority, was in revolt against the group. It would be easy to overdo this. The general level of intelligence was now probably higher than ever before. Great thinkers, such as Plato and Aristotle, who were to influence thought in subsequent ages, lived in this century; so did important artists—though few poets of note. Athens, because she showed moderation in her restoration of the democracy and by her wise financial reforms, soon recovered some of her strength. Viewed in a certain light, fourth-century Greece, it is true, presents the picture of Panhellenic anarchy, of a race deliberately bent on suicide, but this was due in large measure to an economic depression. What was needed more than anything else was emigration, a resumption of the colonization of the archaic period. Thrown on their own insufficient resources, in a changing world, men inevitably considered their own good, and not the state's. It is little wonder that some people advocated a return to the old Spartan discipline. The "spring had gone out of the year" long ago, but Greece remained, nevertheless, vital and interesting, strong and intelligent. The question that engaged many people, since Greece was clearly becoming cosmopolitan, was the possibility of union and the form it would take. Would the city-state be able to effect it?

The growth of individualism, however, fostered the development of monarchy as well as democracy. In the political disintegration of the fourth century tyrannies sprang up in some of the smaller states; and in western Hellas the feebleness of the socialistic democracy of Syracuse, in the face of the Carthaginian peril, made possible the creation of a tyrannic empire, which in extent and power was thus far unrivaled in Hellas. At the same time, in the minds of the educated who, like Xenophon, had traveled and seen the advantages of monarchy or, like Isocrates and Plato, had brooded over the evils of the existing state system, there developed a sentiment in favor of one-man rule.

Notwithstanding these favoring conditions tyranny was less frequent in the fourth century than it had been in the seventh and sixth. The accumulation of knowledge, with its organization in departments, led to a corresponding specialization of activities. Statesman and general were clearly differentiated. The former was now a trained orator with a special knowledge of finance and of international administration, whereas the military leader had to acquire a knowledge of the science and art of war unknown in former periods. Hence, as a rule, it was no longer possible for a demagogue to command the means of making himself a tyrant, and the republican form of government thereby gained stability.

Aristocracy, in which a few good men ruled unselfishly and wisely for the general advantage of the community, was more a dream of the political theorist than a historical reality. Certainly in the fourth century little, if any,

vestige of it existed, nor could a man of practical sense look upon it as among the possibilities of the future. The prevailing forms of government in the fourth century were oligarchy and democracy. With them the statesman, and any thinker above the mere visionary, had to deal as conditions too deeply seated to be cast aside, but capable of improvement.

The actual constitution hinged, of course, upon property and its distribution. The rich aimed not only to preserve their estates, but also to exploit the government and the masses for their own economic profit, whereas the poor were not content with protecting themselves from the aggressions of others, but strove to convert more or less of the property of the rich to the use of the state and of themselves. There existed, too, a middle class, chiefly farmers in comfortable circumstances, fairly satisfied with their condition and opposed to both oligarchic and democratic extremes. Political philosophers, such as Aristotle, and practical statesmen of broad intelligence concerned themselves with methods of preserving an equilibrium of these social forces, that neither extreme might gain the upper hand.

An unhappy aspect of the fourth century was the development of class consciousness, engendered by the growth of culture and luxury. Priding themselves on their refinement, educated men of means despised those who in youth had been compelled to labor instead of attending school. Class feeling was increased not only by the widening differentiation of society into rich and poor, educated and ignorant, but also by the gathering of the people into the city. Never before in the history of the world were the masses so conscious of these economic-social contrasts or of their own power. Under these circumstances it was but natural that they, the controlling majority, should bring to the front a program more or less socialistic. Upon one thing at least they were determined: that the wealthy man in office should no longer exploit them for his own profit, and that out of office the rich should not make an insolent display of their wealth. Lycurgus, for example, ordered that Athenian women should not ride in carriages to Eleusis at the time of the festival, "lest the poor appear more despicable than the rich." Another plank in the popular platform required the wealthy, willing or unwilling, to contribute liberally for naval and festival liturgies and to pay direct taxes in time of war according to their means. The amount of pressure thus brought upon the rich varied in different states and in the same state at different times. In Athens the ordinary revenues, added to the relative mildness of political feeling, generally assured to the wealthy an immunity from exactions. There as elsewhere, however, it was felt by many that inequality of property was the root of all evil, for which the only remedy was communism.

Another unhappy aspect of the fourth century was the withdrawal of many wealthy citizens from politics. Many young men of Eupatrid rank now cared

only for gambling and low company. A bourgeoisie, which had been recruited from the poorest class and nursed into prosperity by an expanding economy, could not neglect business for the service of the state in office or assembly. Duality of thought and action became more pronounced, as life grew more complex and specialized. In the degree, therefore, that a man devoted himself to philosophy or literature he unfitted himself for everything else. The thinker stood as far removed from the politician as the orator from the general. The pursuit of individualistic aims deprived the state of the service and guidance of its more intelligent and cultured citizens, leaving it to the mercy of professional politicians, who commanded the votes of the poorer and less enlightened minority. For the political evils of which fourth-century writers bitterly complain, they and their class were chiefly responsible, inasmuch as their own aloofness from public affairs left the democracy unbridled. The conditions lamented by conservatives, however, were a symptom and a cause of a vast political evolution slowly and silently underway throughout Hellas. The broadening humanity, the waning interest in local politics, and the aversion of cultured citizens from military life meant the decline of the *polis* and the development of a larger and more liberal state system, the preparation of a transition from regional to world politics, from racial to cosmopolitan culture.

2. THE SPARTAN EMPIRE

As champions of particularism, decentralization, and the untrammelled sovereignty of the individual city-state, the Spartans had led their allies in the war with Athens. When, however, the Spartans found themselves masters of Greece and in their turn had an opportunity to unite the country, they could rise to no higher conception than that of holding what they had gained. Disregarding their promises, they thought merely to substitute their city for Athens as the head of an empire, no small part of which they had already sacrificed to Persia.

The change from Athenian to Spartan leadership was a decisive step downward. The Lacedaemonians lacked the intelligence and the broad, generous humanism of the Athenians; they were totally without experience in imperial finance and in the administration of justice; nor did they have the necessary resources for governing an empire. And now the inflow of imperial funds and a widening horizon broke the old Spartan discipline and simplicity, so that even the women became ostentatious and arrogant. Dreamers like Plato, disregarding the facts, might in imagination transform the Spartans into ideal citizens, but Xenophon, though an enthusiastic admirer of Sparta, saw in the petty ambition and sordid greed of individuals a mark of decadence.

LYSANDER. For a brief period after the conclusion of the Peloponnesian War the dominant figure in Greek politics was the victorious Spartan, Ly-

sander. Unscrupulous and clever, with an astounding mastery of men and parties, Lysander hoped to make himself lord of Hellas. Throughout the Aegean world he organized oligarchies in the cities taken from Athens. The oligarchies were his partisans and were generally supported by a Peloponnesian garrison and commander (*harmost*). They reveled in the plunder, oppression, and murder of their fellow citizens, and in venting their hatred upon personal enemies. Confronted by a menacing opposition at home, however, Lysander retired into exile.

REVIVAL OF ATHENS. In spite of Lysander and the loss of the Peloponnesian War, Athens slowly regained some of her strength. The violence of the Four Hundred and still more of the Thirty Tyrants had disgusted moderate Athenians with oligarchic methods and had assured the popular government a permanent lease of power. The democratic restoration in 403 B.C., therefore, was thoroughgoing. Against an effort, on the one hand, to limit the franchise to landowners and, on the other, to extend the citizenship to all, including even slaves who had aided the overthrow of the Thirty, conservative statesmen forced the government into its old democratic ruts. All hatred gradually died out with the generation that had lived through the crisis.

THE MARCH OF THE TEN THOUSAND. An unhappy result of this disordered period was the increasing use of mercenaries. The economic distress of small farmers was so great that many persons, especially in landlocked Arcadia, sought escape in a profession which, in spite of its precarious nature, promised a higher reward than some skilled workmen could hope for. His status being in an experimental state, the fourth-century mercenary had considerable influence on contemporary politics. A notable example of this occurred in 401 B.C. when the young Cyrus set out at the head of some thirteen thousand Greek mercenaries and a much larger number of Asiatics against his brother Artaxerxes, who had succeeded to the kingship of Persia. The prize of battle was to be the throne. At the town of Cunaxa, not far from Babylon, the brothers met. The Greeks were victorious over a greatly superior force; but Cyrus was killed, and the expedition therefore failed. Though the Greek generals were trapped and slain by the enemy, the mercenary force elected new commanders, among them Xenophon. According to his account, vividly presented in the *Anabasis*, this young man, an Athenian of the school of Socrates, was the inspiring genius of the retreat. The homeward march of the Ten Thousand across rivers, over mountains, and through the deep snows of Armenia, ever harassed by the enemy and in need of food and clothing, was a heroic achievement. It proved that the Greeks had not lost their martial spirit, and it laid bare the weakness of Persia. (Cf. map, rear endpaper.)

AGESILAUS IN ASIA MINOR. A result of this expedition was war between Lacedaemon and Persia, for the Spartans had aided Cyrus. A Peloponnesian

army, accordingly, invaded Asia Minor, and was reinforced by the remnant of the Ten Thousand. Ultimately all, or nearly all, the Greek cities were liberated from Persia; and some native towns in the interior, including Pergamum, were taken. In 396 B.C. the Spartan king, Agesilaus, took command. Though far from brilliant, he was master of the art of war as taught in Sparta; and with an army of scarcely more than 20,000 men he made headway against the Persian forces. Encouraged by the expedition of Cyrus, he hoped to win a great part of Asia Minor, but during his absence Sparta and her former allies, Corinth and Thebes, came to blows. Athens and Argos joined the coalition.

THE CORINTHIAN WAR. Early in the Corinthian War (395–387 B.C.), as it is called, Sparta found it necessary to recall Agesilaus from Asia. Small victories were won by the Lacedaemonians, but the gains were more than offset by a naval victory of Conon, off Cnidus, over a Spartan fleet (394 B.C.). Conon, an Athenian, was an admiral in the Persian navy, which was now largely manned and commanded by Greeks. In the following year Conon sailed into the harbors of Piraeus. With the labor of his crews and with Persian money, increased by contributions from Thebes and other friendly states, he rebuilt the fortifications of the port town and the Long Walls. After the completion of these works Athens again counted as a power in Greece.

THE KING'S PEACE (387 B.C.). For some time Sparta had been treating with Persia for peace; and now as the tide of war turned decidedly against her, she urged on the negotiations. Her deputy Antalcidas won the Great King's support, which speedily restored to Sparta her dominance in the Corinthian War. At the summons of the satrap Tiribazus, deputies from the Greek states met at Sardes to hear the terms of peace dictated by the King (387 B.C.). The King's Peace, as it was called, returned Asia Minor and Cyprus to Persia; the Athenians were required to give up their growing maritime league, Thebes to grant independence to her Boeotian allies, and Corinth and Argos to separate. All the more important enemies of Sparta disliked the terms, but all were constrained to accept them. It was a disgrace to Greece that her Asiatic cities should be surrendered to the Great King, and that he should become the arbiter of her fate.

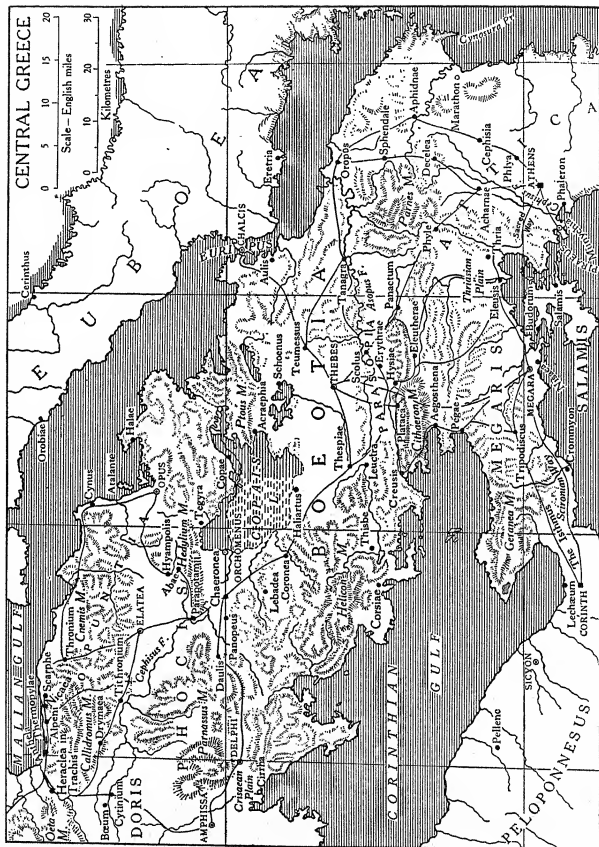
THE CHALCIDIAN LEAGUE. Sparta interpreted the King's Peace as license to rid herself of possible enemies. In 384 B.C. she compelled the Mantineans to destroy their city and scatter in villages. Two years later one of her generals treacherously seized the citadel of Thebes, known as the Cadmeia. Then she turned her attention to the Chalcidice (map, p. 147), where the leading city, Olynthus, had built the most liberal union of cities thus far known to Greece. The citizens of every city in the Chalcidian League had rights of holding property, transacting business, and contracting marriage in every other city; one body of laws and one citizenship were the common possession of all. The

Chalcidian League, nonetheless, was an aggressive power, ever intent on annexing new communities by persuasion or force, reaching out Thraceward toward the gold mines of Mt. Pangaeus and wresting from Amyntas, the Macedonian king, his capital Pella. In answer to a plea from some neighboring states, Sparta marched north, destroyed the federation during a four-year war, and forced Olynthus into alliance with herself (379 B.C.). This left the Thes-salian League (map, p. 118) as the only counterweight to Sparta in the north, but the assassination (370 B.C.) of its moving spirit, Jason the tyrant of Pherae, reduced Thessaly to its former unimportant position of an agricultural country governed by barons.

In the course of making herself supreme in Greece, Sparta formed an alliance with Dionysius, the tyrant of Greek Sicily and Italy, so that Hellas now attained a higher degree of political unity than ever before. The man who had led his city to these achievements was the Spartan king, Agesilaus, the embodiment of the Lacedaemonian spirit, patriotic, ambitious, and efficient, but with stunted ideals, unprogressive alike in military art, in statesmanship, and in humanism—a man who tested the right or wrong of every action by the sole advantage of Sparta, whose vision, limited to brute power, took no account of the moral forces roused through Hellas by his policy of blood and iron.

THE SECOND ATHENIAN CONFEDERACY. Athens, no less than Sparta, had failed to abide by the terms of the King's Peace and continued to build up the alliances she had been forming ever since the battle of Cnidus. Thus in 377 B.C. the Second Athenian Confederacy was born. Though the new League was not an instrument of government, but an alliance designed to last as long as its principal members wished, nevertheless it represents an interesting attempt of certain Greek states to work out a federal system of government. All members of the Confederacy were autonomous and were to send their representatives to a congress (*synedrion*) at Athens, in which the Athenians alone were to have no part. To be binding on the Confederacy, a resolution must pass the *synedrion* and the Athenian Assembly, an arrangement that made Athens equal to her collective allies, but barred her from tyranny over them. Other mistakes of the earlier Empire were avoided: the imposition of tribute and colonization were forbidden, for example. Military and naval forces and money contributions were to be levied by resolution, as needed. Athens, of course, encroached upon the autonomy of her allies, but gradually the Confederacy dissolved, without having made much impression upon contemporary life.

The alarming ambitions of Sparta, Athens, and Thebes led the Greeks to assemble a Peace Convention at Sparta in 371 B.C. All the Greek governments sent their deputies, including even Dionysius of Sicily and Amyntas, the king of Macedon. Envoys from the Persian king were present to take part in the deliberations, but not to dictate the terms. It was the most representative body



that had thus far gathered in the history of the world, and was further notable for the fact that its purpose was not purely Hellenic but international. This "world peace congress" passed a scheme for general disarmament and the voluntary enforcement of sanctions. Sparta and Thebes, however, quickly brought it to nought, for when Epaminondas, the Theban representative, sought to sign the convention on behalf of all Boeotia, Agesilaus repudiated his claim and arbitrarily erased from the document the signature of Thebes. Epaminondas had acted on mature deliberation and in full confidence of the ability of his own state to maintain his principle. Boeotia had developed a body of heavy infantry unequaled in that generation, and her cavalry far surpassed that of the Peloponnesus. Epaminondas, a cultivated philosopher of the Pythagorean school, was a shrewd diplomatist and, as events proved, a great general and a patriotic, inspiring leader of youth as well.

BATTLE OF LEUCTRA (371 B.C.). The Peace Convention was dissolved, and the deputies returned to their homes, while Thebes prepared for the coming conflict with the Peloponnesus. Sparta then sent an army, 10,000 strong, into Boeotia, under King Cleombrotus. An army of 6,000 hoplites and 1,000 cavalry under Epaminondas met him at Leuctra (371 B.C.). On his left wing Epaminondas massed his Thebans in a column fifty deep, and led them in an irresistible charge upon the Lacedaemonian force stationed opposite, while his Boeotian allies, in echelon formation, barely came to close quarters with the Peloponnesians. In other words, Epaminondas won by throwing a superior force upon the critical point in his enemy's line. Of the seven hundred Spartans present, four hundred, including the king, were slain. Sparta acknowledged her defeat and withdrew her army. Her supremacy was forever ended. Whether her collapse was for good or evil depended on the years to come.

3. THE ASCENDANCY OF THEBES

Xenophon, whose *Hellenica* is our chief source for the period between the end of Thucydides' *History* and the battle of Mantinea, relates in a vivid passage the manner in which the Spartans received the news of the disaster. The messenger arrived at the time of the *gymnopaedia*, but the ephors allowed the contest to run its course. "What the ephors did was to deliver the names of the slain to their friends and families, with a word of warning to the women not to make any loud lamentation, but to bear their sorrow in silence; and the next day it was a striking spectacle to see those who had relations among the fallen moving to and fro in public with bright and radiant looks, while of those whose friends were reported to be living barely a man was to be seen, and these persons flitted by with lowered heads and scowling brows as if in humiliation."¹ Narrow and illiberal as were the Spartans, we cannot help admir-

¹ *Hellenica*, VI, 4, 16; Dakyns' translation.

ing their resolution and discipline. After the great loss at Leuctra there remained scarcely more than a thousand Spartans, from the full citizens, capable of bearing arms, and what was far worse, their military prestige had vanished. No sooner did their allies become aware of the magnitude of the event at Leuctra than a democratic wave swept the Peloponnesus. Executions, banishments, revolutions, and massacres followed. The Peloponnesus seemed to be sinking into chaos.

FOUNDATION OF MESSENE AND MEGALOPOLIS. In a desire to save for peace and order what they could from the general wreck, and doubtless too in their own interest, the Athenians summoned a Peace Convention to meet in their city. Through this Convention, which agreed to maintain the *status quo*, Athens attempted to usurp the place of Sparta as head of the Peloponnesian states. The first consequence of the Convention was the resolution of the Mantineans to rebuild their city. Next Mantinea, Tegea, and all the communities of southern and central Arcadia organized themselves in a league. As Sparta threatened the new federation, Thebes came to its assistance. The permanent result of the expedition was the liberation of Messenia. While the perioecic towns of the south remained faithful to Sparta, the rest of the country was organized by Epaminondas into a new state. Thus, nearly a half of Lacedaemon, and that too the most fertile part, was wrested from Sparta. The helots, now emancipated, became its citizens, and were increased in number by the return of exiles. Messene was founded as the new capital on Mt. Ithome, the strongest military position south of Corinth. To hem Sparta in and to destroy her as a Peloponnesian power, Epaminondas founded another city, Megalopolis (369 B.C.), which became the capital of the Arcadian League. Shortly afterward, through the campaigns of Pelopidas, a battle thinker second only to Epaminondas in generalship, Thebes forced her hegemony upon Thessaly and Macedon, but nowhere was she able to maintain peace or establish a firm control. Under these circumstances several more Peace Conventions were held. It is regrettable that seven Conventions, which had promised not only a Hellenic but an international peace, degenerated and died with little fruit. (See map, p. 152.)

BATTLE OF MANTINEA (362 B.C.). Despite her empire by land and her successes against Athens' allies by sea, the Theban hegemony was resented, not only by Athens and Sparta, but also by Mantinea and other Arcadian towns. Accordingly, Epaminondas found it necessary to march south (362 B.C.). On the plain of Mantinea, surrounded by lofty peaks, 33,000 men under Epaminondas faced a hostile force of 22,000. Epaminondas successfully repeated the main tactical movement of Leuctra, but during the battle he fell mortally wounded, advising his countrymen in his last breath to make peace. Though neither side won the battle, the death of Epaminondas amounted to

a Theban defeat. Of his brilliant generalship there can be no doubt. His private character, too, was lovable, and in public life he stood forth an unselfish patriot, but it is impossible to discover in him a sign of constructive statesmanship. As manifested by his conduct, his single idea was to substitute Thebes for Sparta as the head of Greece; and in working to that end he made use of the methods long in vogue. From the beginning the task was hopeless. The Thebans were as narrow as the Spartans, and had far less experience in dealing with other states; even in Boeotia they could maintain their control in no other way than by a policy of terrorism. Their sudden decline after the battle of Mantinea proves that their ascendancy was largely due to one man.

The idea of institutional union of all the Hellenes on terms of equal participation in the central government, and with guarantees for the rights of the weaker states, probably no one as yet had conceived. The city-state supremacy had been essentially a tyranny, whether harsh or mild; and it was now at least proved that no Hellenic state was strong enough to force her rule upon the rest. The disintegration of Hellas resulting from the downfall of Sparta, the collapse of the Peloponnesian League, and the rise and decline of Thebes, were exceedingly discouraging to such men of broad vision and liberal mind as Isocrates. It was inevitable that the chaos should last long and injure the Greek world. For all that, it should not be hastily assumed that Greece was politically bankrupt, or that her only salvation rested upon the interference of an outsider. The Greeks were still a great creative people. Their expanding intelligence and liberality, more capable than ever of solving the problem of unity, were equaled only by their superb physical vitality and by the martial energy stored up in the agricultural areas of Greece—a reservoir of military strength, which, if rightly applied, was capable not only of protecting Hellas, but of conquering and ruling an empire. Nor must it be assumed that these wars between Sparta and Thebes, the wars in Sicily, and the later wars with Macedon were contemptibly petty. The city-state is not the only institution which has sought to solve its problems through war. The wars of the Greeks in the fourth century must be considered from the point of view of those engaged in them—and we may be sure that to them the wars were not only a matter of life and death, but often of high principle as well.

4. SICILY AND MAGNA GRAECIA

The fate of Hellas, her protection from foreign powers as well as from internecine warfare, depended upon a political unification prejudicial to the sovereignty of the *polis*, and this was desired neither by the masses nor by the great majority of statesmen. While in Greece proper the Spartans were engaged in a vain attempt to create and maintain an empire under the su-

premacry of the city, an experiment at empire making of a wholly different character was taking place in Sicily and southern Italy. It was but natural that this undertaking should proceed from Syracuse, by far the most powerful state of the West since its defeat of the Athenian expedition.

CARTHAGINIAN AGGRESSION. For seventy years the fear of the Athenian navy had held Persia and Carthage alike at bay; its collapse encouraged both to extend their power. A great fleet, accordingly, set sail from Carthage in 409 B.C. carrying to Sicily an army much greater than Athens had brought against Syracuse. It was made up of a Carthaginian nucleus, enlarged by Libyan, Iberian, Campanian, and even Greek mercenaries. This force captured Selinus after a fierce nine days' siege. The scene of butchery that followed passes the imagination. It was the first Sicilian city to be taken by foreigners, having enjoyed two and a half centuries of freedom. A few days later Himera suffered a like fate. Content with his conquest, Hannibal, the Carthaginian general, returned home with his armament.

DIONYSIUS I OF SYRACUSE. Another invasion of the Carthaginians, coupled with incompetence at home, enabled a young officer at Syracuse, Dionysius by name, to set himself up as tyrant of his city (405 B.C.). In order to entrench himself in power, Dionysius first built on the island of Ortygia a strongly fortified castle and surrounded himself with mercenaries (map, p. 255). Country estates were confiscated, divided into small farms, and assigned to newly made citizens, who were either mercenaries or emancipated slaves. To such means tyrants had often resorted in the past, but none had equaled the ruthlessness of Dionysius. The civic body, thus reconstituted, found its only safety in upholding the despot. Having thus enlarged and consolidated his power, Dionysius began military preparations on a gigantic scale. He surrounded Syracuse and its suburbs with a great wall, so that it became the largest and most strongly fortified city in Europe. He built a navy of more than three hundred warships, including many quinqueremes, and his engineers invented catapults, which could throw large stones several hundred yards. His army of perhaps 80,000 men included heavy and light infantry, artillery, and cavalry—the largest, the most complex in organization and equipment, and the most efficient body of troops that Hellas had thus far created. In fact, Dionysius introduced an epoch in the history of warfare.

With these magnificent forces Dionysius began war against the Carthaginians with the object of expelling them wholly from Sicily (397–392 B.C.). After years of hard fighting he contented himself with a peace that assured him the greater part of the island, with the extreme west remaining in Carthaginian hands. Dionysius was now in a position to interfere in the affairs of Italy. Here, as in Sicily, he displayed no scruple in accomplishing his ends. With the barbarous Lucanians of the interior, who were conquering Hellenic cities,

he gladly coöperated. The empire that he built up in Sicily and southern Italy was the strongest military power in Europe to that day. To his conquests Dionysius added an extensive colonial policy. Founding settlements on both shores of the Adriatic, he brought that sea into his sphere of influence. His object was partly to facilitate communications with the Greek peninsula, on which he entertained political designs, and more immediately to capture the trade that poured into the Adriatic from central Europe.

As to the character of this extraordinary person we have few though telling hints. Dionysius' life was free from the vices that had brought many a tyrant to ruin. He had, however, two wives simultaneously, with both of whom he lived happily. With an artistic temperament his conduct was swayed, not only by a Napoleonic ambition, but by friendship, fear, jealousy, and hatred. In hours of relaxation he composed dramas. So far as we can judge, Dionysius was totally devoid of moral principle and of reverence for things sacred. Although he consorted with men of ability in various fields, he followed his own counsels. The Athenian philosopher Plato came to Syracuse in the hope of realizing his ideal state through the power of the despot; but in response to his arguments the princely host is said to have had him sold as a slave. In brief Dionysius, like Alcibiades and Lysander, was a product of his age—a nonmoral, nonreligious, but otherwise splendidly gifted egoist.

As the modern historian reviews the destruction of Hellenic cities, the enslavement of entire populations, the grinding financial exactions, and most of all, the political and moral degradation of the free citizens under this despotism, he is inclined to look upon Dionysius as a curse to humanity. On the other side of the picture is the strong man who builds up a realm of civilized people capable of defending themselves against the assaults of the barbarians in one direction and of Orientals in the other, when both these enemies of European civilization were growing continually mightier. Appreciating the political weaknesses of the Greek character, he tried to supplement it by an introduction of native Italian and Sicel blood. Thus Dionysius was a champion of Europeanism rather than of Hellenism; and in his blending of foreigners with Greeks he stood forth as the first Hellenistic prince.

TIMOLEON. Dionysius died in 367 B.C. and was succeeded by his despotic and dissolute son, Dionysius II. The realm fell to pieces, the cities came under the rule of petty tyrants, and the power of Carthage threatened to overwhelm the entire island. Under these circumstances Corinth listened to the plea of its colony and sent Timoleon, an aristocratic, wise and courageous leader, with a few hundred mercenaries to Sicily in 344 B.C. Within a few years Timoleon expelled the tyrants, and in a great victory by the Crimisus river, near Segesta, drove the Carthaginians into their strongholds on the western coast. All the cities were reorganized as moderate democracies, in which the people exer-

cised the franchise while leaving the executive strong. But when Timoleon died in 336 B.C., clouds had once more gathered over Sicily.

5. THE RISE OF MACEDON

CONFLICTING POLITICAL IDEAS IN GREECE. We have already remarked that a transition from regional to world politics was being prepared in fourth-century Greece. The idea, apparently, first occurred to people like Isocrates, who bemoaned the civil strife of the Greeks and thought it a pity that their countrymen did not war against a common foe instead. Other Greeks, however, did not go so far in their thinking, and believed simply that the cure of all their troubles lay in monarchy. These two ideas appealed to many persons, and were fused by them, so that there developed in the Greek world a conviction that the Greeks should unite under a king and make war against a common enemy. The common enemy, of course, would be Persia, while the Macedonian monarchy seemed the ideal instrument of union.

There was no inherent reason why the city-state should not have brought about this union, for it involved little more than the resolution of the old dilemma of Greek politics, the apparent incompatibility of autonomy and federation. Panhellenism had its difficulties, but they were not insuperable. The only real question was whether the Greeks might effect their union before it was forced on them by an outsider; and this is precisely where the city-state failed. The Macedonian monarchy was not fitted constitutionally to unite the Greeks, as later centuries were to prove, but it did produce at exactly the right moment an extraordinary individual who was able to do so. Demosthenes, who led the Athenian opposition to Macedon, and who sometimes spoke as if he were living in Periclean Athens instead of the troubled days of the fourth century, did not realize that the true enemy was Philip and not Macedon. Demosthenes viewed the struggle between Greece and Macedon as a war between free states and a primitive country under an autocratic king. His ideal, then, in opposing union under Macedon, was not a narrow one, for the issue seemed to him to be no less than one between civilization and barbarism (p. 326).

EARLY HISTORY. We now know that the Macedonians were Greeks, but in ancient times they were regarded as barbarians with a slight veneer of Hellenism, who spoke a Greek dialect. For that reason they desired all the more to be accepted as Greeks by Greeks. There was, however, this great difference between them and the Greeks: the Macedonians looked upon themselves as one people, not as citizens of this city or that. In other words, they formed the first nation in European history. Their country, Macedonia (map, p. 118), consisted of a narrow plain bordering the northwestern Aegean and a rough hill district in the interior. The people lived a simple life in villages. The Athenians had taken possession of the coast, and had cut the country off from

maritime communications with the world. The earlier history of Macedon hinged on the conflict between plain and highland. The chiefs of the interior owed an unwilling allegiance to the king of the plain, and were often in open revolt. It was King Archelaus (413–399 B.C.) who first gained a real mastery over the upland, thanks largely to his careful organization of the army and to his construction of roads. Archelaus also fostered Hellenic civilization among his people, and entertained Euripides at his court. The work of reducing Macedon to unity, however, belonged chiefly to King Amyntas III (390–369 B.C.). His reign was full of strife and anarchy, intrigue and murder. With a talent for governmental business and accomplished as a general, Amyntas spent his life, sword in hand, interminably battling with Olynthians, or with the savage Illyrians and Paeonians of the northwest, repressing rebellions in his upper feudatories, or stamping out disaffection in his own household. Three lawful sons were left—Alexander, Perdiccas, and Philip—all destined to royalty and to violent deaths. After his two elder brothers had fulfilled their brief careers, Philip II, now twenty-three years of age, mounted a throne overshadowed by internal dissension and foreign war (359 B.C.). A remarkable man, his reign was to prove one of the most momentous in history.

PHILIP II. At the age of fifteen Philip had been sent as a hostage to Thebes, where he remained three years. This sojourn may well be compared with that of Peter the Great in Holland and England. In spite of the infiltration of Hellenic culture, the Macedonians were still uncivilized, and Philip had inherited the savage appetites and passions of his royal ancestors. His long stay in Thebes, at that time the military and political center of Hellas, was an education of the highest type. The schools and gymnasias, the armories and arsenals, the splendid Boeotian phalanx, Epaminondas and his brilliant associates, all served him as models and as an inspiration, to make his own country a state of the Hellenic type and to win for himself a place among these men of superior breeding and intelligence.

With a quick mind and strong hand Philip put an end to anarchy within his borders, and inspired unruly neighbors with respect for his power. Aside from his own inborn ability, perhaps the greatest element of his success was his seizure of Amphipolis in 357 B.C. and the gold mines of Mt. Pangaeus, just across the Thracian border. The mines, according to report, brought him a thousand talents a year and constituted the foundation of his power, for their proceeds enabled him to unite his country by roads and to create, for the first time in history, a standing army of professional soldiers, superior to anything heretofore known to the world. From the farmers and shepherds, who were excellent fighting material, Philip selected the best, and formed them in a relatively shallow phalanx. These "foot companions," as they were honorably

named, he armed more lightly than was customary, but he increased the length of their spears (*sarissa*). To achieve mobility, the space between man and man was increased. Philip added archers, slingers, and mercenaries as auxiliaries to the phalanx. The cavalry were equipped as light and heavy; and in the latter the nobles served as "companions" of the king. From Thebes he borrowed the idea of combined cavalry and infantry tactics, and of the tactical distinction between the two wings: one to be offensive, the other defensive. Philip not only drilled these troops, but exercised them in long rapid marches. They were kept under rigid discipline, and encouraged to take part in athletic competitions. To this fighting machine he was able, when occasion demanded, to attach an efficient siege train. Thus Philip developed a military system even more complex and more efficient than that of Dionysius I of Syracuse. Its superiority consisted mainly in the soldierly qualities of the men, the professional efficiency which they acquired through long service, and the ability of the commander and his generals.

The gold of Mt. Pangaeus formed an essential element of the diplomacy in which Philip developed a masterful skill. Through ability to buy friends and reward his faithful henchmen, as well as through urbanity, good-fellowship, and general adroitness in the management of men, he created in every Hellenic state a party devoted to his cause. States whose interests were threatened by his aggressions he could usually lull to a sense of security till the time was ripe for striking the fatal blow. No scruple—no lying or truce breaking—stood in the way of his seizing an advantage. Philip's ambitions were, actually, personal and dynastic rather than national. He was more than a national king of Macedon, and probably viewed Greeks and Macedonians in much the same light; the Greeks would be useful to him as soldiers and administrators, and their city life and culture should be copied by the Macedonians. Philip's aim was to increase his personal power, and in doing so he developed a consistent policy. As he conquered a new district, he always incorporated it in the body of his growing state, which soon became a menace to all Greece.

DEMOSTHENES. It was Demosthenes who roused the Athenians to their danger. Proclaiming anew the civic ideals of Themistocles and Pericles, Demosthenes urged his countrymen to sacrifice and suffer for their country. In his *First Philippic*, delivered in 351 B.C., he told the Athenians that Philip had grown great through their own inaction, and that if they were to check his further aggrandizement they should keep a fleet in the northern Aegean, large numbers of men should enlist, and the wealthy should contribute to the cost. But Demosthenes was still young, and his words carried little weight. Nothing was done on that occasion, and Philip continued to gain ground.

Two years later, after demoralizing the Chalcidic cities with bribes, Philip

entered openly upon their conquest: Appeals to Athens for help were supported by the eloquence of Demosthenes in his three *Olynthiac Orations*. In the spirit of the *First Philippic* Demosthenes urged his countrymen to join with the Olynthians in putting down the common enemy, while he was still at a distance. Far from losing himself in eloquent generalities, the young statesman had a definite plan to propose, worked out in minute detail. If the citizens were to receive money from the state, he maintained, they should earn it by labor—the young men by military duty, the elders by service at home. The appeal fell on deaf ears, for only inadequate and tardy help was sent, and the Chalcidian League fell (348 B.C.). Of the cities which composed it a few only were spared and were admitted to the Macedonian state on an equality with the neighboring towns. The rest, including Olynthus,² were destroyed, and the inhabitants enslaved.

THE PEACE OF PHILOCRATES (346 B.C.). It was now clear even to the average statesman that Hellas had a master, whose policy toward the Greeks was not only intrigue, insinuation, and bribery, but likewise blood and iron. His direct sway extended from the Hellespont to Thermopylae; and many a city farther south was controlled by his paid henchmen. Athens had lost almost all Euboea and was anxious for peace. In 346 B.C. the leading Athenian statesman, Philocrates, negotiated a treaty which established peace. Shortly thereafter, however, Philip attacked and defeated the Phocians, who were trespassers at Delphi, in a so-called Sacred War. The Phocians were excluded from the Delphic Amphictyony and their two votes were transferred to Philip and his descendants. Thus it came about that the man whom patriot Greeks had scoffed at as a barbarian and drunkard was publicly acknowledged as a Hellene and was given the presidency of the Pythian games held that autumn. Philip was now the arbiter of Greek affairs, and his name was on every man's lips.

About this time Philip began to think of making war upon the Persian Empire. We have no way of knowing whether his ambition ranged as far as Persia itself or was limited to Asia Minor. Probably his plan was indefinite beyond the fact that the expedition was to be Panhellenic in character, under his command. It was typical of Philip's policy—a policy, it will be recalled, that incorporated newly won districts in the body of his state by persuasion; or failing that, by force—that he should have tried to bring this about by peaceful means. His entry into Greece after the Peace of Philocrates had been ostensibly as the champion of Delphi. He now courted the friendship of the Greeks, hoping that they would accept him as overlord. The good will of Athens he particularly desired, not simply because it was the cultural center of Hellas,

² Recent American excavations have uncovered this great city, which is especially important for its houses, mosaics, etc.

but because its navy would be indispensable in an attack upon Persia. Philip, therefore, avoided force, until the speeches of Demosthenes made it impossible. Demosthenes brought his rival, Aeschines, to trial on the charge of having bartered to Philip the interests of Athens; Aeschines was acquitted by only thirty votes.

Athens now won for herself a considerable federation, including Euboea, Megara, Corinth, Achaea, Acarnania, Leucas, Phocis, and, shortly before the battle of Chaeronea, Thebes, still the most powerful city-state on the peninsula. Since the battle of Mantinea (362 B.C.) had put an end to city supremacy, its place was filled by the principle of the balance of power. In the new political system the object of the statesman was to prevent any one of the greater city-states—Thebes, Athens, Sparta, and Argos—from growing so powerful as to menace the liberties of the rest. From the beginning of his public career Demosthenes consistently upheld this principle. In his judgment Athens should protect the weaker states and should refrain from exercising compulsion toward any of them. She should make herself an efficient military power, so as to be ready to accept the leadership when voluntarily tendered by Hellas. The new federation was largely his work; and the union between Athens and Thebes, the leading city-states of Greece, who had long cherished toward each other the bitterest hatred, was an achievement of statesmanship, as it formed a step toward Hellenic unity. It must be confessed, however, that the new federation was inspired more by fear of Macedon than by a desire for permanent union, for the Greeks were still unable to reconcile autonomy and hegemony.

Seeing, then, that he could not win the leading states by persuasion, Philip accepted the alternative. He placed Alexander, his brother-in-law, on the throne of Epirus, strengthened his hold upon Thrace and Thessaly, and by characteristic methods gained an ascendancy in the Peloponnesus. In 342 B.C. he marched to the Thracian Chersonese, vainly planning to cut off Athens' grain supply from the Black Sea.

BATTLE OF CHAERONEA (338 B.C.). A situation soon arose in Greece which was precisely to Philip's liking. The Council of the Delphic Amphictyony declared a Sacred War on the little town of Amphissa, in Locris, for alleged trespassing upon the property of Apollo, and invited Philip to assume the leadership of the war. Philip quickly passed Thermopylae and stopped at Elatea in Phocis. Here he could control the highway to Thebes and Athens, and he hoped that his delay might bring the enemy to their senses. The Athenians, however, paid no heed to the advice of their general, Phocion, but, on the insistence of Demosthenes, entered into a close alliance with Thebes. In the summer of 338 B.C. the two hostile armies, each more than 30,000 strong, met at Chaeronea, on the plains of Boeotia. Philip's young son, Alex-

ander, commanded the left wing and annihilated the famous "Sacred Band" of the Thebans; Philip, on the right, feigned retreat and then routed the Athenians opposed to him. Demosthenes and some others escaped. The great lion, which today rises from the lonely sweep of Boeotia, does more than honor the fallen; it marks the end of the city-state, essentially. (See map, p. 302.)

Philip was now free to organize Greece. The Peloponnesian states submitted to him, except Sparta, whose country he ravaged; though he trimmed off a large part of its territory, he was unable to conquer the state. In meting out punishment Philip was most severe upon Thebes, which had deserted him at the last hour. Thebes lost her hegemony over Boeotia; those leaders of the revolt who had failed to escape were put to death; and a Macedonian garrison was placed in its citadel, the Cadmeia. Philip also found it advisable to garrison Chalcis and Corinth. Athens, on the other hand, which had opposed him most consistently, received unexpected favors. The city still commanded the sea, and Philip could not risk a long and uncertain siege, especially as Athens might be able to bring Persia and many Greek states to her support. Hoping for her future coöperation and respecting her past glory, Philip freed the Athenian prisoners without ransom, and left the city her constitution and her territory, including Samos, Lemnos, Delos, and some other islands settled by her colonists. But Athens had to ally herself with Philip and forego her Confederacy. No Macedonian troops crossed her border, and none of her statesmen was touched.

THE LEAGUE OF CORINTH. Having arranged the affairs of the individual states, Philip next proceeded to the organization of Greece. On his invitation the various states of central and southern Greece, except Sparta, and those of the Aegean islands sent deputies to a congress at Corinth in 338 B.C. Here they were united by treaty in what was essentially a Panhellenic union, called the League of Corinth. Its most important feature was the Assembly, chosen according to the size of the states, in which each representative had one vote; and though Macedonia itself was not a member, its king and his descendants were to be the military commander and head (*hegemon*) of the League for life. Thus we may speak of the League as a constitutional monarchy with a representative assembly. It must be acclaimed as a monumental achievement of statesmanship.

DEATH OF PHILIP (336 B.C.). The next year it was further decided that Macedon and the League should wage jointly a war against Persia under Philip's command. Early in 336 B.C. the distinguished Macedonian general, Parmenio, crossed the Hellespont with an advance force. Philip planned to follow later, but lingered now to divide his time between state business and carousals. Throughout his life this extraordinary man, a great general and shrewd diplomat, had enjoyed violent debaucheries, as his mountaineer an-

cestors had done. The various women that he married enmeshed him in the web of their intrigues. One of them, Olympias, the mother of Alexander, having been repudiated in favor of another woman, plotted Philip's death, or so unfounded rumor had it. In any case, at the time of his daughter's marriage to King Alexander of Epirus, and in the presence of a notable gathering, Philip was murdered.

The old problem of the city-state—the institution which had produced great men, but loved autonomy so much that it brought Greece to the verge of anarchy—had been solved by an outsider. Philip brought unification to Greece. The freedom of the people, however, was not destroyed, but merely abridged, by the battle of Chaeronea. The centrifugal tendencies of the cities were still strong; furthermore, the Greeks had no guarantee that their present degree of freedom would be continued. The supremacy of Philip was resented because, in the first place, it meant the rule of a semicivilized people over a highly cultured race, and, in the second place, because it centralized military power in the hands of a man who, in spite of his benevolence to Hellas and his admiration for her culture, was essentially an egoist. The question now before the civilized world was what Philip's successor would do with his inheritance.

XVII

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

1. THE EARLY YEARS

ALEXANDER'S YOUTH. It was commonly believed in antiquity that the temple of Artemis at Ephesus burned to the ground on the night of Alexander's birth. Hegesias of Magnesia, we are told, made a remark frigid enough to extinguish the flames, to the effect that it was little wonder that the temple had burned, since the goddess was busy bringing Alexander into the world. The ancient Greeks, loving coincidences as they did, probably moved the month of Alexander's birth back to midsummer (356 B.C.), in order that Philip, who had just taken Potidaea, might receive three messages simultaneously: that Parmenio had conquered the Illyrians in a great battle; that his race horse had won a victory at the Olympic games; and that Alexander III, as he was later called, had been born at Pella, his capital. The seers added to Philip's delight by saying that the son whose birth coincided with three victories would always be victorious.

Alexander was average in height and had the build of an athlete. His outward appearance, Plutarch tells us,¹ was best represented by his favorite sculptor, Lysippus, who was able to catch the liquid and melting glance of the eyes and the peculiarities imitated afterwards by many of his friends and successors, especially the poise of the neck, bent slightly to the left. Apelles, Plutarch continues, painted Alexander as wielder of the thunderbolt, but made his complexion too dark and swarthy, whereas his color actually was fair and the fairness passed into ruddiness, particularly on his breast and face. Apelles' picture, nevertheless, was so highly regarded for its vivid and natural expression that people used to say that of the two Alexanders, Alexander, son of Philip, was invincible, but the Alexander of Apelles was inimitable. His hair is reputed to have stood above his forehead like a lion's, and for centuries men followed his habit of shaving clean (p. 212).

Alexander was influenced to a preëminent degree by his background. Sprung, according to tradition, from Heracles and Achilles, he was of Greek descent, but from both parents he had some Illyrian (Albanian) blood. His

¹ The adaptations from Plutarch are based on the translation of B. Perrin (*Loeb Classical Library*).

military skill and cold rationalism were inherited from his father, but his own inner being, his mysticism and romanticism and impetuosity, came from his mother, Olympias, a fiery, passionate princess of Epirus. Perhaps from her, too, came the ability to kindle the imagination of multitudes by a single act; as when, for example, at the outset of his expedition, desiring to rally the Greeks wholeheartedly to his cause, he visited Troy and stirred in the breast of every Greek glorious memories and the picture of a new Trojan War against the Asiatic foe.

At the age of thirteen Alexander had Aristotle as a teacher, and during three impressionable years his keen mind became thoroughly Greek in character, and his romantic imagination developed a love for Homer and the heroic age of Greece. His admiration for Greek culture, however, was tempered by the simple, vital, active life of Macedonia. As a place where master and pupil could labor and study, Philip assigned them the precinct of the nymphs near Mieza, where four centuries later, in Plutarch's day, the visitor was still shown the stone seats and shady walks of Aristotle. Alexander not only received from his master ethical and political doctrines, but also participated in those more profound teachings which philosophers were wont to communicate to the select few. He learned, for example, that moderation is necessary in government—a virtue he was not likely to get from Olympias—and he also learned, or rather was taught, that all barbarians (non-Greeks) were slaves by nature, especially those of Asia. It seems clear that Aristotle implanted in the youth a love of learning, of the encyclopedic sort, with a special interest in scientific investigation and medicine. The study of geography, zoölogy, botany, and ethnology was to benefit directly from this, and also the health of his men, for he was not only fond of the theory of medicine, but from time to time actually came to the aid of sick friends and prescribed treatments.

Alexander admired Aristotle at first and loved him (he used to say) more than his father, for the one had given him life, but the other had taught him a noble life. Later on, however, he held the philosopher more or less in suspicion, and the two became estranged. In fact, it is surprising how little either of the two men really influenced the other.

Even as a youth Alexander exercised self-restraint. Though he was impetuous and violent in other matters, says Plutarch, the pleasures of the body had little hold on him and he indulged in them with great moderation, thinking it more kingly to conquer himself than others. Throughout his life he rarely drank, and then it was generally a deliberate action, enabling him to associate freely with old comrades, from whom his new position was slowly isolating him. So far as the record goes, he had no mistress. He was married twice, for reasons of policy: to Roxane, the daughter of a powerful Iranian

baron, and to a daughter of Darius, the Persian king. By Roxane only did he have a child, born after his death, who with its mother was killed a dozen years later.

At the age of sixteen, while his father was besieging Byzantium, Alexander crushed a Thracian rebellion and founded in the land a city which he named after himself, Alexandropolis, the first in a long line. During Philip's absence he also entertained envoys from Persia and associated with them freely. It is said that he won them by his friendliness and astonished them by asking no childish or trivial questions about the Hanging Gardens or the dress of the Great King, but rather about the roads, the size of the Persian army, the position of the King in battle, and similar matters, so that the envoys exclaimed, "This boy is a great king; ours is only wealthy."

At the time of Philip's murder Alexander, whose legitimacy hostile gossip had doubted, found himself surrounded by powerful generals and other possible successors. With the rapidity that always characterized him, though he was but twenty years old, he won the allegiance of the army and hence of Macedonia. He put to death the conspirators, and later in the year marched to Corinth, where the Greeks (except Sparta) swore allegiance to him, as they had to Philip, and elected him commander in chief of the war of revenge against Persia.

Alexander was anxious to be off. His whole life had been spent in the atmosphere of a Panhellenic war of revenge. Isocrates had preached it, and Philip had planned it. Before he could start, however, it was necessary to instill into the tribes of the north and west respect for his authority, lest his lines of communication be cut. In 335 B.C., therefore, Alexander marched against the Triballi through the northern forests and swamps as far as the Danube, and crossed against the Getae—a feat rendered possible by the simultaneous arrival of his fleet from Byzantium. His next activities were in the northwest, during which a report spread to Greece that he was dead. Covering 250 miles in a fortnight, Alexander appeared before revolting Thebes. He hoped that the city would repent of its action, but when it did not, he took it by storm. Thousands of Thebans were killed, the remainder enslaved, and the city razed to the ground. The fate of Thebes was not unusual in the history of Greek warfare, but Alexander's remorse was great, and Arrian's remark may be recalled that Alexander was the only one of the ancient kings who, from nobility of character, repented of the errors which he had committed. Alexander, however, made it clear to the Greeks that there was a difference between himself and the Persian invader of 480 B.C., for he spared the city's temples and the house of the famous poet Pindar; and doubtless he also felt that he would be able to set off for Persia without fear of the Greeks rising in his rear.

ALEXANDER'S ARMY. That autumn Alexander returned to Macedonia and summoned Parmenio from Asia. Parmenio had secured the bridgeheads of the Hellespont and was now to help Alexander in preparing the army—Philip's army, essentially—for the invasion of Persia. The core of the army was the Macedonian farmer and noble, who had spent years of professional service in infantry and cavalry and enjoyed a better training and discipline than any body of men elsewhere. It is not necessary, even if it were possible, to list precisely all of Alexander's troops and to give an exact description of his regular order of battle, because death, reinforcements, and garrisons were constantly changing the numbers, and because he always varied his tactics to suit the particular situation. We can, however, attempt a generalization for the first years at least.

The close union of light troops and cavalry with the phalanx largely explains the invincibility of the Macedonian military machine. Aside from that, Alexander's success was in large part due to his handling of the magnificent cavalry, which now became for the first time in Greek history the real striking arm; its most important section was the so-called Companion cavalry, 2,000 strong. Drawn from the influential families of Macedonia, they were divided into eight territorial squadrons under the general command of Philotas, son of Parmenio. They were heavily armed, with helmet, breastplate, greaves, a short sword, a short thrusting spear, and a small round shield, and, as was the custom, they rode without stirrups. These men received a special share of prize money, and were destined, the best of them, to become officers and administrators. The first squadron, under "Black" Cleitus, was called the Royal and was generally led by Alexander himself, though if the occasion required it, he did not hesitate to lead the phalanx, the hypaspists, or the archers, for, in the days before reserves were extensively used, sound tactics and good morale demanded the presence of the general in or near the front line. The Companion cavalry, consisting of small units of 250 men massed against a single point, had a terrific impetus.

The famous Macedonian phalanx was mobile and flexible. The heavy-armed foot soldier (hoplite or phalangite) wore a helmet, breastplate, greaves, shield, short sword, and a spear (*sarissa*) between thirteen and fourteen feet in length. The butt of the spear was weighted, so that the hoplite could seize it several feet from the end. The spears of the front ranks were couched, projecting several feet in front of the line, and thus the phalanx began its deadly work long before the enemy with his short sword, though Persian and Macedonian were quick to learn from one another. As a rule, the phalanx fought in open order, with three feet between the men. This requires soldiers who are highly trained and disciplined, but it also means that rough ground or momentary shocks from the enemy will not disarrange the mass. If necessary,

the hoplites could lock shields or go through a variety of formations; indeed, the mere arranging and rearranging of the phalanx could terrify an enemy. The phalanx advanced as a slow moving mass, and by the time the paean had passed into the battle cry it was a brave opponent who stood his ground.

The phalanx generally formed as a rectangle, but its exact disposition depended on the situation. It might be square, or elongated, or narrowed for a thrust against the enemy; it could be divided and made to face left and right, to ward off flank attacks; and it could take the shape of a wedge or pincers. It was usually 8, 10 or 16 men in depth. The arrangement toward the end of the expedition was the file of 16 men—with the file leader and extra-pay men front and rear—and when these formed 16 men square, we have the tactical unit of 256 men. The phalanx, subordinate though it was to the cavalry, consisted of 9,000 Macedonians, called foot companions. They were divided into six territorial battalions which were known by the names of their commanders—Craterus, Perdikkas, Amyntas, Meleager, Philip, and Parmenio's son-in-law, Coenus.

If Alexander's success was due in large part to his masterly handling of the Companion cavalry, some of it at least resulted from comparable skill in the management of the hypaspists. These shield-bearing guards, as they were called, were fully armed, and their chief distinction from the phalangites lay apparently in their recruitment from a higher level of society. The hypaspists were Macedonians, 3,000 strong, in three battalions under Nicanor, Parmenio's son. One of these battalions, the so-called *agema*, was Alexander's guard.

Alexander also had 12,000 heavy-armed Greeks. Seven thousand of these were Greek allies, the contingents of the Corinthian League, under the future king, Antigonus—perhaps Alexander looked upon them as hostages for the good behavior of Greece during his absence. The remaining 5,000 Greeks were mercenaries, over a third of whom were peltasts, light infantry with more than the usual armor, a small round shield, sword, and short spear; unreliable, as mercenaries are wont to be, they were never employed for important duty. Alexander had other light-armed infantry: 4,000 Thracians; 1,000 Agrianian javelin men, under Attalus, fine warriors who were especially valuable as mountaineers and skirmishers; some slingers; and 1,000 Cretan archers, who were among his best and fiercest fighters.

This army of more than 30,000 infantry and 5,000 cavalry rarely fought as a body, but even when only small contingents were engaged, Alexander combined the various arms, a practice that was to prove one of his major keys to success. He invariably pursued the enemy with the aim of destroying him utterly, a policy which von Clausewitz has termed "the strategy of defeat." In a pitched battle, however, the army lined up somewhat as follows. In the

center was the phalanx (intended as a firm anchor), with the hypaspists to the right. Then came Alexander and the Companion cavalry, with the Macedonian lancers and other light cavalry, Agrianian javelin men and Cretan archers thrown out to their right as flankers and skirmishers. To the left of the phalanx were Thracian light cavalry, unless they had already been detailed to guard the camp; then came the Thessalian cavalry, with light troops to their left. Parmenio, the second in command, was in charge of the left wing; as an able and cautious tactician he was especially suited for this post, since in the oblique order of battle (the favorite of generals from Epaminondas to Frederick the Great) it was the duty of the left wing to hold firm, while Alexander, choosing the decisive moment, charged from the right.

Alexander's great organizing ability also manifested itself in the siege train, which was far superior to anything of its kind elsewhere. There were siege towers, placed on rollers or wheels and covered with hides to protect them from fire, which might be over 150 feet high, with many stories, so that any part of the enemy's wall could be reached by the artillery; boarding bridges were used at Tyre for the first time in history. It was possible to undermine the enemy's walls by tunneling or to knock them down with battering rams, which had huge beams over 100 feet long, with a metallic head. The besiegers themselves were protected by movable sheds, known in later days as tortoises. But the greatest military invention of antiquity, used for the first time at Tyre by Alexander, was the torsion catapult. It was not superseded until the invention of gunpowder, though at the beginning of the last century a musket could not be aimed with precision for a distance of more than 100 yards, whereas the torsion catapult could fire huge arrows accurately for 200 yards, as well as stones weighing 50 to 60 pounds. Alexander never employed catapults as field artillery in a pitched battle, but he used them in irregular warfare, in sieges, mounted on merchant ships, as at Tyre, and to clear a river's bank of the enemy.

Over this professional army, infused with a proud professional spirit, stood Alexander, commander in chief of Macedonia and the League of Corinth, and as king of Macedon responsible to no one but himself in military matters and, subject to the role of the army assembly, in civil as well. By his side he had seven Bodyguards, a staff of general officers as we might describe them, and also a group of eighty or one hundred influential officers, known simply as Companions. These men—Parmenio, Philotas, Cleitus, the future kings Ptolemy, Seleucus, and Lysimachus, and his personal friends Hephaestion and Nearchus—formed his council, as it were, and provided military and civil officers as needed. The royal pages were officers in the making; young boys from the upper classes, their responsibilities included the duty of guarding Alexander in his sleep and accompanying him on the chase.

Alexander's strategy was to fight on land, for his fleet of 160 triremes (from the Corinthian League) was far inferior to the Cypriot and Phoenician contingents which the Great King had at his disposal. Precisely how many men Persia might put in the field depended on the seriousness with which it viewed Alexander's continuing advance, for the new king, Darius III, was to reveal himself as an incompetent despot as well as a coward. The Persian Empire, however, had seemingly recovered from its recent internal weaknesses, and the lands from the Hellespont to the frontiers of India, some 2,700 miles in extent, bristled with its armed men. Tribesmen from the hills, nomads from the desert, serfs, splendid warriors from eastern Iran, especially the remarkable Bactrians—in short, a variety of races and fighters—could be called upon, but the backbone of the army was the superb Persian cavalry (20,000 of whom were in Asia Minor alone), the subordinate, but famous, Persian archers, an oriental body of professional heavy infantry, called Cardaces, who were armed like Greek hoplites, and 20,000 obstinate Greek mercenaries, the empire's chief hope as heavy infantry. (Cf. map, pp. 184, 185.)

Speaking generally, the Persian command is probably to be criticized primarily for deciding to meet the Macedonians in formal *batailles rangées* where the superior quality of Alexander's army had every advantage. Given the great traditions of the Achaemenid Empire it is understandable that this mistake should have been made, but had Persia adopted "Parthian" tactics and the scorched earth policy advocated by Memnon of Rhodes, avoiding decisive encounters, harassing Alexander's lines of communication with their ample and excellent cavalry, and subsidizing disturbances in Greece, the issue might well have been different.

The Grand Army was destined to march under Alexander many thousands of miles, often at terrific speed, during eleven long years. Events frequently proved his personal bravery and self-discipline and humanity, and more than once he was wounded—on the neck and head at the Granicus, in the thigh at Issus, on the shoulder at Gaza; the fibula of his leg was broken in Turkestan, thrice he was wounded in Afghanistan, and in India an arrow pierced his lung, while there were in addition other wounds and attacks of fever and dysentery. Every inch of the march was new, and yet, throughout this period, his reinforcements reached him regularly, over 60,000 in the first eight years alone. And every inch of the way he met opposition (save in Egypt); he fought four pitched battles—three with Persia and another with an Indian rajah in the Punjab, where he encountered for the first time large numbers of terrifying elephants who barred his passage of a great river. These were not armies of degenerate oriental masses that he defeated, but disciplined, able forces that greatly outnumbered his own. There were also fierce mountain tribes to conquer and deserts to overcome; a long guerrilla warfare with its

utterly strange tactics awaited him in eastern Iran; and he had strong cities to besiege, the capture of the island city of Tyre alone requiring seven months and all his tenacity.

If Alexander's plan was to conquer as large a part of the Persian Empire as possible and hold on to it, his every success opened up further vistas until the possession of the entire Empire was in sight. To him and to everyone else of that day this was equivalent to world conquest, for the Persian Empire was essentially the civilized world. The conquests confronted Alexander with two chief problems. In the first place, he had to decide the general character of administration as well as the precise position of himself within the state. His solution essentially was to take over the existing forms of government and to assume a different relation to the various sections of the empire, much in the manner of the British monarch of a later day. In one part of the world, that is to say, he became king, in another general elected for life or a suzerain or a god or the adopted son of a native ruler. The second problem was far more difficult, for it involved giving a sense of unity to a world state. World brotherhood might be the answer, but how to achieve it? Alexander believed that mixed marriages would be an instrument, though no more than that, and ultimately he conceived the remarkable idea of a common culture for the world. Since he entertained no doubts about the superiority of Greek culture, he determined that the Greek language, Greek customs, and Greek laws should unite the many different races. It would all take time, and it did take time, but the Hellenization of the East was the most important result of Alexander's life.

The Panhellenic campaign of revenge had an air of permanency about it from the beginning. Artists, poets, and philosophers accompanied the expedition; geographers, hydrographers, geologists, botanists, and other scientists came along to study the phenomena of Asia and perhaps to send back to Aristotle specimens for further observation. Among the historians present were Eumenes, who had the task of keeping the Royal Journal; Callisthenes, Aristotle's nephew; Aristobulus and Ptolemy, who composed his *Memoirs* later as king of Egypt. The last two became the chief source of Arrian, whose history is the best consecutive account we possess of the expedition.

In the early spring of 334 B.C. Alexander, not yet twenty-two years of age, was ready to start. Antipater, an austere and reliable sexagenarian, was ordered to remain in Macedonia, with a body of 12,000 foot and 1,500 horse, as regent to keep an eye on the restive Greeks. As they were about to start, many portents from heaven were reported; it was said, for example, that the statue of Orpheus, which was made of cypress wood, sweated profusely. Most people feared the sign, but Aristander, the famous seer of Telmessus, bade Alexander be of good cheer, assured that he was to perform deeds worthy of song and story, which would cost poets and musicians much toil and sweat to cele-

brate. Thus, amid great excitement, more than 30,000 infantry and 5,000 cavalry set out for Asia under a leader who was destined never to return.

2. ASIA MINOR

Alexander crossed the Hellespont to Asia in 334 B.C., in a dual capacity, as king of Macedon and as general of the allied Greeks. (See map, rear end-paper.) One of his first acts in Asia was a side trip to Troy, where he and Hephaestion paid homage to the memory of Achilles and other heroes. This illustrates the romantic strain in Alexander's temperament—it was, too, his way of emphasizing the Panhellenic character of the enterprise, of substituting for the smouldering Greek opposition the enthusiasm of a national war.

BATTLE OF THE GRANICUS (334 B.C.). Darius had not thought it worth his while to meet Alexander in Asia Minor, but the Persian satraps were ready for him with a large body of cavalry, four times his own, reinforced by Memnon and Greek mercenaries. With Parmenio commanding the left and himself the right, Alexander charged the Persians drawn up on the opposite bank of the river Granicus. The battle was desperately fought, and had it not been for "Black" Cleitus, Alexander might have been killed. After his victory, Alexander proceeded along the Asia Minor coast, freeing the Greek cities from the Persian rule. At Miletus he dismissed his fleet, not wishing to run the risk of defeat on sea and realizing that a decisive victory over Darius would mean the capitulation of the enemy's navy anyway. Everywhere Alexander won great popularity by restoring democratic government in the Greek cities, which now became his allies; for the rest, he was prone to leave the organization pretty much as he found it. The Persian system of satrapies was adopted, with the important difference that finance was placed in the hands of a separate official. The officials he appointed in Asia Minor were chiefly Macedonian (or Greek), but already we note barbarians among them—either Alexander was too intent to find Darius to trouble much about his provincial arrangements, or he was discovering by actual contact with barbarians that Aristotle was wrong. In any case, on his entrance into Caria he allowed the queen, Ada, to adopt him, and thus showed the barbarians of the region that he had a personal interest in them and was not come as a mere conqueror.

Alexander spent the winter campaigning against the hill tribes of Lycia and Pisidia. He did not continue along the coast in the spring, however, but turned inland, to make sure that the center of Asia Minor owed him at least nominal allegiance, before he proceeded further east. At Gordium the famous chariot, with its curious knot of cornel bark, was shown him. According to legend, the man who could untie the knot would rule Asia, and Alexander dramatically untied it. At Gordium he was met by Athenian envoys—embassies from various states were to become a common occurrence—but to insure the fidelity

of Athens he refused to surrender the men captured at the Granicus. His fear of the Persian fleet raising Greece in revolt was, however, soon dissipated, with the death of the admiral Memnon. Alexander, with his customary care of his men and an understanding of their psychology, had permitted those who had been recently married to spend the winter of 334–333 B.C. in Macedonia. These men, together with reinforcements, now joined him. As we view his years in Asia, perhaps nothing strikes us more than the perfection of his commissariat and his intelligence service, and the regularity with which his reinforcements reached him.

The task now before Alexander was to pass the Cilician Gates before the enemy blocked them. This he did, by forced marches, and arrived at Tarsus in time to prevent the Persians from firing the city. But Alexander was hot and tired, and a swim in the Cydnus River gave him a fever. Perhaps he deliberately delayed his convalescence, for he had heard that Darius was awaiting him with a great force on the plains of Syria—how much better it would be if Darius could be enticed into the narrow plain of Cilicia? An invader, however, must ever be on the move, and at last Alexander marched to Issus, where he left his sick and wounded beside the Pinarus River. Then, by the Jonah Pass, he crossed to Myriandrus on the Syrian coast. His intelligence service, this time, had broken down, for Darius had left Sochi on the Syrian plains and had crossed into Cilicia by the Amanic Gates. The Persian army was at Alexander's back; the Empire ahead of him. He quickly turned toward Issus, where meanwhile Darius had butchered the sick and wounded.

BATTLE OF ISSUS (333 B.C.). At the approach of dawn, late in October, 333 B.C., Alexander began to descend from the pass along the road. He had with him as many cavalry, 5,000, as at the Granicus, but probably his infantry no longer numbered 30,000, for—in spite of reinforcements—death and garrison duty had claimed thousands. As he advanced toward the Pinarus, he found that the ground widened a little, and posted most of the cavalry with himself on the right wing; the rest he sent to Parmenio on the left, with orders not to abandon the sea under any circumstances. Various light troops held the extreme wings.

Arrian tells us that Darius' army amounted to 600,000 fighting men, but the Persian Empire could not produce an army this size, nor was the plain of Issus large enough to contain it. Since, however, the Pinarus ran for about three miles from mountain to sea, and since Darius had more men than he could use, it seems likely that the number of his troops exceeded 100,000, including perhaps 15,000 Greek mercenaries, who were famous as fierce fighters. As soon as he learned of Alexander's approach, Darius sent some of his superb cavalry and light infantry across the river, in order that he might draw up the rest of his forces with ease. Of the heavy infantry he placed the Greek mer-

cenaries in the center opposite the Macedonian phalanx, and on both sides of these the native infantry, called Cardaces; in front of the Cardaces, at the left, were placed the splendid archers in expectation of Alexander's charge from his right.

When they came within range of the arrows, Alexander himself and those around him on the right wing, following the tactics of the oblique formation, dashed into the river with a run, in order to alarm the Persians by the rapidity of their onset, and by coming sooner to close conflict to avoid being too greatly injured by the archers. Crushing the Persian left, Alexander turned against the center, where, in the rhetoric of Curtius,² he did "the work of a soldier no less than that of a leader. For there stood Darius towering aloft in his chariot, a sight that prompted alike friends to shield him and foes to assail him. So then his brother Oxathres, when he saw Alexander rushing toward him, gathered the horsemen of his command and threw them in the very front of the chariot of the king. Conspicuous above all the rest, with his armor and giant frame, fighting now the battle of his life, he laid low those who recklessly surged against him; others he turned to flight. But the Macedonians grouped about Alexander, heartened by one another's exhortations, burst in upon the line. Then came the desolation of ruin. Around the chariot of Darius you'd see lying leaders of highest rank, perished in a glorious death, all prone upon their faces, just as they had fallen in their struggle, wounds all in the front. Among them you would find Atizyes and Rheomithres and Sabaces, the satrap of Egypt, all generals of great armies; piled up around them a mass of footmen and horsemen of meaner fame. Of the Macedonians, too, many were slain, good men and true. Alexander himself was wounded in the right thigh with a sword. And now the horses attached to Darius' chariot, pricked with spears and infuriated with pain, tossed the yoke on their necks, and threatened to throw Darius from the car. Then he, in fear lest he should fall alive into the hands of the enemy," turned and fled.

The Macedonian phalanx, meanwhile, had broken its line in climbing the steep bank of the river and was being desperately attacked by Darius' Greek mercenaries, for the intensity of feeling that existed between Greek and Macedonian only added to the fury of their struggle. Alexander now wheeled against the mercenaries and, rolling them back from the river, began to cut them up. The Persian cavalry, opposite Parmenio, had not been inactive, but had crossed the river and made a vigorous attack; nor did they give way until they saw that Darius had fled and the Greek mercenaries were being defeated. Then at last there ensued a decided flight and on all sides.

So great was the slaughter that Ptolemy, who accompanied Alexander, says that the men who were with them pursuing Darius passed over a ravine upon

² Wheeler's translation.



Photograph by Alinari

Alexander (to the left) attacking Darius at the battle of Issus. Late Hellenistic mosaic from Pompeii, after a famous picture by Philoxenus of Eretria, ca. 300 B.C. In the Museo Nazionale, Naples

Demosthenes, the greatest orator of antiquity, staunch defender of Greek freedom and implacable foe of Macedon. This is a Roman copy of an original by Polyuectus, 280 B.C. In the Vatican Museum, Rome

the corpses. But Darius made good his escape. As long as the ground was level he continued in his chariot, but when he came to rough ground, he abandoned it, leaving in it his shield and mantle and even his bow, and fled on horseback. Night alone rescued him, for Alexander had delayed the pursuit until the Greek mercenaries and the Persian cavalry had been driven away from the river; he returned to camp, however, with Darius' chariot and its contents.

Alexander found his Macedonians carrying off the wealth from the camp of the barbarians, and the wealth was of surpassing abundance, although its owners had come to the battle in light marching order and had left most of their baggage in Damascus; he found, too, that his men had picked out for him the tent of Darius, which was full to overflowing with gorgeous servitors and furniture, and many treasures. Straightway, then, according to Plutarch, Alexander put off his armor and went to the bath, saying, "Let us go and wash off the sweat of the battle in the bath of Darius." "No, indeed," said a Companion, "but rather in that of Alexander." And when he saw the basins and pitchers and tubs and caskets, all of gold and curiously wrought, while the apartment was marvelously fragrant with spices and unguents, and when he passed from this into a tent which was worthy of admiration for its size and height, and for the adornment of the couch and tables and banquet prepared for him, he turned his eyes upon his Companions and said, "This, as it would seem, is to be a king."

As he was betaking himself to supper, someone told him that among the prisoners were the mother and wife and two unmarried daughters of Darius, and that at the sight of his chariot and bow they beat their breasts and lamented, believing that he was dead. Accordingly, after a considerable pause, more affected by their affliction than by his own success, he sent Leonnatus, a Companion, with orders to tell them that Darius was not dead, and that they need have no fear of Alexander; for it was Darius upon whom he was waging war for supremacy, but they should have everything which they used to think their due when Darius was undisputed king. There is another report to the effect that on the following day Alexander himself went into the tent, accompanied only by Hephaestion. The mother of Darius, being in doubt which of them was the king (for they were both dressed in the same way), went up to Hephaestion, because he appeared to her the taller of the two, and prostrated herself before him. But when he drew back, and one of her attendants pointed out Alexander, saying he was the king, she was ashamed of her mistake and was going to retire. But Alexander told her she had made no mistake, for Hephaestion was also Alexander.

On the day following the battle Alexander, still suffering from the dagger wound in his thigh, visited the wounded, and after collecting the bodies of the

slain (apparently only 450 in number) he gave them a splendid burial, with all his forces brilliantly marshaled in order of battle. He also praised those who had performed any gallant deed and gave to each a gift of money in proportion to his desert. Then, as all looked on, he erected by the bank of the Pinarus altars to Zeus, Heracles, and Athena, memorials of his great victory which were still standing three centuries later in Cicero's day.

The enemy's losses in battle must have been immense, and yet we know of only five dignitaries who were killed. Of those who escaped some 2,000 Greek mercenaries and several thousand Persians joined Darius, who was fleeing as rapidly as he could, hoping to put the Euphrates between himself and Alexander. There was not even time to gather up the wealth left behind at Damascus, and this was ultimately secured by Parmenio.

SIGNIFICANCE OF ISSUS. The battle of Issus is one of the great battles of history, for in essence it meant the end of Asiatic power in the Mediterranean. It also left its mark on Alexander, for obviously Darius was finished or soon would be. Who was to take his place, another Persian or his conqueror? It would be rash to suppose that this fervently ambitious young man did not determine to become Lord of Asia at least from the time of his victory at Issus. The fact that he continued along the coast to Egypt might indicate that he was simply resolved to drive Darius entirely from the Mediterranean, but from Egypt he turned automatically to Mesopotamia. His every action after Issus reveals a determination to sit on the throne of the Achaemenids and become the Great King of Persia. This does not mean that he planned to abandon his kingship in Europe and merge it in an oriental despotism, but rather that he would hold different positions simultaneously in the different portions of his realm.

The Panhellenic character of the expedition had begun to yield even before Issus to Alexander's personal power. In this connection it is of fundamental importance to note that, whereas after the Granicus Alexander sent the Greek mercenaries of Darius to Macedonia in chains as traitors to the Corinthian League, at Miletus he took other Greek mercenaries into his service. This implies, at an early stage, a disregard of the League itself. He further weakened Panhellenism by not adding the Greek cities of Asia Minor to the League, but by uniting them to himself by treaty "as free and independent allies"; and, indeed, as he advanced through the non-Greek districts of Asia Minor he claimed the tribute which they had previously paid the Great King. Alexander's conception of his own position, it is clear, developed constantly, so that by Issus he was not only king of Macedon, commander in chief of the Corinthian League, and the adopted son of the native Ada, but also the "ally" of the Greek cities of Asia Minor and the Great King of the native districts.

It must be emphasized, however, that Alexander never set foot in whole

sections of Asia Minor. He did not go within a hundred miles of the Black Sea, and even places near his line of march did not owe him allegiance. Nevertheless he had brought a large area over from one regime to another with a minimum of disturbance, and with changes for the better. The Greek cities had been freed of the tyrants set up by the Persians, an event that was likely to release their creative genius and, with renewed facilities for trade and the support of public works, restore their economic prosperity. Democratic government had been established in most places, and everywhere there was an insistence on internal peace. As Alexander's free and independent allies, they were required to furnish ships, but not troops. Their tribute was smaller than previously and was called a "voluntary contribution," paid directly to Alexander, and they were wholly free of the satraps and their subordinates. For the non-Greek districts Alexander took over the Persian system of satrapies. His satraps were Macedonian generals, chiefly, but he also used natives—a fact that is generally overlooked by those who maintain that Alexander's settled policy, later on, of including barbarians among his appointees to office was motivated by a scarcity of Greeks and Macedonians—and at Sardes a division had been made of military and civil functions, though it is not till later that we find the great advance on Persian administration through the strict separation of military, civil, and financial powers.

This impressive record had been made in a year and a half. Furthermore, Alexander had won two pitched battles, and Darius was in flight. If he was to realize his other ambitions, he must now capture Darius.

3. TYRE AND EGYPT

CAPTURE OF TYRE (332 B.C.). Though Darius had escaped from Issus and might reform his army at any moment, Alexander's best plan was first to strike along the coast, secure his communications, and bring about the collapse of the enemy's fleet. On his way down the Phoenician coast Alexander received the surrender of one city after another and finally met envoys from Tyre who promised formal submission. He thanked them and said that he merely wished to enter their island city and sacrifice to his ancestor Heracles (Melkart), but the Tyrians caught the point and, remembering how they had withstood Nebuchadrezzar's siege for thirteen years, replied that they were not admitting any Persians or Macedonians into their city; however, they added, there was an even older shrine to Heracles on the mainland where he might sacrifice to his ancestor, if he wished.

The island of Tyre (inset, rear endpaper) was protected by high, heavy walls of solid stone, two miles in circumference, and lay a half mile offshore; near the coast the water was shallow, but it reached a depth of eighteen feet at the island. The mole, which Alexander finally succeeded in building, ultimately

became covered with silt, so that today island and mainland are joined by an isthmus. The Tyrians had a strong navy and two fine harbors, the Sidonian to the north and the Egyptian to the south.

Clearly this powerful naval base could not be left behind in hostile hands, and Alexander instantly resolved on attack, even though he had no fleet of his own. When he learned that many Macedonians considered it well-nigh hopeless to besiege the city, he called together his officers and encouraged them by saying that the capture of Tyre would give them the entire Persian fleet and permit them to continue safely to Egypt and Mesopotamia. They were further cheered by the report that Alexander had dreamed that as he was approaching the walls of Tyre Heracles had taken him by the right hand and led him into the city, a dream that Aristander, the seer, interpreted as meaning that Tyre would be taken, though by labor, because the deeds of Heracles were accomplished by labor.

Alexander now began to construct a wide mole from the mainland, capable of containing many towers, and ordered his engineers to prepare engines. While this was being done, he took the heavy infantry known as hypaspists and the Agrianian skirmishers and set out for Sidon to collect all the triremes he could, because it was clear to him that he must try to seize the sovereignty of the sea. About this time, too, the kings of Aradus and Byblos, ascertaining that their cities were in Alexander's possession, deserted and surrendered their own fleet and some Sidonian vessels, so that about eighty Phoenician triremes now joined Alexander; and then the kings of Cyprus, terrified by the news of Issus, put into Sidon with 120 ships. Not long afterward Cleander arrived from the Peloponnesus with 4,000 Greek mercenaries.

When the fleet was finally ready, Alexander embarked on it some hypaspists and set sail for Tyre with his ships arranged in order, but the Tyrians were so amazed at the sight that they refused battle. Except for scattered engagements on sea, the siege of Tyre now resolved itself into an attempt on the part of the Macedonians to bring their engines against the walls of the city, either by ships or along the mole which was being fast completed. The Tyrians, on their side, replied with clever and desperate measures of defense, for it was in Phoenicia and the neighboring lands that the art of military machinery had been born. They hurled into the sea, for example, great boulders which prevented the enemy's ships from approaching too near the walls, and when Alexander tried to drag them away, they sent divers to cut the cables of his anchors. He then fastened chains to his anchors, and with the help of cranes dropped the boulders into deep water.

Eventually a part of the wall was knocked down, and Alexander, according to Arrian, "then ordered the ships with the engines to retire, and brought up two others with bridges, which he intended to throw upon the breach in the

wall. He also ordered some triremes to sail against the two harbors and others to sail right round the wall and to run aground wherever practicable and begin shooting, so that the Tyrians, being shot at from all quarters, might become distracted and not know where to turn in their distress. When Alexander's ships drew close to the city and the bridges were thrown upon the wall, the hypaspists mounted valiantly, led by Admetus, and Alexander accompanied them, both as a courageous participant in the action itself and as a witness of brilliant and dangerous feats of valor performed by others. Admetus was the first to mount the wall but, while cheering on his men, was struck by a spear and died on the spot. After a struggle, Alexander and his troops took the wall and advanced into the city against the main body of the Tyrians, who had rallied at the sanctuary of Agenor, and routed them. Great was the slaughter also made by those who had forced the harbors, for the Macedonians were full of rage, not only on account of the length of the siege, but also because the Tyrians, having captured some of their men, had brought them to the top of the wall, where the deed might be visible from the camp, and after slaughtering them, had cast their bodies into the sea. About 8,000 Tyrians were now killed; and of the Macedonians, besides Admetus, twenty died in the initial assault that day, and about four hundred in the entire siege."³

Alexander gave an amnesty to all those who had fled for refuge into the temple of Melkart, including the king and magistrates of Tyre and envoys from Carthage, who had come to their mother city to attend certain religious ceremonies. The rest of the Tyrians, to the number of many thousands, were sold into slavery. Thus Tyre fell in July, 332 B.C., after a siege of seven months. Alexander sacrificed to Heracles and dedicated in the temple the engine which had battered down the wall, and held military, religious, and athletic processions. Nothing, however, could hide the fact that the Phoenician coast had been won by the commission of an enormous crime. But we can point to one thing that has recently been proved: that, though Greek warfare often produced ruined cities and many slaves, Alexander's expedition did not affect appreciably the world's slave markets.

While Alexander was still occupied with the siege of Tyre, ambassadors once again came to him from Darius offering 10,000 talents for his family, all the territory west of the Euphrates, a daughter in marriage, and friendship and alliance. When these proposals were announced in a conference of the Companions, Parmenio is said to have remarked, "If I were Alexander, I would accept these terms and put an end to the war." "And so indeed would I," replied Alexander, "were I Parmenio." But as he was Alexander he told Darius that he already had practically everything that he offered. When Darius heard this, he despaired of coming to terms with Alexander and frantically began to

³ Chinnock's translation.

make fresh preparations for war. The story of the conference of the Companions illustrates the sharp difference between the Macedonian point of view and Alexander's. The Greeks and Macedonians were ready to organize the eastern Mediterranean for their own profit, but by overstepping Asia Minor Alexander had already gone beyond their first intentions. To Alexander, on the other hand, opened the possibility of a new system—a larger, perhaps a world, society—but he kept his thoughts pretty much to himself, for few persons, then or later, could understand him. He merely told them what they could comprehend, that one more battle with Darius was necessary and that then peace would come.

Pure logic might have told Alexander that it would be easier to administer an empire that rested on the Euphrates rather than on the Indus, but it would be a mistake always to conceive him in too rational or cool a way. He could be intensely practical—for example, in a military campaign—but in other matters he could also be a great dreamer. He was realist enough to know that an arrangement which left Persia with a large empire held the possibility of continued warfare and in any case reduced his own expedition to the stature of another one of those interminable wars where brute force determines boundaries. His decision to fight Darius meant that he proposed to have the entire Persian Empire; and it is fair to add, in the light of his actions in Asia Minor, that he planned for mankind a new society or a new type of imperialism, call it what one will.

EGYPT (332 B.C.). Alexander hastened from Tyre to Egypt late in 332 B.C., storming Gaza on the way. Egypt fell without a blow, for it was glad to be rid of the Persian misrule. In Egypt we catch important glimpses of Alexander's character and policy. He now had a large empire, far larger than any Greek had ever dreamed of. If this empire was to be organized and governed, it must have great satrapal seats, centers of administration, defense, and trade. The destruction of Tyre made it necessary to find another center for the trade of the eastern Mediterranean. In the days of the Pharaohs the Nile had been connected with the Red Sea by a canal, and now, undoubtedly, reports of the eastern seas came to Alexander's ears. Egypt, then, seemed the ideal place, not only as the mart of the eastern Mediterranean, but also as a possible link between East and West. Alexander proceeded to lay out on the westernmost mouth of the Nile a great city, to be named Alexandria after him. While the army was engaged with the new city, Alexander took a few friends and went along the coast to Paraetonium, where envoys from Cyrene offered submission. He then struck across the desert on his famous and hazardous trip to the oracle of Ammon (the oasis of Siwah). The oracle of Zeus Ammon was, after Delphi and Dodona, the most important in the Greek world—and here was his chance to see it. The wily priests proclaimed him, as they would any king of Egypt, the son of God—or so it was reported, but Alexander had too much good sense

to take it seriously. His real motive in going to the oracle was to confirm that the Libyan desert was in fact a natural frontier and to subsidize the priests to police the area for him. On his return to Memphis Alexander made his arrangements for Egypt, following his usual scheme of divided responsibility. He appointed Egyptians as governors of the land, but the financial affairs were placed in the hands of a Greek, and the military entrusted to two generals and an admiral, all Greeks.⁴

4. GAUGAMELA AND PERSIA

BATTLE OF GAUGAMELA (331 B.C.). It was high time, now, to seek Darius. Marching up the Phoenician coast, Alexander cut over to Thapsacus and crossed the Euphrates. The two armies met at Gaugamela, some sixty miles from Arbela; their fierce struggle can be fairly acclaimed as the greatest battle in antiquity, since it decided the course of all subsequent history. First, Alexander ordered the soldiers to take dinner and rest themselves. While his Macedonians slept, he himself passed the night in front of his tent with his seer Aristander, celebrating certain mysterious sacred rites and sacrificing to the god Fear. And it is said that the older of his Companions, and particularly Parmenio, when they saw the plain and mountains all lighted up with the barbarian fires, with a sound of voices arising from the camp as if from a vast ocean, were astonished at their multitude and argued that it would be difficult to repel such a tide of war in broad daylight. They therefore came to Alexander's tent, when he had finished his sacrifices, and on their behalf Parmenio urged him to make a night attack upon the Persians. But Alexander, realizing the hazards of a battle in the dark, gave them the celebrated reply, "I will not steal my victory."

Next morning, after he had dressed, Alexander came out from his tent. He was fully armed, with a vest of Sicilian make girt about him, and over this a breastplate of two-ply linen from the spoils taken at Issus. His helmet was of iron, but gleamed like polished silver, a work of Theophilus; and there was fitted to this a throatpiece, likewise of iron, set with precious stones. He had a sword, too, of astonishing temper and lightness, a gift from the king of the Citeians, and he had trained himself to use a sword for the most part in his battles. He wore a belt also, which was too elaborate for the rest of his armor, for it was a work of Helicon the ancient, and a mark of honor from the city of Rhodes, which had recently given it to him; this also he was wont to wear in his battles.

Darius, for his part, had kept his men under arms the entire night, suspecting a surprise attack, a fact that not only lowered their vitality, but added to their natural fear. The Persian army, however, was very large, representing as it did the levy of the Empire. Though it did not even approach the million infantry

⁴ For the sake of convenience Greeks and Macedonians are here regarded as one.

and 40,000 cavalry of legend, it was larger than the army at Issus, so much larger than Alexander's, indeed, that it extended well beyond his flanks. On his left wing Darius posted his splendid Bactrian cavalry, under his cousin Bessus, a remarkable prince, and at the point exactly opposite Alexander's right he placed some scythe-bearing chariots, the total number of which was considerably less than the reported 200. The broad battlefield had been carefully leveled for these chariots, and much was expected of them, especially since little was hoped for from the infantry. The right wing, under Mazaeus, was held by men of various races, including 1,000 mailed Saca horse, and in front were the excellent Armenian and Cappadocian cavalry and more scythe-bearing chariots.

In the center was Darius, towering conspicuous, a fine-looking man and tall, standing on a lofty chariot, and surrounded by the King's Kinsmen and the Persian guards carrying spears with golden apples at the butt end, Indians, Carians, and Mardian archers. In front of Darius' royal squadron of cavalry stood some scythe-bearing chariots and fifteen elephants, which, had they not been handled badly, could have struck terror into a western army. The Greek mercenaries, of whom Darius now had but 2,000, were alone considered capable of coping with the Macedonians, and were stationed right opposite their phalanx. This, in brief, was the Persian order of battle, as captured after the conflict. Special reliance was placed on the scythe-bearing chariots and the cavalry of the two wings, who were armed better than previously; the line between consisted of both cavalry and infantry, but the forces that counted most here were the Persian cavalry and Greek mercenaries.

Alexander's infantry is reported to have numbered 40,000 men, but it is likely that his reinforcements to date had only been sufficient to make good the losses caused by death and garrison duty and that he had approximately the same number of foot, 30,000, as at the Granicus; it is possible, however, that the number of his cavalry had grown to 7,000. Alexander commanded the right wing. Here were the Companion cavalry under Philotas, son of Parmenio; in front of them, as a protection against the scythe-bearing chariots, were Agrianian skirmishers, Macedonian archers and javelin men. Toward the center were the hypaspists under Nicanor, another son of Parmenio, and the phalanx. The left wing was commanded by Parmenio himself, who had the superb Thessalian cavalry.

Behind the phalanx Alexander placed another line of troops, made up of mercenaries, with orders to wheel round and face the enemy, should they attack from the rear; this was perhaps the second time in Greek history that reserves were employed in battle. Alexander was afraid that he might be surrounded, and therefore set to work to complete the other two sides of his square. The men on the sides were ranged in deep columns, at an angle with

the center, and were instructed to attack the Persians in the flank, if they should ride round their wing.

It was October 1, 331 B.C. As long as Alexander rode about, marshaling his men and exhorting them, he spared Bucephalas, his famous horse, who was now past his prime, and used another, but when he was ready to go into action, Bucephalas was led up, and he mounted him. Shifting his lance to his left hand, as Callisthenes tells us, with his right hand he appealed to the gods, praying them to defend and strengthen the Greeks. Aristander, wearing a white mantle and having a crown of gold upon his head, rode along the ranks pointing out an eagle which soared above the head of Alexander and directed its flight straight against the enemy, at which sight great courage filled the beholders.

Alexander then led his army to the right, and the Persians marched along parallel with him, far outflanking him upon their left. In spite of skirmishes with the Scythian cavalry, Alexander calmly persisted in his rightward march and got almost entirely beyond the ground which had been cleared and leveled by the Persians. Darius, fearing that his chariots would become useless if the enemy advanced into the uneven ground, launched them against Alexander, but as soon as they approached, the Agrianians and javelin men, who were in front of the Companion cavalry, hurled their weapons at some of the horses; others they seized by the reins and pulled their drivers off, and standing round the horses killed them.

A decisive moment in the battle occurred when the Persians allowed a gap to open on the left of their line. Instantly Alexander, who had kept his main forces intact until it was certain that Bessus could be held on his flank, wheeled toward the opening and, forming a wedge of the Companion cavalry and part of the phalanx, led them with a quick charge and loud battle cry straight toward Darius himself. For a short time there ensued a hand-to-hand fight; but when the Macedonian cavalry, commanded by Alexander, pressed on vigorously, thrusting themselves against the Persians and striking their faces with their spears, and when the Macedonian phalanx in dense array and bristling with long pikes had also attacked them, Darius was seized with terror and was the first to turn and flee.

After a brief halt to support Parmenio, who was badly in need of help, Alexander wheeled round and started off in pursuit of Darius, keeping up the chase as long as there was daylight. Resting his horsemen until midnight, he again advanced by a forced march toward Arbela (Erbil), which he reached the next day, a distance of more than sixty miles from the battlefield of Gaugamela. But Darius was gone. As after Issus, Alexander captured his chariot and spear and bow, together with his money and other property. Parmenio, meanwhile, had seized the baggage, elephants, and camels in the Persian camp.

When Arrian tells us that Alexander lost 100 men and Darius 300,000, we see that it is quite impossible to form an opinion of the number killed in the battle.

In the course of his flight Darius gathered together remnants of his troops—the Bactrian cavalry, the King's Kinsmen, some of the so-called Apple bearers, and the 2,000 Greek mercenaries—and hastened toward Media, for he conjectured that Alexander would take the direct and easy road to Babylon and Susa, which after all were the prizes of war. Though it was clear that Darius would never fight again, Alexander must have realized that new and even more difficult problems now lay before him. As the first step toward organizing and administering his state, it would be necessary to examine the vast area of the former Persian Empire and to establish order, but this could not be quickly done, for there were already large districts beyond his actual line of march which did not yet owe him allegiance. Thus the purpose of the two cities which he founded after the battle was to control his communications and police the neighborhood; the general intention of his foundations (which more often than not consisted of garrisons added to existing towns) was to provide the countryside with a gendarmerie. As he proceeded east, into a land that boasted few cities, the new foundations resembled rather administrative seats, but no matter what their character these settlements of unfit soldiers became in time centers for the spread of Hellenism.

PERSIA (330 B.C.). Alexander now had before him the glorious capitals of the ancient East. At Babylon the people greeted him as a deliverer; he re-appointed Mazaeus satrap, though the garrison was given to a Macedonian; and he won popularity by permitting the people their ancestral customs. Alexander next went to Susa, and then, after some hard fighting at the Persian Gates, entered Persis, the ancient home of the Persians.

It is not difficult to imagine Alexander's thoughts as he strolled among the great palaces of Persepolis, which even today are magnificent in their ruin (p. 188). The hereditary foe of Greece had been utterly defeated; he was master of the capitals and lands of the ancient East, of Macedon and Greece as well, the ruler of the largest empire the world had ever seen. We are told that when he took his seat for the first time under the golden canopy on the royal throne, his old friend, Demaratus of Corinth, burst into tears and declared that those Greeks were deprived of great pleasure who had died before seeing Alexander seated on the throne of Darius. Acting against Parmenio's advice, Alexander deliberately set fire to Xerxes' palace, in order that the world might clearly understand that one regime had given way to another. Legend created from this the fanciful story of Thais, the Athenian courtesan, who incited the banqueters to the act and thus punished Xerxes for his evil deeds. But the cold fact was that the rule of the Achaemenids had come to

an end; so, too, had the war of revenge and with it, perhaps, Alexander's dependence upon the Greeks.

5. EASTERN IRAN AND INDIA

ALEXANDER'S PLANS FOR HIS EMPIRE. The Persian days were spent in a routine way, without Alexander revealing any imaginative plans for his great dominion. Probably he wished first to become the undisputed master of the former Persian Empire, in theory as well as in fact and without a rival, but this entailed the capture of Darius, who was biding his time in Ecbatana (Hamadan), the famous capital of the Medes. Suddenly a report reached Alexander that Darius had sent his women and baggage to the so-called Caspian Gates and was planning, in case Alexander moved, to flee eastward to Bactria, laying waste all the land as he did so. Alexander immediately set out from Persepolis (late March, 330 B.C.) and advanced toward Media, but on the way he was told that Darius had already fled.

Alexander could hardly afford to delay the pursuit, but each step from now on would bring him into lands wholly unfamiliar to the Greek world, and it was altogether unwise to continue into the East without an explanation of his future plans. He therefore resolved to halt at Ecbatana and put into effect some of the ideas he had been considering, perhaps, during his stay at Persepolis; it is probable, too, that the arrival of 6,000 Greek mercenaries at this moment made his decision easier. In spite of the fact that the four years since his departure from Greece had been crowded with battles and marches and the details of administration, Alexander had grown enough to alter or abandon many of his original aims. Brought up in Plato's theory that all barbarians were enemies of the Greeks by nature, and in that of Aristotle that all barbarians were slaves by nature, especially those of Asia, Alexander had been able to test the smugness of the Greek by actual contact with barbarians, on the battlefield and off, and experience had apparently convinced him of the essential sameness of all people. It was back in Egypt, according to Plutarch, that Alexander had accepted the teaching of Psammon, the philosopher, that all mankind are under the kingship of God, since in every case that which gets the mastery and rules is divine. Still more philosophical, continues Plutarch, was Alexander's own opinion that although God is indeed a common father of all mankind, still He makes peculiarly His own the noblest and best of them.

The fundamental question before Alexander, then, was whether this new and vast empire of many races was to be governed in the old familiar fashion, with Hellenic despotism substituted for oriental, or whether a new world state could be formed along very different lines. He had already given partial expression to his ideas by the appointment of barbarians, as well as Greeks and

Macedonians, to important administrative posts, and yet his sincerity was open to question since there were clearly not enough Greeks and Macedonians to go around. We have noticed, however, that no sooner had the expedition set out than Alexander began to assert his independence of the Corinthian League. He had every intention of maintaining the League, and of dealing with it legally wherever he could, since it was a convenient instrument for governing the Greeks, but he now decided to make absolutely clear that Panhellenism had died with the war of revenge. He would remain king of Macedon and commander in chief of the Corinthian League, but in addition he must somehow convince the barbarians that he was their king, too, for it was not enough simply to proclaim himself the Lord of Asia and the Great King of the former Persian Empire.

Thus, in a dramatic gesture designed to prove that the special partnership with the Greeks had come to an end, Alexander dismissed the Thessalian cavalry and his other Greek allies. They were given generous presents; and many availed themselves of the opportunity to reënlist, but henceforth, while they might be marshaled according to nationality, they marched as a part of the imperial army and not as allies. Alexander's adoption not long afterward of a modified form of Persian dress, which was far simpler than the Median, was interpreted by hostile gossip as a surrender to oriental luxury, but actually it was part of his plan to convince the barbarians of their equality within the empire, and it also served notice upon the Greeks and Macedonians that they were not to occupy a privileged position. But none of this, Alexander saw, went far enough. Daring as was his conception of equality for different peoples, united by various means to himself as ruler, nevertheless some additional bond was needed, the idea of a common fate, or perhaps the ideal of the brotherhood of man. To supply this bond was his hardest task. Since, however, he was convinced of the superiority of Greek culture, Hellenism might in time serve as the vehicle; its own spread would be facilitated by those very settlements whose primary purpose was to garrison the countryside.

DEATH OF DARIUS (330 B.C.). Alexander now promoted his friend, Harpalus, to the newly created post of Imperial Treasurer and placed in his charge the 180,000 talents which had been brought from Persepolis; and, breaking significantly with the past, he left Parmenio behind at Ecbatana to guard the lines of communication. Then he marched against Darius, who was fleeing eastward across the desert. Word soon reached Alexander that the Bactrian prince Bessus had arrested Darius. Hearing this, Alexander pursued with all his might and covered two hundred miles in five days from Rhagae. In a dreary desert spot not far from Hecatompylos (Damghan) he came upon the murdered body of Darius. Alexander was manifestly distressed at what had

happened, but he must have realized, too, how much easier his own position had become, with Darius dead rather than alive. The immediate task now was to seize Bessus.

PLOT OF PHILOTAS (330 B.C.). Alexander's thought had been to follow the great caravan route from the Caspian Sea direct to Bactria, but rebellion on his flank forced him to make a wide sweep southward through Aria and into Seistan, where the conspiracy of Philotas occurred. No doubt Philotas, the distinguished son of the great Parmenio, had many grievances, real and imaginary, against Alexander. Alexander's endless marches, for one thing, prevented the conquerors from settling down to the enjoyment of their labors, but probably most important of all was the fact that in Macedonia the king was little better than the nobles, and yet here was Alexander grown powerful and aloof, acting and thinking strangely. Had not the time come for the Macedonian nobles to take things into their own hands?

Near the Lake of Seistan the plot of Philotas was discovered. The proofs were clear; he was tried, in Macedonian fashion, by the army, convicted, and executed. And since an ancient Macedonian law required that relatives of a conspirator against the king must also die, orders were sent to the commanders in Media to put Parmenio to death. Judicial though the executions were, it is difficult to believe that Alexander, had he wished, could not have persuaded the army to different action, but his main purpose probably was to break the Macedonian opposition to him, and the best way to do that no doubt was to permit the famous to pay the penalty of the law.

Alexander had created several great satrapal seats since leaving the Caspian Sea, for this part of the world boasted few towns in the western sense of the word; and he spent the winter by the Hindu Kush founding yet another, Alexandria of the Caucasus as it was called. Its curious name arose from the fact that the Hindu Kush was believed to be an extension of the Caucasus range in the west. Alexander might not be in doubt about the immediate terrain, but obviously there were large geographical problems still demanding solution.

BACTRIA-SOGDIANA (329-327 B.C.). Because of the early season (spring, 329 B.C.), Alexander decided to cross the Hindu Kush by the low, though long, Khawak Pass (11,600 feet high), but the soldiers suffered keenly nonetheless from the intense cold and lack of provisions. In the rapid pursuit that followed, Bessus was captured and sent to Bactra (Balkh), the capital of Bactria and the traditional home of Zoroastrianism, to await trial; but his redoubtable ally, Spitamenes, escaped across the Oxus River (Amu Daria) into Sogdiana (Turkestan). Alexander pressed on to Maracanda (Samarcand), the summer capital of Sogdiana, and thence into Ferghana as far as the Jaxartes (Syr Daria). This river, the northern limit of the Persian Em-

pire, Alexander took to be the Tanais (Don), which flows into the Sea of Azov, and the land beyond it, therefore, he thought was Europe and its people "Scythians." He founded a city beside the river, Alexandria the Farthest (Alexandreschate), and to insure order along his frontier he crossed the river against the "Scythians," as he had once crossed the Danube and on another occasion had marched to the oracle of Ammon in the Libyan desert.

DEVELOPING IDEAS OF A WORLD STATE. Two years of guerrilla warfare were necessary to put down the national resistance of eastern Iran. The years—hard years of incessant fighting, marching and treachery—also saw Alexander's murder of Cleitus in a drunken brawl, the same "Black" Cleitus who had saved his life at the Granicus. But events were forcing Alexander to dramatic decisions as well. Recently his splendid Thessalian cavalry had mutinied, and he had sent them home. The idea of coöperation with the barbarian world, long in the forefront of his mind, thus became a matter of pressing necessity. Not all conquerors, to be sure, have taken the path of universalism, but, for better or worse, this was Alexander's decision. For example, he saw that if he were really to be king of the barbarians, no less than of the Macedonians, he must give them a stake in his success, and accordingly he added Asiatics to his depleted army who, as it turned out, were the ones to capture Spitamenes. Not much later he married Roxane, the beautiful daughter of a Bactrian baron, but it was a political alliance designed to reward eastern Iran, as it surely deserved, for coöperation. Long ago he had adopted oriental dress and by his appointment of barbarians to responsible posts had further shown his desire to place Greeks, Macedonians, and barbarians on one plane. Recently, too, he had revealed his plans, in simple but real terms, for world conquest, which ultimately took shape in his mind as a western expedition. Now he ordered that 30,000 native youths should be trained in Macedonian fashion. These were not merely epochal, visionary ideas of collaboration between peoples, for they had already been translated, in the large, into reality. Since, moreover, he had achieved a legal relation to the barbarian world as successor to Darius, there remained only one great problem, that of his relation to Greece. How was he to insure the efficient administration of a divided land, if normal methods failed?

Deification was the natural answer, since the Hellenic world was accustomed to it in one form or another. It was a political device, and no one, least of all Alexander, considered him a god. Callisthenes thwarted his proposal at this time, and Alexander abandoned the idea, temporarily for the Greeks, permanently for the Macedonians. Not much later Callisthenes was implicated in a conspiracy of the pages and, whether justly or not, was arrested and executed.

ARRIVAL IN INDIA (326 B.C.). The conquest of Bactria-Sogdiana left India as the only part of the old Persian Empire that Alexander had not yet visited,

and he turned to it as a matter of course, though the land of fable, where even Dionysus and Heracles had gone in days of old, must have excited his imagination. In the spring of 327 B.C., with many Asiatics in his army, he recrossed the Hindu Kush. The route to the Indus—roughly, down the Cabul Valley and the Khyber Pass—was marked by hard fighting, and in particular by the well-nigh impossible capture of Aornos, a famous “rock” which has now been identified with the precipitous ridge of Pir-sar.

When Alexander reached the Indus in 326 B.C., he was greeted by Taxiles, the reigning prince of the district. He was entertained at the capital Taxila, received elephants and other presents from Taxiles, and an alliance was concluded between them. India, with its ancient civilization, its curious customs, and its ascetics, made a great impression upon the Greeks and Macedonians. The Brahmans explained to Alexander that his invasion was much like a man standing on a skin filled with water: where he stood, all was quiet; but round about everything swelled up, in revolt. And that was about true, so far as India was concerned, for Alexander's expedition left no impression on the country, and on his death India returned to its native state—unless we are to count the invasion of the Bactrian Greeks a century and a half later, their long rule, and the still later economic penetration by Rome. For the moment, however, Alexander had other ideas. The old Persian Empire had extended further east, and there Alexander must go; somewhere, not very far off, lay Ocean, too. Clearly he was utterly ignorant of the Indian peninsula and of China.

Though the wonders of Taxila filled the Macedonians with awe, Alexander remained in the city but a brief time, for it was necessary to reach the Hydaspes River, over one hundred miles to the east, before the melting snows of the Himalayas and the tropical rains made it impassable. Beyond the Hydaspes, he was told, was Taxiles' enemy, Porus, a magnificent man over six feet tall. Alexander, therefore, sent Coenus back to the Indus, with instructions to cut in pieces the triakonteres (warships with fifteen oars to a side) and other vessels which he had prepared for the passage of that river, and to bring them to the Hydaspes on wagons. Enlarging the kingdom of Taxiles, who was reduced to the status of a vassal prince, Alexander appointed Philip, son of Machatas, satrap, and left a garrison in Taxila, as well as the soldiers who were invalided by sickness. He also added 5,000 Indians to his army. Perhaps his lengthening lines of communication made this necessary, though the thought that Ocean was not far off must have relieved his mind of any special worry concerning personnel; no doubt, too, he was determined that the army should continue, in a sense, as an imperial “melting pot,” for his experiment during the past years of employing large numbers of barbarian troops had been fully justified.

BATTLE OF THE HYDASPES (326 B.C.). Alexander met little opposition on his march through the Punjab; in early June he struck the Hydaspes (Jhelum) at Haranpur. On the opposite bank, half a mile away, could be seen the great Paurava king, an extraordinarily able and powerful ruler of a rich and populous land, who was to give Alexander the greatest fight of his life and extend to the limit his versatility and genius. Porus had considerably more infantry than Alexander, as well as several hundred scythe-bearing chariots and over two hundred elephants. Alexander's sole superiority was in his cavalry, but it was doubtful if the horses would face the unfamiliar and terrifying elephants, with their strange odor and trumpeting, and, indeed, it was highly problematical whether he would be able to cross the river at all, for the rains had already begun, and each day the Hydaspes was rising; at the few possible fords Porus had stationed guards.

As soon as he had surveyed the situation, Alexander decided to move his army in various directions, in order to distract the attention of Porus and confuse him. Dividing his army into many sections, he himself led some of his troops now into one part of the land and now into another, at one time ravaging the country, at another looking out for a place where the river might appear easier to ford. The rest of his troops he entrusted to his different generals, and sent them about in many directions. Since his vessels were sailing up and down the river, and skins were being filled with hay, and the whole bank appeared to be covered in one place with cavalry and in another with infantry, Porus was not allowed to keep at rest. But when Porus found that all the noise and marching led to nothing, he no longer continued to move about to meet the imaginary crossing, but posted scouts along the bank and withdrew to his camp. Alexander then devised the following stratagem.

In his marching back and forth, Alexander had discovered eighteen miles above Porus' camp a projecting point, at Jalalpur, where the river makes a bend. The promontory was wooded, as was the island opposite it, which would serve to screen an attempt to cross. He had most of his ships from the Indus secretly put together at this place, and all along the bank of the river posted sentries, close enough together to hear any order that might be passed along. He then openly prepared his measures for crossing from his camp at Haranpur. Craterus was left here with some cavalry and infantry, including the 5,000 Indians. Alexander then took 15,000 men—heavy and light infantry and cavalry—and made a secret march, keeping far away from the river, to the promontory where he had resolved to cross. During the night—it was just after the summer solstice—a furious storm occurred, which helped to hide his preparations, since the claps of thunder drowned the clatter of the weapons and the orders given by the officers. At the approach of dawn both the wind and rain calmed down, and the men crossed to the island in boats and on

skins. Alexander himself embarked in a triakonter with Ptolemy, who later became king of Egypt, Perdikkas, the future regent, Lysimachus, the future king of Thrace, and Seleucus, the new commander of the hypaspists, who inherited his Asiatic empire.

When it was reported to Porus that Alexander had crossed—that his whole strategical advantage had, in short, been canceled—he still could not make up his mind what course to take, because Craterus was seen to be attempting to cross the river from the camp directly opposite his position. At last, however, he decided to leave a small force of elephants to frighten the cavalry under Craterus from the bank of the river, and with the rest of his army marched against Alexander. When he found a place where there was no clay, but which was sandy and reasonably satisfactory for his cavalry and bowmen, he drew up his forces. In the center, for a space of four miles, he placed two hundred elephants, each separated from the next by not less than 100 feet; in the intervals between the elephants, but behind them and extending beyond their flanks, was the infantry, greatly outnumbering the troops Alexander had been able to transport across the river; on each wing were 2,000 cavalry (somewhat less than Alexander's), with 150 chariots stationed in front of each.

When Alexander came near the enemy, he told his men to rest while he examined the situation. His chief task was to match somehow, without any elephants of his own, the elephants of Porus. This, he decided, was best done by attacking some other section of the enemy and rolling it back upon the beasts. He therefore posted all his cavalry under himself on the right wing, in the hope that he might throw the enemy's left into utter confusion. In the center he placed the phalanx, with the light-armed on either side, and ordered them not to engage in the action until they observed the enemy's cavalry and infantry thrown into disorder by his own attack.

The fact that the Hydaspes bends westward in this neighborhood prevented Porus from resting his cavalry on the river, and therefore he drew it up in columns, which offered a better defense than a line, but at the last moment he made the fatal mistake of rearranging and massing all his cavalry on his left wing, to meet Alexander's threat. Alexander acted in a flash. First he sent his Asiatic horse archers against the enemy's left wing to attack that section of the infantry which extended beyond the elephants, and to rain upon it an incessant storm of arrows. Then he ordered Coenus to take half the cavalry, sweep around his own left wing, continue behind the enemy and attack Porus' cavalry in the rear. The Indians, observing this maneuver, were compelled to make their cavalry face both ways. While they were rearranging their horse again, Coenus took them in the rear, and Alexander charged with such vigor that they were forced back to the elephants. Upon this, the drivers of the elephants urged the animals forward against Alexander, but now the Mace-

donian phalanx was advancing against them, the men (keeping a wide open order, as they had been instructed) casting javelins at riders and beasts. The wounded elephants, frantic with pain, rushed at friends and foes alike, until, worn out, "they began to retire slowly, facing the enemy like ships backing water, and merely uttering a shrill, piping sound."

Alexander then surrounded the whole line with his cavalry and gave the signal that the infantry should link their shields together and attack. Accordingly there ensued a great slaughter of the Indian cavalry and infantry, and those who could turned and fled through the intervals between Alexander's cavalry. A general massacre was prevented only by Porus' surrender. The battle of the Hydaspes, Alexander's fourth and last pitched battle, had raged eight hours.

After the battle Alexander paid all due honors to the slain, offered the customary sacrifices and celebrated various contests. He also founded two cities, Nicaea (Victory) at Jalalpur and, on the east bank where the battle had been fought, Bucephala. Bucephala was named in memory of his horse and became eventually an important city. But Alexander's ideas of empire were changing no less than his plans. He was beginning to sense the size of India and the immensity of its population. For the Punjab, therefore, the system of satrapies was abandoned in favor of a less centralized and more flexible type of government; the new scheme might perhaps be best described as an association of allied powers, with Alexander, of course, the dominant member. In any case, Porus was left wholly free within his kingdom, which was greatly enlarged and extended ultimately from the Hydaspes to the Hyphasis. Taxiles was reconciled to his old enemy and sent back to Taxila to rule the broad land from the Indus to the Hydaspes.

MUTINY OF THE ARMY (326 B.C.). The victorious march continued until Gurdaspur on the Hyphasis (Beas) was reached. Then the troops mutinied, not against Alexander, for he alone could bring them home, and it was home that his veterans insisted on going. They had seen enough; in fact, during the past eight and a half years they had marched over 11,000 miles. Like his ancestor Achilles, Alexander withdrew to his tent and sulked for three days, but when the army refused to change its mind, he yielded.

Alexander's disappointment was keen, for he had been unnecessarily prevented, so he thought, from continuing those last few miles to Ocean, the eastern and natural limit of his empire, where great cities and harbors of his creation would produce a wonderful prosperity and serve to tie together in an economic whole the various sections of the state. To mark the farthest point of his advance he erected twelve tremendous altars to the Olympian gods and offered sacrifice upon them, and celebrated gymnastic and cavalry contests. The tendency of the rivers of the Punjab to shift westward has long since obliterated

erated the altars, but we are told by Plutarch that Chandragupta used to offer sacrifices upon them. Alexander also prepared armor that was larger than usual, and mangers for horses that were higher, and bits that were heavier than those in common use, and left them scattered up and down to impress later generations with the manner of men who had come that way—this in a land whose literature does not even mention his name, though it is probably true that his life inspired the subsequent unification of India under Chandragupta and Asoka, and of China under the Han dynasty.

6. THE RETURN

Alexander did not return, however, by the route his men expected, for he had already determined, back at the Hydaspes, that some day he would sail down it to the Indian Ocean, the southern limit of the world. He had, therefore, left men behind to build a fleet of eight hundred ships, and this he now found nearly completed. Nearchus was made admiral. Alexander went on board (November, 326 B.C.) with a large body of troops, while the rest of the army followed on shore, in three divisions. During the descent of the rivers he met many tribes and in storming one of their cities, that of the Malli, he nearly lost his life. Alexander had been wounded in battle several times before, but this was a dangerous wound. His soldiers were tired, and to urge them on, he hurried up a scaling ladder, which broke almost as soon as he reached the top of the wall. With a handful of men he jumped down into the city. A desperate fight followed—Alexander was shot in the chest by an arrow, he fainted, and Peucestas held over him the sacred shield which had been taken from Troy. When the Macedonians finally broke into the city, they massacred the population.

DEPARTURE FROM THE INDUS DELTA (325 B.C.). Patala, in the delta, was reached in the summer of 325 B.C. Now Alexander made vigorous plans for his return. Craterus had already been sent back by the Mulla Pass with some of the men. The first task was to found cities here beside Ocean, the southern limit of his empire, to build docks, in general to create an economic link in his empire. The next task was to explore the route to Babylon—Nearchus going with the fleet up the Persian Gulf, Alexander supporting him on land. By September they were ready to start.

The return across Gedrosia was full of difficulties—unexpected mountains forced Alexander from the sea, so that he could not keep in touch with Nearchus and provision him; the guides lost the way; the desert heat necessitated marching by night; food and water were scarce; many died. But it was a triumph to get an army of 15,000 or more across. Nearchus, too, had his experiences. Savages, who lived on fish, were encountered; so was a school of whales, which the Greeks frightened off with trumpets. In Carmania Alex-

ander, Nearchus, and Craterus met, and legend has turned the natural celebration of this reunion into a Dionysiac revel.

SUSA (324 B.C.). When he reached Susa in the spring of 324 B.C., Alexander found that some of his provincial officials had governed unjustly during his absence. He put them to death, and made various new appointments. Harpalus, the chief financial officer of the empire and an old friend, had embezzled much money and fled to Greece. Alexander, nevertheless, undertook important financial reforms. The gold standard of Persia was abolished, and in its place was substituted a uniform currency on the Attic standard. The problems of Greece also lay heavily on Alexander's mind. To bring order to the country he decreed that the Greek states should take back their exiles and that he should be deified. Other ideas were taking shape, too. The 30,000 native youths, who, back in Bactria, had been trained in Macedonian fashion, now arrived and were incorporated in the army. At a great wedding feast Alexander married Barsine, daughter of Darius, while Hephaestion married her sister Drypetis; in all, eighty of his officers married daughters of noble Medes and Persians, while during the entire expedition 10,000 Greeks and Macedonians had taken barbarian wives.

By his own marriage and those of his friends Alexander wished to place his stamp of approval on the fusion of races, a natural counterpart, as it were, of his belief in the fatherhood of God. He hoped that this might be accomplished by example and persuasion, for he planned neither a deliberate Hellenization of the East nor a barbarization of the Greeks and Macedonians. Those who wished were free to pursue their own national life—and they would inevitably represent the overwhelming majority—but beside this there was to develop a new life based on an interchange and mixture of customs and blood. Here was to be the driving force of the empire—a new nationality, if such it may be called, new hopes and new opportunities, a new attitude toward the world. Mixed marriages, however, were not the only means at Alexander's hand for the amalgamation of his empire, for even greater faith was placed on the possibilities of a common Greek culture and law. The cities which he founded, seventy in number according to tradition, and more often than not old settlements which he enlarged, were intended primarily, to be sure, to police the countryside and guard his communications, but since they were placed along the great trade routes they became, together with the uniform currency, powerful stimulants of trade and unification, a policy which his successors followed.

A DREAM OF UNIVERSALISM. Not all these ideas were popular with all his men, and when at Opis on the Tigris Alexander decided to send home 10,000 veterans, the army was convinced that he no longer cared for it and mutinied. Alexander, enraged, discharged them all and told them to go home and say

how they had abandoned their leader in the heart of Asia. He then began to create a Persian army. His soldiers, with tears rolling down their cheeks, repented and begged to be taken back.

Alexander sealed the reconciliation between himself and the army by a banquet for 9,000 persons. At his own table sat Macedonians, Persians, Greek seers, Median Magi, and distinguished representatives of the other peoples of the empire and, after dinner, they all drew wine from a great crater, or mixing bowl, the Greek seers and the Magi commencing the ceremony, and then the whole 9,000 together made one libation at the sound of a trumpet. It was this crater that Alexander had in mind when he said that he had a kingly mission from the deity to be the harmonizer and reconciler of the world, uniting and mixing men's lives and customs and marriages as in a loving cup. Then Alexander prayed for partnership in the empire and for unity and concord (in the Greek, *Homonoia*, a union of hearts) in a joint commonwealth where all peoples were to be partners rather than subjects—a prayer that marks a revolution in human thought. Alexander's dream of the brotherhood of man, a dream of peace and union between Greek and barbarian, was a clear and ennobling re-statement of his considered policy these many years, that mankind should contemplate not exclusive, "national" societies, but universalism, the idea of the *oecumene* or "inhabited world," where all men are indeed sons of one Father.

RETURN TO BABYLON (323 B.C.). Later that year at Ecbatana Hephaestion died, Alexander's dear friend who had been almost the only one to catch and share his vision of the new world. In the spring of 323 B.C. Alexander returned to Babylon and set at once to his plans, plans of colonization, of exploration around Arabia and the Caspian. We are struck by the detailed care which Alexander gave so many different matters. On the one hand, he supported artists and scientists—Aristotle alone received 800 talents (\$960,000)—and on the other hand, he planned the draining of Lake Copais in Greece and the exploitation of the mineral wealth of India; but it all took money, too, and when to the lavish presents he made to friends and strangers we add the ordinary expenses of government, the maintenance of the army, the building of dockyards and cities and temples, we are not surprised at the report that only 50,000 talents were left in the treasury on his death.

It is Alexander's early death that makes us regret so keenly his absorption with conquest and exploration, for it robbed him of the opportunity of developing his ideas of world government. No doubt he intended that the peoples of the empire should assume their share in working out the pattern; the measure of freedom and the details of government would vary from area to area and depend in part upon the condition of civilization of the individual peoples. This variety would have been but the reflection of his own position in

the state, for he was at once the king of Macedon and commander in chief of the League of Corinth, the suzerain of Indian rajahs and the adopted son of a Carian queen, the Great King of the former Persian Empire and the "ally" of the Greek cities of Asia Minor, a god in Greece and Egypt.

Still, the outline of Alexander's chief thoughts was there. There could be little doubt about his ideas on world conquest and his own relation to a world state, the use of barbarians in administration and army, universal brotherhood, the fusion of races, and personal deification. His aim clearly was to unify the empire and bind it together as a social, political, and economic whole—or, as he expressed it, he bade all men to consider as their fatherland the whole inhabited earth, where they would have concord and peace and community of interests, and he further pledged himself to render all upon earth subject to one law of reason and one form of government, that of justice. But if government was to be on this high level, it was a task requiring all his time, and this Alexander was unwilling to give.

ALEXANDER'S DEATH (323 B.C.). Envoys now arrived from Greece, with crowns upon their heads, as though they had been deputed to pay Alexander divine honors. Their requests, and other problems of empire, commanded his attention, but nevertheless the Arabian expedition never left his mind; he often reviewed the fleet, organized sham battles in the river, and awarded prizes to the best rowers and pilots. But it was too much. The ceaseless mental and physical activity, the tremendous responsibilities of empire, the long marches, and dangerous wounds had so lowered his vitality that he was not able to throw off a fever. Thus ended Alexander's life at Babylon on June 13, 323 B.C.; he was not yet thirty-three years of age, and had reigned twelve years and eight months.

THE ALEXANDER ROMANCE. A year was to pass before the funeral train commenced its long journey from Babylon to Damascus, Memphis, and Alexandria, where today the holiest spot is reputedly the Conqueror's grave. Indeed, the true personality of the man who moved the imagination of posterity as few have done was ultimately lost in legend, buried under an extraordinary body of literature that has nothing to do with history. The Alexander Romance, as it is called, began to form not long after his death and, passing under the name of Callisthenes, its eighty versions in twenty-four languages circulated from Iceland to Malaya. To mediaeval Europe and to the Orient at all periods the Alexander of Romance has been the Alexander of reality. Today, for example, the Parsees curse him for having destroyed their sacred books, and throughout Central Asia he is worshiped as Iskander, founder of ancient cities, while his red silk banner is still displayed in Ferghana. In remote parts of Turkestan the chiefs claim descent from Alexander, the ordinary folk are sprung from his soldiers and the very horses from Bucephalas. A Christian

saint in Ethiopia and a knight in France, Alexander appears in the Koran as Dulcarnain, the Lord of the Two Horns, and according to the Moslem poets he prayed in the Kaaba of Mecca. The early Christians portrayed Jesus in Alexander's likeness, and the Jews looked upon him as a propagandist of the Most High. Other stories brought this world conqueror to the Ganges and cannibal kingdoms, to the Blue Nile and Britain—indeed, to the four corners of the earth—and then, as if that were not enough, to the heavens and on to the Land of Darkness and even further to the end of the world, where one finds the Well of Life. Thence he descended to the bottom of the sea in a diving bell and then, after the fish had paid him homage, he returned to Babylon, where he died by poison.

But how much greater is Alexander the man! Though it would be idle to speculate on what he might have achieved, had he lived his full term and come to grips with the problems of governing his vast empire, this much we do know: his meteoric career was sufficient to introduce a new epoch in human history. It took a supreme force to bring it into being. Gone was the small democratic city-state; gone, too, the homogeneous civilization concentrated around the Aegean Sea. The high standards of taste, the freedom, responsibility, and intensity of Periclean life have become things of the past. But it was the new culture of the succeeding Hellenistic Age—the only Greek culture the world ever knew, until modern scholarship resurrected that of Periclean Athens—that civilized Rome and facilitated her creation of a world state and Christianity's conquest of that state. As such, it is Alexander's monument, while his dreams have been, and still are, a challenge to humanity to substitute the idea of the solidarity of the world, and with it the dignity of the individual and his labor, for Aristotelian narrowness and strife.

7. GREECE DURING ALEXANDER'S ABSENCE

When Alexander set out for Asia in 334 B.C., the Greek peninsula, outwardly at least, was united behind him, though the Theban revolt had shown how close to the surface disaffection really was. Many states seemed merely to be biding their time, except that Sparta was openly hostile. The Spartan king, Agis III, hoped to shake off the Macedonian yoke, but his efforts were in vain and he was killed in battle at Megalopolis in 331 B.C. Sparta was now compelled to join the Corinthian League. Alexander's regent in Europe, Antipater, kept the Greeks in order by working through the Corinthian League, but he favored, wherever he could, oligarchies and not democracies within the individual cities. Many states considered this a violation of the League's constitution, which prohibited interference with their internal affairs, and they resented, too, the Macedonian garrisons in the Theban Cadmeia, at Chalcis.

and Corinth. As a result of the new peace, however, prosperity began to return to Greece.

ATHENS. Most states, of course, had pro-Macedonian and anti-Macedonian factions. At Athens, for example, the radicals under Hypereides were violently anti-Macedonian, but their influence was balanced by that of the people of means, who followed Phocion and Demades in a conciliatory attitude toward Macedon. The real power at Athens lay with Lycurgus, who had replaced Demosthenes as the leader of the democrats. During the dozen years after Chaeronea, Lycurgus devoted his entire energies to building up Athens, so that, when the time came, she might return to her rightful place as leader of Greece. Lycurgus' regime was one of the most important in Athenian history. The great theater of Dionysus was reconstructed in stone, the stadium was built, the famous arsenal of Philon at Piraeus was finished. These building operations were made possible by a rigorous administration of finance. Careful economy, combined with increased income, enabled Athens to reorganize her war resources. Lycurgus not only added to the fleet, but changed the ephebate. The ephebi, Athenian youths of 19 and 20, were now compelled to spend one year in military training, to be followed by a second year in garrison duty along the frontier. The number of their recruits annually was about 450.

Alexander's return to Susa in 324 B.C. precipitated a crisis in Greece, for many people had expected that he would be killed in India. Harpalus, the Empire's treasurer, had squandered a fortune in riotous living during Alexander's absence and now fled to Greece on his approach. He was finally admitted to Athens with a few men, but he had an enormous sum of money and set about bribing various people. On Demosthenes' suggestion Harpalus was jailed, though he soon escaped and was murdered. His money, however, was placed in the Parthenon, and a check of it showed that a good deal was missing. Demosthenes was tried and convicted of having taken a bribe and was forced into exile at Aegina. His prosecution was due to a resurgence of Hypereides and the anti-Macedonian party at Athens, so that it is now impossible to pass judgment on the guilt or innocence of Demosthenes. Anti-Macedonian feeling was increasing all over Greece on account of Alexander's decrees concerning his deification and the return of the exiles. What right had Alexander to give orders to Greece—was it not a violation of the constitution of the Corinthian League? The Greeks were ready enough to grant him divine honors—Demosthenes had said that he might be the son of Zeus and of Poseidon, too, if he liked—but how could 20,000 exiles be suddenly taken back by their cities, and on what principle was their property to be restored to them?

Alexander's desire, of course, was to put an end to the confusion which 20,000 homeless and desperate men inevitably caused in a small country, but it is easy to sympathize, nevertheless, with the states which had settled down to the new order of things and had relieved their own problems by wholesale confiscation of property. Alexander's sudden death in 323 B.C. greatly confused the picture, for many Greeks at once began thinking in the old terms of autonomy, without realizing that the new day, which had irrevocably come, demanded their coöperation in Hellenizing, under Macedonian dominion, a new world—a course which promised real opportunity and perhaps salvation. Instead of that, Athens took the lead in abolishing the Corinthian League and substituting in its place what came to be known as the Hellenic League. Thanks to Demosthenes' and Lycurgus' patient policy of building up the state, and with the huge sum of money, possibly 6,000 talents, which had been seized from Harpalus, Athens found herself in a favorable position to wage war against Antipater. Hypereides and the radicals overrode the moderates under Phocion and Demades, and persuaded the people to vote for war. This was the beginning of the so-called Lamian War (see map, p. 202).

THE LAMIAN WAR (323–322 B.C.). With enthusiasm the Athenians recalled Demosthenes from exile. Their general, Leosthenes, meanwhile, blockaded Antipater in Lamia, in central Greece. The next spring Antipater succeeded in withdrawing to Macedonia. A defeat of Athens and her allies by land and sea soon brought the war to an end (322 B.C.). The independence of the Greek city-state was now practically dead. Athens had lost forever her strength at sea. Antipater disbanded the Hellenic League, and, not recognizing the Corinthian League as being in existence, insisted on making his arrangements with each state individually. Thus he won dominion over Greece, excepting Aetolia, which lay too far to the west to be conquered in a short time. A Macedonian garrison was placed in Munychia, the hill of Piraeus, and in 321 B.C. a new constitution was given Athens. It was spoken of as a return to the laws of Solon, but actually it made possible the rule of an oligarchy, which was Antipater's favorite way of controlling the Greeks. Antipater's victory and the reorganization of Athens and other states were not unaccompanied by blood-letting. Hypereides was murdered; Demosthenes escaped to Argolis, where he committed suicide by taking poison. The civilized world was now ready to settle down to a new order—an order where the political units were large, and the civilization, thanks to the Greeks, a common one, the so-called Hellenistic Age.

XVIII

THE CIVILIZATION OF GREECE IN THE FOURTH CENTURY

1. THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC BACKGROUND

Greek civilization in the fourth century before Christ is of immense interest, for we see how a country, recovering from the shock of the Peloponnesian War, was able to forge ahead along old paths, even if the tempo was at times somewhat slower. This recovery was particularly true in states such as Athens, where people agreed to accept the *status quo* and try to settle their differences peacefully; in certain other parts of Greece an economic depression, combined with political restlessness, resulted in constant warfare. In spite of the wars, many states enjoyed a vigorous economic life and produced significant art and profound thought. Indeed, the general level of intelligence was higher than ever before. We have already remarked that the fourth century witnessed a growing cosmopolitanism. This was noticeable not only in federations, such as the Boeotian, Chalcidian, and Arcadian Leagues, where a citizen of a state within the federation could move to another state and enjoy the same rights, but it was to be seen, too, in the way that non-Greeks began to copy Greek life. Furthermore, Athens was now the show place of Greece, and all educated persons spoke and wrote the Attic dialect.

The economic recovery of Athens was the more remarkable in view of the competition of new centers of manufacture, such as Asia Minor, Syracuse, and Tarentum. The reason for the greatness of Tarentum lay in the fact that her port was the first reached by ships sailing westward from Greece or southward from the Adriatic coasts, which poured a considerable trade into southern Italy and Sicily. The fertile soil of the Tarentines, their fisheries, handicrafts, and extensive trade with the interior, as well as with foreign lands, brought them extraordinary wealth. Men wore delicately fringed gowns, such as only the most luxurious women elsewhere could afford, and they multiplied the festivals till, it was said, their number exceeded the days of the year. Despite the commerce and industry of Tarentum, Syracuse, and lesser cities, the economy of Sicily and Magna Graecia was chiefly agricultural. The Greeks of Asia, on the other hand, first suffered through lack of respect in the Persian government for the personality of its subjects, but in time there came an era

of quiet in which, so far as material gains can atone for loss of freedom, they were repaid by an extraordinary increase of wealth and prosperity, chiefly due to freedom of commerce with the interior. Under these favorable circumstances, Ephesus assumed a splendor unknown to her past, and Halicarnassus revived as the capital of Caria. There was no marked recovery, however, among the Aegean islands until the opening of the East by Alexander, when the center of commerce shifted from Piraeus to Rhodes.

The Athenians, too, achieved recovery, in spite of the loss of their Empire and the destruction of much of their wealth. The urban masses, who comprised a majority of the voters, nevertheless refused to cut down the expenditures, and, to insure their own dominance, made the magistrates and Council subservient to the Assembly. A chief reason for the revival of Athens was a healthful country economy. Although many holdings were dwelling lots in the city or Piraeus, there is abundant evidence that through the fourth century Attica remained a country of small farms. A study, for example, of rural mortgages, ranging from 500 to 8,000 drachmas, shows that one-half of them were within the limit of 1,000 drachmas.¹ A similar study of rural inheritances, ranging from 2,000 to 15,000 drachmas and representing therefore the better class of landed properties, reveals that the average value was 7,500 drachmas. Far from any tendency toward latifundia (large estates), the process of dividing larger estates among several owners was under way in this period; so that, when a relatively great farm came upon the market, often it was divided into small plots in order to attract purchasers with restricted means. An estate of forty-five acres, one-half for cultivation, the rest for woodland and pasture, was considered very comfortable, whereas one of sixty-five acres was opulent. Conditions elsewhere in Hellas were similar.

The restoration of the ruined Attic farms after the Peloponnesian War, involving the planting of trees, the rebuilding of houses, the purchase of tools and stock, was heroically accomplished in the face of enormous difficulties and discouragements; of that fact the great number of mortgage inscriptions of the fourth century give evidence. The farmers also had to compete with imported grain kept cheap by governmental regulation; at the time of a wheat shortage in 330 B.C., for example, the government actually bought wheat at the prevailing high prices and sold it at a low price. There can be no doubt, however, that it was not only possible to make a living by agriculture, but also to accumulate property. A man who wished to acquire a knowledge of agriculture could read scientific books on the subject by specialists—Xenophon's *Oeconomicus*, for example—so that scientific farming came into being. Farmers of the fourth century paid great attention to the enrichment of the soil;

¹ It may be useful to recall that a talent is approximately equivalent to \$1,200; a drachma to 18 cents; an obol to 3 cents.

evidently they were acquainted even with mineral fertilizers. Ordinarily they allowed their land to lie fallow in alternate years, as had been the custom for ages, but they also took the first step toward the rotation of crops by planting a field two successive summers for different products and leaving it fallow the third.

Another important factor in the revival of Athens was the marked growth of her commerce, which consisted largely of importations and of the transit of merchandise through Piraeus to other countries. In the first place, Attica produced only a third of the grain consumed by its inhabitants, so that the remainder had to be imported from the Black Sea, Egypt, Sicily, and elsewhere. The trade with the Black Sea was particularly active and was cultivated by the Athenians to make good their partial exclusion from the West. So anxious were the Athenians to provide for a grain supply that they made it a capital crime for a citizen or a metic to carry grain to any non-Attic port; still, they only required that two-thirds of the grain had to be sold in the country itself, thus permitting the traders to profit by reexport elsewhere. Among other imports were salt fish, hides, timber for shipbuilding, slaves, fine wines, drugs, paints and dyes, iron, copper, ivory, papyrus, linen, and innumerable other articles of use and luxury for home consumption or for reshipment to neighboring states; in fact, Piraeus was the chief distributing center of the Hellenic world. Commerce yielded ample profits to merchants and shipowners, although it should be emphasized that the state had no commercial policy and entered into commercial treaties only where essentials were concerned.

In exchange for all these products the Athenians could export wine and oil in their vases, although these were now not so artistically made and were therefore less eagerly sought, especially in the West. They also sent abroad honey and the products of their shops, arms, cutlery, and household furniture. A considerable trade in books was growing up. With papyrus brought from Egypt books were made in the form of rolls, which were packed in chests and shipped to all parts of the Mediterranean world and even to the Black Sea. There was an increasing demand for Attic marble, while another natural resource of great importance lay in the silver mines of Laurium, whose output had greatly shrunk during the Peloponnesian War. Toward the middle of the fourth century, however, as new veins were discovered and the silver-bearing area widened, the yield became so abundant as to attract an increasing number of contractors and to encourage the false idea that the field was inexhaustible. The right to mine was sold for a lump sum to contractors, who paid annually, in addition to the purchase money, a twenty-fourth of the product. The annual income of the state from this source must have varied greatly and is unknown. Free labor, however, profited little from it, for the manual work was done by slaves. Although contractors sometimes lost money, we hear of one individual

who amassed 160, another 200, talents, which were vast fortunes for that age.

Industry was a safe and profitable enterprise at Athens, but it was conducted on a very small scale and seems to have been scarcely more capitalized than agriculture. The shop of Cephalus, employing 120 slaves in the manufacture of shields, was exceptional. The two shops of Demosthenes, father of the orator, manned by 20 and 32 slaves respectively, appear to be typical. Often, in fact, an individual with one or two slaves, or with only his sons, as in the fifth century, managed his diminutive industry, whether shoemaking, stonecutting, or some other enterprise. During the fourth century the cost of living nearly doubled. The normal price of wheat per *medimnus* rose from three to five or six drachmas; and there was perhaps an even greater advance in the cost of meat, a sheep costing 30 drachmas and an ox 400. At the same time, however, wages doubled or trebled. The daily pay of an ordinary freeman rose from three obols to one and a half drachmas; that of a mechanic from one to two or two and a half drachmas. So great was the demand for laborers that unemployment presented a small problem, though it must be added that the workers were not protected by any legislation. Small farms were still cultivated, as in the fifth century, mainly by free hands, but slavery had encroached upon free labor somewhat beyond the condition of the Periclean Age. The growth of slavery, however, was retarded by the humane spirit of the day, which expressed itself, for example, in the law of Lycurgus making it illegal to enslave a freeman captured in war.

Increasing commerce led to a demand for money, which in turn promoted the growth of banking. The temples had long been accustomed to receive from states and individuals deposits for safekeeping; and in time it was found more and more practicable to let out such sums on interest. Private banks of deposit were a development from the moneychanger's trade, which lay in the hands of slaves and freedmen. The great bankers of the fourth century were freedmen, with the customary metic status, people such as Phormion, Hermias, and notably Pasion. Beginning with nothing, Pasion amassed during his lifetime a fortune of thirty talents. His public benefactions were rewarded with citizenship, and the soundness of his business character gave him credit throughout the Hellenic world. The method of business was to receive deposits on interest, to make loans at a higher rate on the security of land or capital, to issue letters of credit, to grant loans on bottomry, and to engage in various enterprises. In a business of this kind it was especially advantageous to have an extensive capital and security. With this end in view partnerships were sometimes formed, or banking stock was sold. The growth of partnerships and companies was a sign of the increased specialization of the day, which, we have seen, extended to the various departments of government. Athenian taxes were, for a time, collected by companies, though this function was taken over

later by the Council. The total property of the citizens and metics at Athens, it has been estimated, was worth about 5,750 talents. Naturally the wealthy were called upon to shoulder many burdens, though the task of supplying warships (*trierarchy*) was now so expensive that it had to be assumed by groups of individuals. An immense amount of money was spent on festivals; in fact, Eubulus diverted into the Theoric Fund all surplus revenue, until Lycurgus finally called a halt.

The resources of Greece were, of course, limited. The land itself was poor, and, in addition, the Greeks found their field of activity narrowly restricted—on the east by the Persian Empire, on the west by the Carthaginian sphere of influence. From the richest portions of the known world, therefore, they were cut off, and thus from the possibility of amassing gigantic fortunes. Among other contributory causes to the moderate wealth of Greece were the smallness and instability of the states, the rarity and temporary character of partnerships and of business corporations, the love of respectability surpassing the desire for wealth, and the spirit of self-restraint which fixed a limit to material desires and ambitions. Hence it was that in fourth-century Athens, the commercial center and money market of Hellas, there was no overgrowth of capitalism with its attendant laboring proletariat, nor any serious disturbance in the proportion of rich and poor. A reason for the slow growth of specialized industries lay in the economic organization of the household, which made it in a high degree self-sufficing. Although day laborers and shopkeepers had to buy their subsistence, the majority of Athenians derived from their farms all or nearly all the vegetable and animal products which they needed for their own use. Within the household these raw materials were converted into flour, bread, yarn, cloth and clothes, leather, and other necessary articles.

Our most intimate knowledge of Athenian life and social thought is reached through the medium of the orators—through the pleadings of plaintiff and defendant in the courts of law. It is the nature of such sources to bring to the light of day the most sordid and petty side of a people's character; and yet the modern reader of these speeches is forced to the conviction that the Athenian litigants and their relatives had normal ideas of right and wrong, that they possessed approximately the same failings and the same virtues as the people of today, that there was among them no widespread want or misery, that, in brief, the average life of the plain Athenians was wholesome and happy.

2. ART

ARCHITECTURE. Probably no field of activity was hit so hard by the aftermath of the Peloponnesian War as architecture. To undertake the construction of many temples proved a financial impossibility, and, it must be con-

fessed, there were two other factors at work. For one thing, the Greeks were turning from the old religion, and, for another, there was little more that could be done with the Greek temple—unless, indeed, architects were to strike out along new lines and try, for example, to enclose space and not simply define it. The Greeks, however, contented themselves with the elaboration of old principles and left innovations such as domes to the architects of Rome and Byzantium. We have noticed a tendency in the fifth century to combine the orders; for example, the Parthenon had an Ionic frieze, and the central colonnade of the Propylaea was Ionic. This idea, in keeping with the growing cosmopolitanism, was continued during the fourth century. The temple of Athena Alea at Tegea (360 B.C.), for instance, combined all three orders. The temple of Zeus at Nemea (330 B.C.) has very tall Doric columns, another characteristic of the day. (See, by way of contrast, the Pantheon and St. Sophia, pp. 615, 674.)

The first half of the fourth century saw very little construction in Asia Minor, but as the Greeks grew accustomed to Persian rule and as trade and prosperity returned, there began a great revival, which Alexander later supported. The Ionian temperament had always loved grandeur, and it now expressed itself in elaborate ornamentation, in the multiplication of columns, in magnificence, and in sheer size. The results are always interesting and not infrequently impressive, even though the decline in taste is obvious. The archaic temple of Artemis at Ephesus, according to report, burned to the ground the night Alexander was born, but the Ephesians immediately set to work to build another (356 B.C.). This great Ionic temple had at least 117 columns, 16 or more of the lower drums being sculptured (as had been the case in the old temple). Even larger was the Ionic temple of Apollo at Didyma (334 B.C.), with its 120 columns: there was a double row of columns around the temple (i.e., it was dipteral), as many as 10 columns being extended along the façades. From the volutes of the capitals projected busts of gods and other figures, which the spectators no doubt admired. The temple was so immense that the cella was never roofed over, but was left open to the sky (*hypaethral*); just beyond the *pronaos* was an awe-inspiring chamber where oracles were delivered. (Cf. pp. 172, 173.)

SCULPTURE. If a declining interest in religion is discernible in the architecture of fourth-century Greece, it is even more so in the sculpture. Some beautiful grave monuments, it is true, were made. The frieze of the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus depicts struggling Greeks and Amazons, whose furious movements are in keeping with their tense expressions. The Mausoleum was erected by queen Artemisia for her husband, Mausolus, the semi-Hellenized king of Caria, who died in 353 B.C. It was a large structure, measuring 108 by 127 feet, and 140 feet in height. On a high foundation, around the top of



Photograph by Alinari

Hermes and the infant Dionysus, found by the Germans in their excavations of the Heraeum at Olympia. By Praxiteles of Athens, *ca.* 350 B.C. Despite its fame, the statue is perhaps too personal and too weak to be acclaimed great. In the Olympia Museum



Silver coins in the Museum of the American Numismatic Society, New York.

1. Persia; early 4th century B.C. (gold).
2. Lampsacus; early 4th century B.C. (gold).
3. Chalcidian League; 392-358 B.C.
4. Corinth; 400-375 B.C.
5. Ephesus; 394-350 B.C.
6. Thurii; 400-350 B.C.
7. Thebes; ca. 360 B.C.
8. Syracuse; 413-400 B.C.
9. Carthage; ca. 400 B.C.



Photograph by Boissonnas

The theater at the prosperous sanitarium-sanctuary of Asclepius at Epidauros, erected by Polycleitus the Younger. About 330 B.C. A theater such as this seated approximately 20,000 persons. The chorus and actors performed in the circular orchestra; in the center is the altar (thymele) to Dionysus, around which sat musicians

which ran the frieze, rose a building with an Ionic peristyle, and above this was a pyramidal roof crowned by statues of Mausolus and Artemisia, with a quadriga. The frieze was the work of four sculptors, Scopas, Timotheus, Bryaxis, and Leochares. The so-called Alexander sarcophagus (ca. 325 B.C.), made of marble and still retaining much of the color, delicate blues, yellows, and reds, shows Alexander in battle and hunting.

Though sculpture had always been the handmaiden of architecture, the comparative lack of temples in the fourth century had little to do with the absence of religious feeling in the sculpture. This was due to the new humanism and is admirably illustrated by the Hermes of Praxiteles (350 B.C.), one of the most famous and provocative statues of antiquity. The youthful god Hermes stands gazing lazily into the distance; on his left arm rests the infant Dionysus, while the arm itself leans on a tree trunk; the prop is necessary for a marble statue, though not for one in bronze, and is here covered with drapery, which is treated as a separate entity. Hermes in his musing dangles before the child a bunch of grapes held in his right hand (now lost). Dionysus is not sculptured as well as Hermes, for all our attention must be directed at the god. The individualism of the fourth century can be seen in the personal stamp which the sculptor has placed on the statue. Praxiteles has a way of throwing the weight of the lower part of the body on one leg and the weight of the upper part on the opposite arm, which gives to the body a wonderful sweep and curve. The figure is, of course, marvelously modeled; the tufts of hair are more realistic than the wavy lines and curls of an earlier period; the areas of the face form a natural whole; the body is slender and has muscles, real flesh and blood. The statue, though of a god ostensibly and though found in the Heraeum at Olympia, is, nevertheless, of a young man, slightly idealized. It has a high polish, which adds to its charm in a photograph, though actually it detracts from it and heightens its unquestioned softness. For, in spite of the fame of the statue, and when everything is considered, the Hermes of Praxiteles is not a great Greek statue. We see this as soon as we place it beside the great bronze Zeus from the sea off Euboea (p. 223), or the stirring Apollo from the temple of Zeus at Olympia (p. 222), and we miss at once the simple vigor and restraint of the earlier work. Religion and faith were lacking in the fourth century; the promise of security and stability had gone; the individual, being thrown back on himself, often thought more of himself than of the state. Sculptors tended to become personal and to carve statues of men rather than of Man. While admiring an original artist who knew how to handle his tools and materials, and while applauding his humanism, we nevertheless find that the Hermes, for all its technical skill, lacks the ennobling qualities which we like most to associate with mankind and which it does profess to show.

According to Pliny and other ancient writers, Scopas of Paros was a sculp-

tor of great power and originality. We have already seen that he was one of the sculptors engaged at the Mausoleum, and as architect of the temple of Athena Alea at Tegea he probably had something to do with its sculptures, several heads of which have survived. It is customary to speak of the fire and passion of his figures, the half-opened mouths and deeply undercut eyes, but we have so little that is definitely from the hand of Scopas that it is dangerous to generalize.

Lysippus of Sicyon instilled new life and new ideas into sculpture. Like Polycleitus, he was interested in anatomy and in proportions, but his figures have more latent motion and seem taller than do those of Polycleitus. Lysippus made the heads of his statues smaller in relation to the total height of the body and the legs longer. In the Delphi museum there is a marble copy of his Agias, made soon after the original bronze was set up (340 B.C.), a fine athletic type. His Apoxyomenus (325 B.C.), which is a Roman copy, shows an athlete scraping oil from his body and is remarkable for the realism of its contours. Lysippus was famous for his portraits of Alexander. Portraiture flourished throughout the fourth century. Statues were made of Socrates, Plato, Euripides, and others—it was another sign of the individualism of the day. The fifth century thought little about such matters, and even the famous herm of Pericles by Cresilas is more a type than an individual (pp. 279, 291). Realistic portraiture was to reach its height in the period after Alexander.

Of the minor arts in the fourth century, the coins are decidedly the most beautiful and interesting. Beginning with Alexander it became customary to stamp on coins the heads of rulers. Vase painting, however, loses all its interest, and of course the famous paintings by Apelles of Colophon and others have long since disappeared. The wall paintings of Pompeii give us faint echoes, but of more importance is the famous picture, a Pompeian copy in mosaic, of Alexander and Darius in battle (p. 326).

3. LITERATURE

As the central idea in Hellenism declined—the idea of the city-state with all its traditional associations and obligations, religious, social, and civic—there emerged two others, the individual and the human race, which were now in conflict, now in sympathy. These new developments, we have seen, affected every human activity. In literature the most obvious change was from poetry to prose. Poetry had devoted itself extensively to the state; the choral songs were chiefly for public occasions, and the drama appealed to the entire community. Drama was still immensely enjoyed—Lycurgus had “official” copies made of the plays of the fifth-century playwrights—but the production of new tragedies fell off. The decline of these forms of literature meant a changing relation between the individual and the state, a shifting of interest to private

and social affairs, and from the emotional life maintained by tradition to the life of reason, which was sufficient unto itself and an enemy of all control.

HISTORY. The literature of the fourth century, accordingly, was mainly prose and comprised three great departments, history, oratory, and philosophy. A noticeable feature is the narrow specialization of the authors, involving a strict separation of the fields. To us it is surprising, for example, how little the orator or the philosopher knew of his country's past. Before Aristotle authors were not learned men, but creative artists. The most liberal field was that of the historian, whose search for the truth made him akin to the scientist, while his rhetoric brought him into touch with the orator, and at the same time his study of motive and his analysis of government gave him points of contact with the ethical and political philosopher. The historian of broad vision composed the annals of Hellas, or of a great part of Hellas, for a definite period. By thus combining in treatment a multitude of city-states, he contributed to the mental preparation for a unified Hellenic nation. At the same time the growing interest in prominent individuals produced biography.

The general development of individualism greatly influenced the intellectual attitude of Xenophon, the fourth-century historian with whom we have most to do. Xenophon (ca. 434–354 B.C.) was born in a well-to-do family of pronounced conservative inclinations. From his social environment he absorbed the sentiments that distinguished his rank, including a punctilious regard for the externals of religion, ethical reflection, refinement of feeling and speech, an interest in military training and in out-of-door sports, courage, a dislike of the multitude, and fidelity to his class—in a word, Hellenic chivalry. His attachment to Socrates brought out the best that was in him, and in fact illuminated his entire life. His *Memorabilia* of Socrates faithfully photographs the exterior of the great master and his teachings, though it fails to penetrate to the depths. In fact, Xenophon is in everything superficial. This work and the *Agésilas* illustrate his interest in individuals, though we find the same love of biography in all his historical writings. The *Anabasis*, for example, is chiefly valuable for the insight it affords us into the composition and psychology of a mercenary army, drawn from many parts of Hellas and passing through various phases of success and peril (p. 299). The *Hellenica*, his chief historical work, is a continuation of Thucydides, from 411 to 362 B.C. Xenophon, who was banished for treason from his native Athens, wrote under Lacedaemonian patronage. To his inborn shallowness he has added a partisanship for Sparta and an undue admiration for Agésilas. In mentioning his shortcomings, however, we should not lose sight of his positive merits. His interest in personal traits, which marks Xenophon as a true child of his age, especially appeals to the modern student of Hellenic life and culture. He had traveled much, had acquired a wide knowledge of the world; and in his breadth of mind, his lib-

eral education and his ethical and religious principles he represents the best features of the educated class of his generation.

Xenophon's literary style betrays almost no influence of the rhetoric which flourished in his day. Akin to rhetoric, however, were the chronicles, whose interest lay in the collection and the systematizing of facts. Such chronicles of Athens were termed *Atthides*. To us the chronicler of greatest interest was Androtion, a prominent statesman of Athens, whose *Atthis* appeared in 330 B.C. It was the chief source for Aristotle's *Constitution of Athens*, published a few years afterward. The latter work is one of a collection of a hundred fifty-eight constitutional histories of states, mostly Hellenic, composed by Aristotle with the collaboration of his pupils. Each history consisted of the narrative of constitutional growth to the philosopher's own time and a contemporary survey of the constitution. The treatise on the Athenian constitution, the greater part of which was recovered in Egypt in 1890, is the only one we have of the vast collection, though its value can hardly be overestimated.

ORATORY. The growth of rhetoric influenced not simply the content but also the artistic form of literature, especially that of oratory, which came more and more to be composed by set rule and principle. The extant orations of Lysias, however, belonging mainly to the first two decades of the fourth century, show a freshness, vigor, and independence unfettered by rhetorical bonds. It was in Isocrates of Athens that rhetoric came to full maturity. His life (436–338 B.C.) was contemporary with the whole development of prose literature, and with the culmination and incipient decay of the city-state. It was his achievement to mould the oration into a formal work of art, comparable to a Pindaric ode or to a piece of sculpture. With a delicate taste for literary form he gave the most minute and prolonged attention to the elaboration of a nicely adjusted periodology, and to the exquisite choice and arrangement of words with a view to euphony and rhythm. Although a few of his orations are judicial, the greater number are in fact essays, for reading rather than for delivery. Isocrates also conducted a school of statesmanship. The young man who went forth from his school was to possess a largeness of view which considered the interest, not of his native city alone, but of the entire Hellenic nation. The *Panegyricus*, on which he is said to have labored ten years, advocated Hellenic union. It has sentiments that might be interpreted as cosmopolitan, though the meaning of one of its most famous sentences seems to be simply that culture has become a more notable characteristic of Hellas than blood: "So far has our city left the rest of mankind behind her in thought and expression that her citizens have become the teachers of others, and have made the name Hellenes a mark no longer of birth but of intellect, and have caused those to be called Hellenes who share in our culture rather than in our descent." Isocrates' leading political principle of Hellas against Persia, however, shows him at

heart a genuine Greek, an exponent of nationalism rather than of humanism. In home politics he was a conservative who preferred the constitution of Solonian and Cleisthenic times, and wrote the *Areopagiticus* to prove his point, without realizing that reform by such reaction was neither wise nor practicable.

The growth of the Macedonian power, which divided men into two parties, Macedonian and anti-Macedonian, brought the oratory of Athens to a height of perfection. In Athens, we have seen, the most conspicuous defender of Philip was Aeschines, the most brilliant opponent Demosthenes. The orator of this period learned not only to appeal to reason, but to play upon all the keys of human emotion. To the winsome *ethos* of Lysias, and to the argumentative skill of Isaeus, he added a vehemence that overwhelmed his hearers. Demosthenes, the greatest orator of antiquity, was the son of a well-to-do manufacturer, but he was left fatherless in childhood and cheated of his inheritance by his guardians. He grew up in poor health, unsocial, seemingly unfitted for active life, and cherishing the desire for vengeance on those who had wronged him. To accomplish this, and in order to serve his country as a statesman, Demosthenes overcame a weak voice by prolonged training and prepared himself for the life of an orator. He steeped his mind in Thucydides, whence he drew his knowledge of the past and his militant ideal of the state. From Isocrates and others he learned useful lessons, and for delivery he studied under a successful actor. Behind this external equipment we discover a literary genius unsurpassed, and a burning patriotism combined with the religious zeal of a prophet, the practical statesman, who in the sweep of his eloquence never fails to point out the concrete way to success, the moral idealist, the champion of local freedom against encroaching despotism and of a high culture against the advance of an inferior civilization. If Demosthenes opposed the events that contributed to the universalization of Hellenism, at least he enriched Hellenism by his supreme oratory, and still more by his defense of human freedom, the greatest gift of Hellas to mankind (p. 326).

PHILOSOPHY. The third great department of literature in the fourth century was philosophy. Plato, the great creative philosopher of the age, was born at Athens in 427 B.C. of aristocratic parents. A kinsman was Critias, the violent leader of the Thirty Tyrants. On the overthrow of this oligarchy Plato thought of entering public life; but the condemnation of Socrates, his revered master, awakened in him a suspicion of democracy. He could do nothing, therefore, but remain in private life and satisfy his political longings with the creation of ideal constitutions or appeal to a tyrant, such as Dionysius of Syracuse, for the realization of his vision of the perfect state. It was probably in the year 387 B.C. that Plato opened in his private house a school called the Academy from its nearness to the public garden of that name.

His literary works are *Dialogues*. We know that he considered these writ-

ings a popular presentation of such views as in his opinion the laity could understand. In his school he lectured more learnedly on mathematics, astronomy, harmonics, and ethics. Concerning these lectures of Plato we have only mere hints. *Dialogues*, many of which survive, had long been a favorite instrument of the philosopher and received from Plato an artistic form. They show him not a dry reasoner, but a highly imaginative poet. Though prose in form, his language is brilliantly versatile and sparkles with poetic gems. He is gifted, too, with rare dramatic power. The speakers of the *Dialogues* are living persons, who everywhere retain their psychological identity.

We should not look to his writings for a consistent system of knowledge, for through an active life of eighty-one years his mind continually developed. During this time he came into contact, or renewed his acquaintance, with existing philosophies, one after another, from each of which he received an enlargement of his mental horizon and a new impetus to creative work. At the basis of his thought lies his doctrine of ideas. Socrates had taught him that the only objects of knowledge are concepts, universal truths established by induction. With Plato the concept becomes an idea, a word derived from the Pythagoreans and signifying form. Ideas are not forms in the geometrical sense, but are colorless, shapeless, intangible realities, which the mind alone can perceive. In distinction from our ideas, which have their being in the mind alone, those of Plato are objective realities, in fact the only things that exist. The objects of sense are real in so far only as they "partake of" these pure realities.

Plato's chief concern was with ethics. The greatest of all ideas, he taught, is God, who created the world and gave to it a soul, through which reason and order and life came into all things. At His command the lesser gods fashioned the body of man, and He Himself prepared the soul, making it of the same substance as the world soul, though less pure. Each human soul is given a star to which it will return after having completed a good life on earth; but the soul that has lived badly will at the next birth enter an inferior creature. This theory of creation and human life is presented not as a dogma, but as a mere approximation of the truth, a metaphor continually varied throughout his writings. By means of education man advances toward the highest Good, which is neither knowledge nor happiness, but the utmost likeness to God. Happiness, altogether different from bodily pleasure, is the possession of the good. In Plato's doctrine, taken from the Orphists, the body is merely the dungeon or the tomb of the soul. From the body the soul must purify itself in order to attain to the good and to virtue, which is the fitness of the soul for its proper work.

An important division of ethics is politics. In the view of Plato the state is not the all-in-all of the citizen, as it had been in former time. The calm exist-

ence of the philosopher, the solving of the problems of the essential and the eternal, is a nobler being than that of the politician. The body only of the philosopher lives in the state, while his soul dwells elsewhere, untouched by political ambition. This is true of a community like Athens, he asserts, governed by the ignorant majority, whose greatest statesmen, Pericles, Cimon, Miltiades, and Themistocles, utterly failed in the function of improving the character of the citizens. It would be quite otherwise with a state philosophically organized, like that set forth in his *Republic*. As any state is an individual "writ large," the ideal state is constituted like a perfect individual with the baser parts subordinate to the nobler. In this ideal community there are to be three social classes, the laborers, the soldiers, and the rulers, the last two constituting the guardians. These elements are borrowed from the actual Hellenic world. Evidently the laborers on the farm and in the trades are helots and perioeci; the soldiers are the Spartan warriors, whereas the philosophic rulers look to the Pythagoreans as their prototype. The lowest class is intellectually least endowed, and fit for nothing but manual labor. Their virtue, like that of the soul's lowest faculty, is obedience to the higher powers. The middle class are the warriors, whose virtue is courage. They do no manual work, but devote their lives to their special function. It is upon them and the ruling class that Plato bestows his chief attention. These gradations, however, are not castes, but each is formed by a careful selection from the class just below; so that men are constantly rising from the lower to the higher grades of society. Praiseworthy are the assignment of rank according to capacity, the division of labor which makes for efficiency, and the abolition of slavery.

The education of the guardians is to begin at birth. All who have infants in charge are to see that every act performed and every word spoken in the child's presence shall be such as will contribute to the right growth of character. From seven to seventeen the child pursues elementary studies, reading, writing, the lower mathematics, gymnastics, and music, including literature. Most of the poets, along with Homer, are rejected because they suggest immoral or irreligious views; nothing but the strengthening and the ennobling are acceptable. From seventeen to twenty the youth has his preliminary training in arms. At this period it is determined who are to be warriors, and who are to continue the intellectual education essential to statesmen. From twenty to thirty the latter class are to devote themselves to the thorough study of the sciences. If incapable of advancing farther, they enter public life as minor officials, whereas the few who are better gifted devote five additional years to the study of ideas. From thirty-five to fifty these intellectuals govern the state, after which they retire to a life of higher philosophic thought. In planning for an advanced intellectual education carefully regulated, Plato made one of his greatest contributions to civilization. That the guardians, both warriors and

statesmen, may devote themselves unselfishly and untrammelled to their functions, individual wealth and the family itself are abolished. Property is held in common, and the mating of men and women is managed by the state with a single eye to the birth of strong, healthful children. Eugenics is pushed to extremes. Women, relieved of the care of children, are to have the same training as men and perform the same military and political services.

Such a state is too unnatural to be capable of realization. From the first Plato saw that no community would voluntarily adopt it, and in his old age substituted a more workable political system in one of his latest writings, the *Laws*. The chief value of the *Republic* lies in its individual suggestions as to educational, social, and political reforms, and in the powerful impetus it gives to the intellectual life of the reader. In brief, it is not the knowledge discovered by Plato, but his belief in spiritual realities, his aspiration to the beautiful, the good, and the true, his conception of the vast heights attainable by man that place him among the most powerful intellectual and moral forces that operate upon the human race.

After the death of its founder the Academy continued under less distinguished masters. Meanwhile the creative and organizing activities within the philosophic field were carried on with greater success by others. The real heir to Plato was his most brilliant pupil, Aristotle (384-322 B.C.), from Stagirus in the Chalcidice. He studied twenty years under Plato. Three years (343-340 B.C.) he was a teacher of Alexander. Still later he returned to Athens and established a school of his own named the Lyceum, after the famous gymnasium in which he taught. His system of thought is also described as peripatetic, from the fact that he walked with his pupils while giving instruction. His *Dialogues*, which were popular like those of Plato, have been lost; but most of his technical works, corresponding to Plato's lectures, are extant. Among them, however, are studies either finished or wholly composed by his pupils, which we cannot, with certainty in every case, distinguish from writings exclusively his own.

In Aristotle we discover a new type of mind, that of the scholar as distinguished from the essentially creative intelligence. It is true that he was himself a discoverer, but his great achievement was to systematize and reduce to writing the knowledge which the Greeks had thus far accumulated. Accepting in the main the method and system of Plato, he made corrections in detail; and with his more logical mind and a greater command of facts, he was able to render the method more precise and to widen the field of scientific thought. In this task he discovered that the most insignificant fact of nature is worthy of attention as the potential source of valuable knowledge. In general, Aristotle was less concerned with abstract reasoning than Plato and more with observation and experience. The work of scientific experimentation, however,

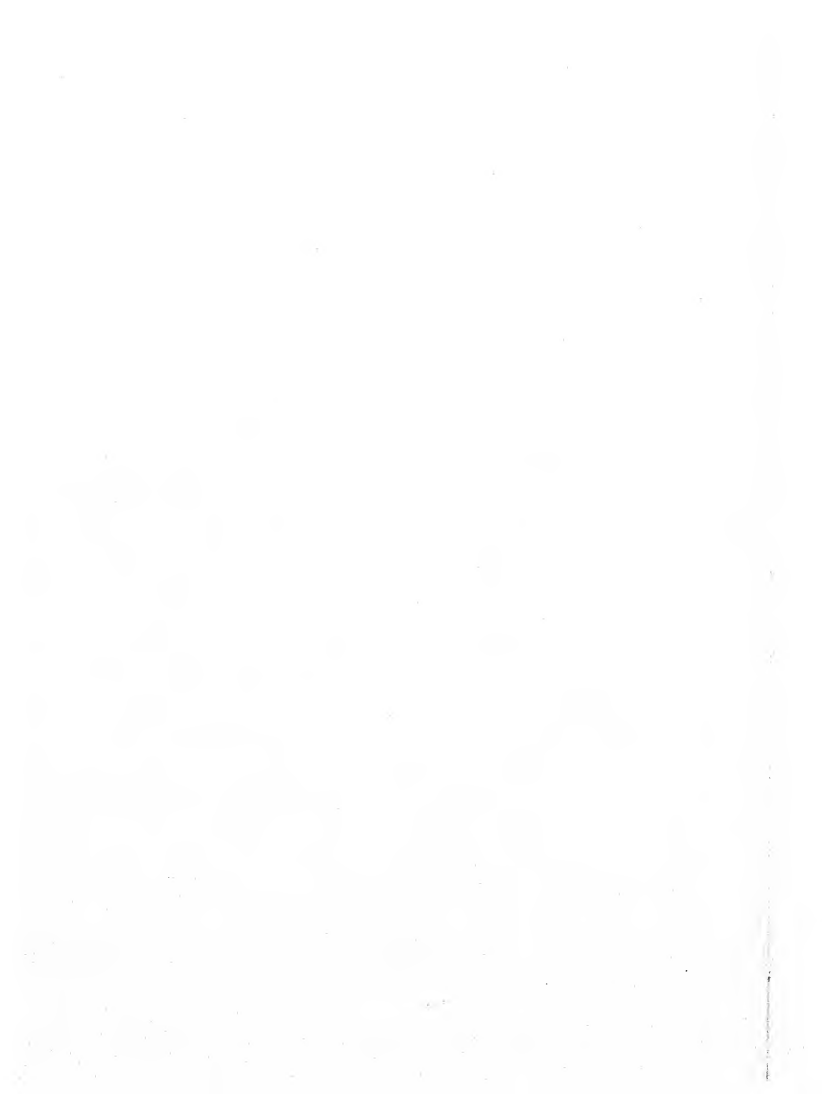
was then in its infancy, and the observer was hampered by a lack of instruments. The remarkable thing is that with his limitations he was able to accomplish so much.

The main divisions of knowledge in his classification are Logic, Metaphysics, Natural History, and Ethics. Under the head of metaphysics he places his First Philosophy, universal principles on which everything else is based. Natural history includes physics and astronomy as well as psychology and physiology, zoölogy, botany, and other studies of nature. Rhetoric and politics are branches of ethics. A fifth department of knowledge may be described as a Philosophy of Art, represented by his *Poetics*. Aristotle did not cultivate mathematics as an independent study. In logic he completed a system of proof begun by Socrates. From particulars he rises to universals by induction, as the earlier philosopher taught; from principles he reasons back to particulars by the process of deduction through the syllogism, a formula of reasoning first clearly set forth by himself.

Whereas Plato gives inspiration, Aristotle conveys knowledge. The one soars above the clouds, the other keeps his feet firmly on earth. In his *Ethics*, as elsewhere, Aristotle appeals more strongly to the average man. Casting aside the dictum of Socrates and Plato that knowledge is virtue, he recognizes that a man may know the right, but have too weak a will to do it. Only those thoughts that lead to useful actions are useful; and happiness, the supreme good, is nothing more than good and efficient life regulated by right rules of conduct. It is the function of ethics to supply these rules. Pleasures which involve mere self-indulgence are wholly bad; others, arising from the normal exercise of any faculty, though not ends in themselves, are desirable. Although well-being, including health, wealth, friends, and family, is helpful to the cultivation of virtue, it is not essential, and a philosopher may draw strength from illness and poverty.

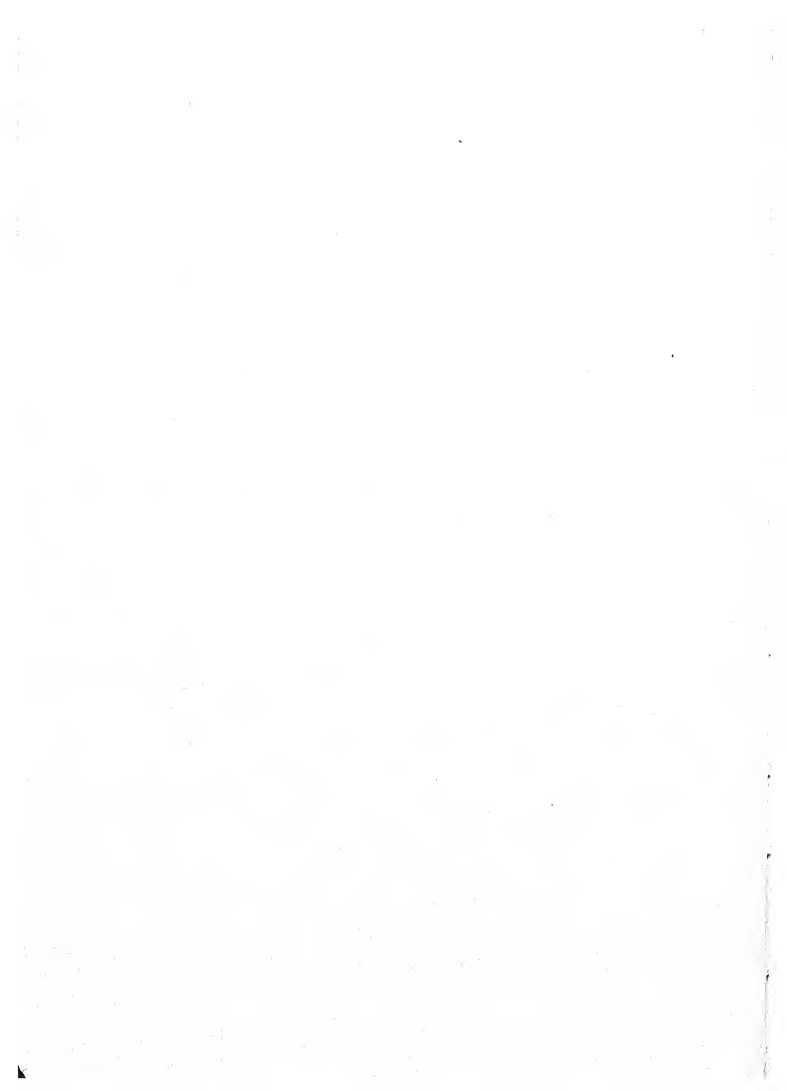
"No man liveth unto himself" is one of the strongest tenets of Aristotle. Personal affections within and outside the family constitute friendship. True friendship, involving a love of the good qualities discoverable in the friend and an unselfish desire to benefit, is one of the most powerful moral forces in society. A broadening of friendship brings us to the common life of the community. Man is a political animal, and his highest existence is in the state. The aim of the state is not simply the protection of the life and property of the citizens, but their education to the highest reach of moral and spiritual fitness. In the *Politics* the author does not seek the ideal state; his aim rather is to determine the nature of the state in all the varieties furnished by the Hellenic world; to discover the constitution best adapted to every typical community; to ascertain defects of various political systems and remedies for them. His

task in brief is to create a political science on the basis of induction from actual conditions furnished by a multitude of city-states, chiefly Hellenic but including a few foreign cities like Carthage. Despite incompleteness and an imperfect text the *Politics* is the greatest contribution to political and social science made by the ancient world. The world Aristotle knew, however, did not long survive him.



PART FOUR

THE HELLENISTIC AGE



XIX

THE THIRD CENTURY

1. THE SITUATION AFTER ALEXANDER'S DEATH

A NEW WORLD. The centuries (323–31 B.C.) between the death of Alexander the Great and the Roman conquest are known as the Hellenistic Age, for in this period Hellenism, Greek culture, became widespread. It would be as great a mistake to assume that the new order came into being at once as it would be to suggest that the old way of life suddenly disappeared, but Alexander's meteoric career had cut so deeply that it was perfectly clear that there could be no return to the old order. Alexander left neither a will nor an heir, and though the generals at Babylon might disagree on details, there was no thought in anyone's mind of giving up the territory that had been conquered. The main question before the generals was whether the Empire could be held together—the vital question for humanity was the direction the new rule might take.

Some of Alexander's ideas took root slowly, but if his idea of the brotherhood of man did not find immediate acceptance, nevertheless that of the *oecumene*, the inhabited world, did. In the Hellenistic Age man thought of himself more and more as a member of a world society, a society in which there might be (and were) striking differences, but in which a common culture nonetheless acted as a natural bond. This common culture was different in many ways from that of the fifth century, for it was affected both by the rapid rise of the ordinary man and by close contact with Orientalism. It was this new culture, in certain respects diluted and in others vitalized, which Hellenized Rome and served as the vehicle of Christianity. Alexander's policy of founding settlements was carried on by the Successors, and here in the urban centers, Hellenism was strongest. In the villages and countryside of the East the Hellenic veneer was thin, and after the first great creative push of the Hellenistic Age had spent itself and after the energy of Rome had weakened, the Oriental background once more came to the surface. The externals of life, however, were Greek. The non-Greek considered it essential to have some Greek culture, and for business reasons, if for no other, a common dialect, the Greek *koine*, was adopted.

The most striking difference between the Hellenistic Age and the preceding

centuries was the size of the political unit. Big kingdoms, modeled on the Macedonian monarchy, were the rule, though the Greek cities within the kingdoms often had a large measure of freedom, and some proudly considered themselves city-states. In Greece the love of liberty, and with it the idea of the city-state, persisted; or, where it proved impossible to maintain the freedom of individual cities, leagues were formed. The true role of the Greeks, however, was to Hellenize the East under Macedonian dominion, and, partly because of their need of the Greeks and partly because Greek opposition could be stiff, the rulers of the new world sought the coöperation of Greece. Greek mercenaries and Greek settlers were in constant demand, to say nothing of the artists, writers, and scientists who were to adorn the various courts. The new cities and capitals of the Hellenistic Age—Alexandria, Antioch on the Orontes, Seleuceia on the Tigris, Pergamum, Rhodes—were busy centers of trade and industry. A cosmopolitan population gathered in them, intent chiefly on money-making and pleasure, and inevitably the ideas and customs of the diverse peoples reacted on one another and tended to merge. At the top of the system stood the king, now far removed from his subjects, and considered, officially, a god—that is to say, his deification was a sort of symbol of his right to rule and made it easier to unite under him different races. The king was surrounded by a vast bureaucracy, for the task of governing was complex and, like other activities, required specialists. It was natural, too, for the kings to wish to attract the intellectuals of the day to their court, but the patronage of the arts, together with constant warfare, made necessary an exacting taxation.

Warfare in the Hellenistic Age was well-nigh continuous; mercenaries were a common sight in every army of the third century; multitudes of people were killed; and yet, with it all, warfare grew more humane, as the practice slowly developed, for example, of sparing the population of a captured city. Nor was it uncommon to resort first to arbitration. It is especially important, however, to see beyond the wars and to grasp the significance of the new day. The large state and the birth of a common culture do not tell the whole story by any means. We are particularly struck by the complexities and contradictions, in fact by the very modernity, of the Hellenistic Age. The scientific spirit and a keen desire to understand the universe blossomed wonderfully at this time; much labor was spent on editing the writers of the past; but superstition and ignorance remained, and the literature and art, while often interesting and sometimes pleasing, frequently strove for mere effect. Side by side with luxury and sophistication existed poverty and slavery. Mass production and far-flung trade routes meant wealth, a widening horizon, and social revolution. The forces of the day let loose a rampant individualism, for the ordinary citizen, cut off from political life—from the life, that is, which had absorbed his every energy in the past—was thrown back on his own insufficient resources and

felt lost in the changing world. It is hardly strange, then, that in his effort to understand life and to enjoy it he should have turned to new philosophic systems, to foreign religions, to social clubs, and to business partnerships. Viewed in the large and compared with previous periods, the Hellenistic Age, materially at least, represented a great improvement for the common man. Now, a citizen of the world, he might travel anywhere; the products of the world came to his door; but the high standards of taste, freedom, responsibility, and intensity of Periclean life were things of the past. Is it significant that the one great genius of the Age, Archimedes, came from Syracuse, a city-state? We must, however, return to Babylon.

AFFAIRS AT BABYLON. Alexander's men were stunned by his death. No plans had been made for this contingency, but on his deathbed Alexander had given his ring to Perdiccas. Perdiccas now summoned the chief officers to deliberate on the changed situation. Inspired by loyalty to the Macedonian royal house, they had no idea of dividing the Empire and suggested that they should await the birth of Roxane's child, which was shortly expected, and, if a boy, make him king. This plan, however, was unacceptable to the Macedonian army which, from early days, had had the right of passing upon each new king. The army declared for Alexander's half-brother, Arrhidaeus, an illegitimate weak-minded son of Philip II. The difference of opinion produced a crisis which might have been serious, but a compromise was reached and it was agreed to crown Arrhidaeus as Philip III and make Roxane's hoped-for son joint king.

The next task was to assign satrapies to the various generals. Antipater, who had been Alexander's regent in Europe, was confirmed in his post, while Asia was given to Perdiccas. Alexander's officers were men of extraordinary ability and ambition, none more so than Ptolemy, who won Egypt as his prize. Ptolemy had the vision to see that Egypt, somewhat removed from the center of action and rich in resources, held great possibilities. Most of Asia Minor was given to the satrap of Phrygia, Antigonus the One-eyed. Thrace went to Lysimachus, while Eumenes of Cardia, Alexander's secretary and one of the few Greeks to receive an important political assignment, won Paphlagonia and Cappadocia. To Atropates was given northern Media, where he later founded the state of Atropatene. The idea, then, was to keep and govern Alexander's Empire. His other plans, such as the exploration of Arabia, were perforce abandoned. Perdiccas remained in Babylon as regent of Asia, with the prestige of holding the kings, Philip Arrhidaeus and Roxane's child, Alexander IV. Ptolemy, however, had the advantage of possessing Alexander's body, which was ultimately buried in Alexandria.

Alexander's death produced rebellion on the edges of the Empire. The Greeks left behind in Bactria had long fretted over their unhappy lot. Stationed in a far-off and wild country, they wanted nothing so much as to return to their

homeland. Now, joined by natives, they mutinied and began the homeward march, 23,000 strong. Perdicas sent Peithon, the satrap of Media, against them; by treachery and with savagery he put them down, and Bactria was then added to Aria and Drangiana and given to the satrap Stasanor. At the same time, and perhaps in coöperation, the Lamian War broke out in Greece. It will be recalled that Hypereides and the war party got the upper hand at Athens and that Antipater, supported by Craterus, finally defeated the Greeks and converted them into subjects (p. 351).

It was impossible that these ambitious generals should remain at peace with one another. It took forty years of fighting among Alexander's Successors (Diadochi) before the new order assumed final shape. These wars were due to various causes: the desire of personal aggrandizement was certainly one; the need for secure frontiers was another; but it was also necessary to protect trade routes, to control the sources of war materials, and to draw from Greece an uninterrupted supply of mercenaries. The art of war was correspondingly developed, too. Stronger city walls had to be built to withstand the new artillery, the repeating catapults, flame carriers, and immense movable towers. Quinqueremes and other large warships, with catapults, were built, though their superiority over the trireme is doubtful. Another feature of Hellenistic warfare was the use of large numbers of elephants, whose proper function was to serve as a screen against cavalry attacks. The cavalry was the chief arm of offense, even the phalanx being subordinated to it. Diplomacy, intrigue, propaganda, and the emergence of women in political life were other natural developments. Even though the people of Macedonia would never have a woman as ruler, the Successors wished, above all else, to marry into the royal family of Philip II. Most of the Hellenistic queens were simply wives and mothers, and when they exerted influence at all, it was in statesmanship and not in battles. Some, it is true, were adventurous and daring, but their reputation for cruelty is, on the whole, unjustified. The Hellenistic queens present a striking picture of the growth of woman's power and ability, and in Egypt they eventually won a *de facto* equality with the men.

The next years saw the death of Olympias and Roxane, of Philip Arrhidaeus, Alexander IV, and Antipater. Antipater's death meant in reality the end of individual supremacy within the Empire, for never again could the army be gathered together to elect a regent or king, never again was anyone powerful enough to establish his supremacy over the others. Thus, not long after Alexander's death, the world seemed to be divided between Ptolemy in Egypt; Seleucus, who had established himself in Babylon;¹ Antigonus in Asia, with his

¹ The Seleucids dated their Era from this event (October, 312 B.C.). Soon afterward Seleucus had to cede the Indus country and Gedrosia to Chandragupta, the Mauryan king, but he received 500 war elephants in return.



Silver coins with remarkable portraits of some of the successors of Alexander the Great. Left to right, top to bottom: (1) Demetrius Poliorcetes. (2) Seleucus I. (3) Antiochus I. (4) Antiochus II. (5) Philetaerus. (6) Ptolemy I. (7) Ptolemy II Philadelphus and Arsinoe II (gold). (8) Arsinoe II. (9) Ptolemy II Philadelphus and Arsinoe II (gold). In the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

remarkable son, Demetrius, who was to win the title of Besieger (Poliorcetes) from his yearlong, though unsuccessful, siege of Rhodes; Lysimachus in Thrace; and Antipater's son, Cassander, in Macedonia. Through an agent, known as Demetrius of Phaleron, Cassander governed Athens tyrannically in the interests of the rich.

BATTLE OF IPSUS (301 B.C.). This rather uneasy division of the world was upset in 301 B.C. by a battle between four of the rivals. At Ipsus in Asia Minor, Antigonus and his son, Demetrius, marshaled an army of 70,000 infantry, 10,000 cavalry, and 75 elephants. Lysimachus and Seleucus were slightly inferior in infantry, had approximately the same number of cavalry, and in addition had 120 war chariots and 480 elephants. In the course of the battle Antigonus was killed. This marked a turning in affairs, for it meant the irrevocable division of the world into separate states. The kingdom of Antigonus was split up. Lysimachus added Asia Minor to his Thracian dominions, and Seleucus took Mesopotamia. Ptolemy occupied Syria, Cassander was declared king in Greece. Demetrius, who had fled to Ephesus after the battle, ruled the sea and held Tyre and a few cities in Asia Minor and Greece. A new order was clearly in the making, although it was to take another twenty years before it assumed final form.

2. THE RESULTS OF IPSUS

For the twenty years that divide the battles of Ipsus and Corupedium it is possible to treat the history of the East as a unit. The passing of the Successors of Alexander (the Diadochi), however, meant the end of rapidly changing frontiers and personalities; under the Epigoni (After-born) ² Alexander's Empire assumed its final shape of three large, independent kingdoms, whose history can be followed separately until the Roman conquest, when they became integral parts of a world state.

After the battle of Ipsus (301 B.C.) Cassander was king in Macedonia; Seleucus I Nicator was master of a huge state, including northern Syria, Mesopotamia, and Asia as far as Bactria-Sogdiana; Lysimachus held Thrace and much of Asia Minor; Ptolemy ruled Egypt and southern Syria. Syria was long a bone of contention between Seleucus and Ptolemy, and to bolster his position Ptolemy gave Arsinoe in marriage to Lysimachus. She was the daughter by his second queen, Berenice, and was to prove an extraordinary queen herself. Demetrius Poliorcetes, the son of Antigonus I, was, however, without a kingdom. His command of the sea and his possession of Tyre, Sidon, and some cities in Asia Minor and Greece made him a dangerous rival, and the next years were a witness to his disturbing influence.

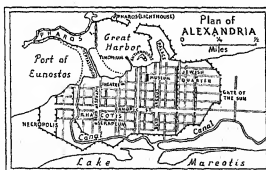
² It is most convenient, however, to speak of the Diadochi and Epigoni, together, as the Successors.

DEMETRIUS. Demetrius was an able, versatile individual, but he was also vain and fond of luxury, and was capable neither of pursuing a settled policy nor of governing well what he happened to hold. The death of Cassander in 298 B.C. gave him his real opportunity, and he hastened to Greece, only to find that his coming did not awaken the expected enthusiasm. Although Greeks of wealth were pro-Macedonian in their sympathies, most states were trying to preserve neutrality in the sea of strife. This was especially true of the democracies such as Athens. In March, 295 B.C., however, Demetrius captured the city. He treated Athens with surprising leniency, permitting the people their own laws, but he did garrison Munychia, Piraeus, and the Hill of the Muses. Meanwhile, wild disorder had broken out in Macedonia, where the sons of Cassander were quarreling over the succession. Taking advantage of this, Demetrius marched to Macedonia, and without much difficulty had himself proclaimed king in the spring of 294 B.C. Within a decade Demetrius lost all his dominions and met his own end in Asia Minor.

SELEUCUS, ANTIOCHUS, AND PTOLEMY. The death of Demetrius relieved the tension of the Greek world but momentarily. He had left behind a son—Antigonus II Gonatas, as he became known—who was a grandson, on his mother's side, of Alexander's old regent, Antipater. It was the ambition of Antigonus Gonatas to restore his father's kingdom. At the same time Seleucus, who had hastened Demetrius' end, set to work to consolidate his own power. The son whom he had had by Apama, the daughter of Alexander's great Sogdian opponent Spitamenes, he made joint king with himself. Antiochus I, as the son was called, took Seleuceia, a new foundation on the Tigris, as his capital, and from there he governed the eastern satrapies. Seleucus resided at the great capital of his own creation, Antioch on the Orontes. Finally, the death of Demetrius brought much of his fleet into Ptolemy's hands, together with Sidon, Tyre and other possessions. Ptolemy had been busy putting his household in order. He repudiated his wife Eurydice, Antipater's daughter, and married his mistress Berenice. Two years later he associated with himself in the kingship the son he had by this union, Ptolemy II Philadelphus. In 283 B.C., after a notable reign, Ptolemy I died.

BATTLE OF CORUPEDIUM (281 B.C.). Ptolemy's death brought to the front the rivalry between Seleucus and Lysimachus, the Thracian king, for each coveted Asia Minor. In the battle that followed, at Corupedium in Lydia (281 B.C.), Lysimachus was killed; but soon after his victorious crossing of the Hellespont, Seleucus, the last of Alexander's companions, was murdered. This left his son, Antiochus, as master of most of Alexander's Empire (excepting Egypt and the Indus country).

THE GALATIANS. It was at this juncture that wild bands of Celts, known as Gauls or Galatians, burst upon Thrace and Macedonia, ravaged Greece and



then invaded Asia Minor. Here they were soundly defeated (275 B.C.) by Antiochus, who consequently assumed the title Soter (the Savior). The surviving Galatians were then settled on the Phrygian plateau, which became known as Galatia. One result of the Galatian invasions, and of their repulse, was the fame it brought Antigonus Gonatas. It also won him the throne of Macedon, which at last acquired an enduring dynasty. The two other great states of the Hellenistic world were the Seleucid Empire in Asia, under Antiochus I, and the Ptolemaic Empire in Egypt, under Ptolemy II. Frontiers might change, but the Antigonid, Seleucid, and Ptolemaic kingdoms remained until the coming of Rome.

3. EGYPT AND ASIA

THE CAUSES OF WAR. Needless to say, the three Hellenistic states did not live at peace with each other. The hostility which existed between Egypt and Macedon, however, was largely limited to Ptolemaic support of Macedon's enemies. Probably it was Arsinoe II, the full sister and wife of Ptolemy II, who conceived this plan of weakening Macedon. The Egyptian policy was due to the necessity of remaining supreme in the Aegean, not only for reasons of prestige, but in order to insure a steady supply of mercenaries. On the other hand, the continuing struggle between the Ptolemies and Seleucids sprang from a desire for power. The warfare between these two Hellenistic kingdoms was the greater pity, for, since they did not have the advantage of being national states, the wars hindered the spread of Hellenism.

Syria, as we have already said, was a constant bone of contention between the Ptolemies and Seleucids. The forests of Mt. Lebanon provided essential timber for the Egyptian navy, but of even greater importance was the fact that several trade routes from the East ended on the Syrian coast (see the map, pp. 380, 381). Ptolemy II, ruling a compact wealthy kingdom, pursued a mercantile policy. Nubia and Ethiopia, to the south, were the sources of elephants and gold; the Red Sea coasts were developed for the Arabian and Indian trade; and he now proposed that the benefits of the Syrian trade should also accrue to Egypt. These factors, however, operated more strongly in the interests of the Seleucids, who had a large, unwieldy empire and whose eastern provinces constantly threatened revolt. If the Seleucids should lose Asia Minor, they might cease to count in the Hellenic world, and if at the same time they should lose Syria, they would be practically excluded from the Mediterranean.

THE SYRIAN WARS. These were the chief reasons for the three Syrian Wars fought by the Ptolemies and Seleucids between 275 B.C. and 241 B.C. The wars weakened both states. Egypt lost its control of the sea, and the Seleucids their eastern provinces. Not only did Bactria break away, but the nomad Parni, under Arsaces, founded the strong state of Parthia. Moreover, Eumenes, the

governor of Pergamum in Asia Minor, asserted his independence of the Seleucids, and on his death in 241 B.C. was succeeded by his nephew, Attalus I. In this way the small, but important Hellenistic kingdom of Pergamum was born. Attalus, having defeated the restless Galatians in battle, stood in the role of defender of civilization.

The Seleucids had never controlled, except perhaps momentarily, the Greek cities northward, along the south coast of the Black Sea. Some of these cities, such as Heraclea, joined with Byzantium and Chalcedon to form a Northern League, the purpose of which was to defend the members against all enemies. Nearby were the barbarian kingdom of Pontus, which had been founded by the Persian Mithradates, and the Hellenized kingdom of Bithynia, whose king, Nicomedes, had founded his capital at Nicomedia. The Byzantines, however, had another enemy in the Gauls of Tylis in Thrace, who levied tribute from them. To pay for this tribute, Byzantium decided to place a toll on ships passing through the Bosphorus, but in 219 B.C. the great commercial city of Rhodes, aided by Prusias of Bithynia, secured by force of arms the freedom of the Bosphorus. The Greeks still further to the north, in the Crimea, were, however, completely beyond the orbit of Hellenistic politics. Nevertheless, they were intermediaries in the trade with Central Asia, spread civilization among the Scythians, and sent much-needed grain to the Greek world. Under the protection of the local Spartocids there grew up a small Bosporan kingdom, with its capital at Panticapaeum on the Cimmerian Bosphorus.

BATTLE OF RAPHAIA (217 B.C.). With the accession of Antiochus III, in 223 B.C., the history of the Seleucid Empire became more happy; in fact, he so rehabilitated his realm that he won the titles of "the Great" and "Restorer of the World." It was unfortunate, however, both for him and the new ruler of Egypt, Ptolemy IV Philopator, an indolent voluptuary, that the Fourth Syrian War broke out in 219 B.C. Two years later the kings met at Raphia, south of Gaza in Palestine. Ptolemy had an army of 55,000 men and 73 African elephants. Opposed to him were Antiochus and 68,000 men, with 102 Indian elephants. Victory went to Ptolemy, who thereby won Palestine and southern Syria. But Ptolemy had used 20,000 native Egyptians in his army—the first time in practically a century that Egyptians had been called upon to defend their country—and now that they had discovered their value to the state, it was inevitable that native revolts should spread in Egypt. It was also inevitable that once the life and death struggle that was taking place in the far West was settled—the terrible conflict between the Carthaginian Hannibal and Rome, known as the Second Punic War—Ptolemies and Seleucids would be caught up in wider, and even more serious, concerns. From this point forward, accordingly, the history of the Hellenistic Age is closely interwoven with that of the expanding Roman Republic.

4. GREECE

SICILY AND ITALY. Although the Greeks had little difficulty in maintaining the supremacy of their civilization over the Orientals, the cause of Hellenic freedom in Sicily and southern Italy became critical during the third century B.C. Soon after the death of Timoleon in 336 B.C. (p. 307), Syracuse was again divided by factional strife, and Sicily exposed to Carthaginian aggression. Affairs grew more hopeless until an adventurous soldier of fortune, Agathocles by name, set himself up as tyrant of Syracuse (317 B.C.). Agathocles proved himself a champion of Hellenism, a statesman and warrior scarcely excelled in administrative ability and in boldness mixed with prudence.

By clever diplomacy, sheer luck, and a show of force, by a combination of harshness and mildness, Agathocles entrenched himself in power and gained the hegemony over the Greek cities of the island. Assuming the title of King of the Sicilians, in imitation of Alexander's Successors, he entered into close relations with these sovereigns and at the same time aided the Greek cities of Italy against the native Lucanians. The chief aim of his life, however, the expulsion of the Carthaginians from Sicily, he did not achieve. The years following his death (289 B.C.), moreover, saw the rise of tyrants in various cities, class struggle, and in particular a general desire to be rid of the Italian mercenaries who had been brought to the island. Some of the mercenaries, instead of returning to Italy, seized Messina and, under the name of Mamertines, set up a robber state. This proved to be the incident that tempted Rome to engage in its first trans-Italian venture (map, p. 457).

By the third century B.C. Rome had become master of most of Italy, but the Greek cities of Italy were still free. When Roman aggressions forced Sparta's powerful colony, Tarentum, into war, the Tarentines appealed for aid to Pyrrhus, the king of Epirus (281 B.C.). Despite his genius for warfare, Pyrrhus accomplished little during six years in Italy and Sicily, and, after his return home, Tarentum fell to Rome. Fortunately for Rome, a friendly leader soon arose at Syracuse. Proclaimed king, as Hiero II, he ruled so long (264-215 B.C.) that he was able to give Rome aid not only in the First Punic War, but also in the following war with Hannibal. Roman victory over the Carthaginian led to the conquest of all Sicily, an event that proved an irremediable calamity for the Greeks. Conquest was also to be the fate of Greece proper.

THE HOMELAND. Antigonos Gonatas, founder of the Macedonian dynasty, having adopted the scheme of holding the Greek cities by means of tyrants, found his chief Greek opponent in the person of Areus, king of Sparta. But we have already said that the real foe of Macedon was Egypt, whose rulers, Ptolemy II and Arsinoe II, followed the policy of supporting Macedon's

enemies. Thus, when Pyrrhus returned from Italy to Greece in 275 B.C., Ptolemy promised him aid against Macedon. After the Epirote's death (272 B.C.), Ptolemy helped Athens, now led by Chremonides, and Areus in unsuccessful war against Gonatas. Egyptian interference so irritated the Macedonian king that he built a fleet and resolved to end Ptolemy's supremacy in the Aegean. In a battle off Cos (258 B.C.), he defeated the Egyptian navy, and three years later won the Cyclades, an achievement immortalized by the Victory of Samothrace (p. 418).

THE ACHAEAN AND AETOLIAN LEAGUES. The opposition to Antigonos Gonatas now centered in the Peloponnesus, where in 251 B.C. the eleven cities of Achaea began to expand their federal League under Aratus of Sicyon. Aratus was a practical politician who addressed himself to the main problem of Greek politics, the creation of a United States of Greece. High-minded though he was, and consumed by a bitter hatred of Antigonos Gonatas and all tyrants, he could be unscrupulous and did not hesitate to break the peace, which most Greeks now favored, if he thought the expansion of the Achaean League could be brought about in that way. Beginning in 245 B.C., and for thirty years thereafter, Aratus was elected general of the League in alternate years. Although Athens³ remained faithful to Antigonos Gonatas and refused the advances of Aratus, the Achaean League quickly absorbed Corinth, Megara, Epidaurus, and other communities, and entered into an alliance with Sparta.

The internal situation at Sparta was well-nigh desperate. Wars and the lure of the East had so reduced the population that scarcely 700 Spartiates were left. Many of the old customs had disappeared, a money economy had been introduced, the division between rich and poor was sharp, and almost two-fifths of the land belonged to the women. The cry, which was so familiar to Greece, for the redistribution of land and the abolition of debts was now heard in Sparta. The young king, Agis IV, hoped to lead this social revolution and advocated a return to the constitution of Lycurgus, but he was soon put to death. The alliance with Sparta, accordingly, held a double disadvantage for the Achaean League. In the first place, since the ruling Achaeans were moderately wealthy landowners, it was dangerous to have for an ally a state that advocated, in reality, communism; and secondly, it was doubtful whether Sparta would ever willingly accept as a neighbor a league that was based on a common citizenship (sympolity).

Northward, across the Corinthian Gulf, a similar experiment in federalism was being tested by the Aetolians. The Aetolians were a rough mountain peo-

³ Having ceased to count as a political power, Athens had settled down to a course of peaceful neutrality and the enjoyment of her constitution. She remained, of course, the cultural center of the world, a city whose favor kings courted and which they loved to honor with buildings and other gifts.

ple, a distinctly disturbing influence on Greece, and their piratical raids extended even to the islands of the Ionian and Aegean Seas. In spite of their general backwardness, they enjoyed considerable prestige through their possession of Delphi and their defeat of the Galatians in 279 B.C. The League which they created expanded rapidly and included Phocis and Locris and even some places in the Peloponnesus, such as Tegea, Mantinea, and Elis.

By 230 B.C. the two Leagues were at their height (inset, p. 381). The Aetolian League stretched across central Greece from sea to sea and into the Peloponnesus. The Achaean League included much of the Peloponnesus—not only Achaea itself, Sicyon, Corinth, and Megara, but also Argos, Megalopolis, and other Arcadian cities—indeed, Aratus had finally succeeded in ridding the Peloponnesus of the hated Macedonian influence. The strength and solidarity of the two Leagues lay in the fact that a tribe (*ethnos*) was the basis of each. They were able to grow because they held out the promise of municipal autonomy combined with coöperation, and because the power was vested in the common Assembly and not delegated to a board, which would have been regarded as an aristocratic sign. The government of the two Leagues was in many ways similar. The Aetolian League had its federal center at the temple of Apollo at Thermon. Politically, the League was a sympolity, since the citizens of a city incorporated in the League became Aetolians; all the arms-bearing citizens formed the Assembly, which met twice a year and controlled the military and foreign policy, and minted the money. The individual towns, which often were not much more than a fort and its countryside, retained their own government; however, distant towns that joined the League in the course of its expansion were not incorporated in the League, but enjoyed isopolity; that is to say, an exchange of citizenship was granted, but the citizen of the distant town could not exercise his rights as an Aetolian citizen unless he chose to live in Aetolia. The Council of the League consisted of deputies from the constituent units, in proportion to their military levy, but it possessed little power. An undemocratic feature of the Aetolian League was the inner committee of the Council. This committee, together with the general, who was elected annually and was ineligible for reelection in successive years, became the executive power of the Aetolian League.

The Achaean League was also a sympolity, with its center at the temple of Zeus Amarios at Aegion. The League controlled the weights and measures of the federation, but permitted the locally autonomous cities to mint their own money on a specified standard. Vital questions, such as those concerning peace and war, were referred to all arms-bearing citizens over 30 years of age; and on those occasions the votes were cast by cities. The Achaean League of Aratus' day, strictly speaking, did not have an Assembly (except the general gathering just referred to), but the Council (*synodos*), which met twice a

year, was so very large that it amounted to the same thing. The *synodos* was made up of representatives from the constituent cities in proportion to their military strength and here, too, the voting was by cities. The chief office was that of general, an annually elected official, with reëlection in successive years forbidden. The general and a small committee of ten were the executive of the League.

The Aetolian and Achaean Leagues were wonderfully adapted to the Greek character and marked a new advance in the field of government; the Achaean League, it will have been noted, practically achieved representative government. Had they not been menaced by the superior powers of the Hellenistic kingdoms and the Roman Republic, the two Leagues might have solved the most difficult of Hellenic problems, the apparent incompatibility of autonomy and federation.

CLEOMENES III. Though the two Leagues were often at war with each other, Sparta soon became the chief danger to the Achaean League. The new Spartan king, Cleomenes III, entertained ideas of social revolution, as had Agis IV, and as soon as he had restricted the influence of the Achaean League, he turned to his reforms. Claiming to establish the constitution of Lycurgus, Cleomenes removed the ephors, abolished debts, redistributed the land, and admitted 4,000 perioeci to citizenship. Then he demanded the presidency of the Achaean League. Aratus had spent his life fighting Macedonian tyrants and was now faced with the dilemma of appealing to his old enemy or seeing his League fall to pieces. Since Cleomenes was the new tyrant of the Peloponnesus, whose support of the poor, moreover, was a danger to the landowning Achaeans, Aratus decided to ask Macedon for help.

ANTIGONUS DOSON. When Antigonus Gonatas died in 239 B.C., he was succeeded by his son, Demetrius II. The death of Demetrius a decade later left a child, Philip, on the throne. Conditions in general were so unsettled that the boy's guardian, Antigonus Doson, took the kingship with the understanding that Philip would succeed him—an arrangement that an Antigonid could be trusted to keep. In reply to Aratus' appeal for aid, Antigonus Doson stated that he must have Acrocorinth, the citadel of Corinth. Acrocorinth was being besieged by Cleomenes at that very moment (224 B.C.), and after some hesitation Aratus decided to yield the key of the Peloponnesus to the Macedonian. Two years later Antigonus Doson overwhelmed Cleomenes at Sellasia, near Sparta. Sparta was captured, for the first time in its history, and the ephors and the old constitution were restored. Antigonus Doson was something of a statesman and, using the old Corinthian League of Philip II as a model, he created a Hellenic League of Leagues. Many states, such as Athens, Sparta, and the Aetolian League, were not members of the new union, but nevertheless it represented one more attempt at federation. Its characteristic feature

was that the decisions of the federal congress had to be ratified by the individual states.

PHILIP V. On Antigonos Doson's death in 221 B.C., Philip V, now a youth of seventeen, succeeded to the Macedonian throne. A Social War soon broke out between Philip V and the Hellenic League, on one side, and Sparta, Elis, and the Aetolian League, on the other. The Greeks, however, were war weary and desired peace; besides, the Second Punic War between Rome and Carthage had recently begun, and a new danger might arise at any moment. At the peace conference at Naupactus in 217 B.C. Agelaus, an Aetolian, spoke of the need of Greek unity against the "cloud in the West." The western shadow fell on Greece sooner than expected, for Philip allied himself with Hannibal, with results for Greece that no one could have foreseen.

XX

HELLENISTIC SOCIETY

Perhaps the most striking fact about the Hellenistic Age is the unity of the large world which had been opened by Alexander's expedition. In spite of the warfare of the various states, trade between East and West was now easier. New lands—Egypt, India, Bactria-Sogdiana, Iran, China, Arabia, Central Africa, Western Africa, Western Europe—now came, in one way or another, within the orbit of the Greeks. Alexander gave a new impetus to the economy, and indeed to every aspect of the life, of the ancient world. With the political domination of new lands, with the diffusion of Hellenism and city life came new opportunities and new markets. The Greeks were responsible for the spectacular growth of the wealth and population of Asia and Egypt and were quick to take advantage of it. The sense of unity was heightened by the breaking down of barriers between cities; in fact, many cities ceased to exist as separate political entities. The new order of the day was the large state; people were conscious of the *oecumene*, the inhabited world, and some individuals were actually thinking about the brotherhood of man.

The large state had been bought at a price, for it meant the triumph of monarchism, which was anathema to most Greeks. In Greece proper, to be sure, many cities retained their liberty, and where the Antigonids held sway, it was through alliance or the use of tyrants and garrisons. But for the new large states, such as that of the Seleucids, monarchism was especially suited. It was almost necessary in states of wide areas, with slow communications and different populations. The problem was further aggravated by the crowds of Greeks, who settled in Asia and Egypt and stood apart from the natives. The kings did all they could to attract Greeks, for they were necessary for the development and the defense of the state. Consequently, we find concessions to the Greek love of autonomy—a new type of democracy and without much real meaning, but the Successors did grant a large measure of self-government to the Greeks in their new cities. The status of the new foundations varied, but as a rule they had their own Assembly and Council and owned much land. The new cities were nominally the allies of the king, but in reality the king owned all the land round about and subjected the population to taxation and

conscriptio; in Egypt Ptolemy owned the entire valley of the Nile, which made possible a despotic control of the individual's life.

The Successors of Alexander took as their model the old Macedonian monarchy, with a certain outward simplicity to the court life, but actually they were autocratic rulers, who made the laws and appointed the officials, and upon their death were deified, if this had not already been done during their life. Deification was unknown to Macedonia, however, where all life was far simpler and more democratic, but it was developed by the Ptolemies into an official imperial cult.

The native peasants formed the mass of the population in the new Hellenistic kingdoms. They lived in villages, without much self-government, and interference with their ancestral ways was rare. Hellenism touched them little, as events proved, but the ambitious native would learn Greek and Greek ways and try for a minor post in the bureaucracy. It was inevitable that there should be some fusion between Greek and Oriental, but this had always been the case. The Greek never had any racial prejudice, of a physical sort, although he disliked the confusion which resulted, for example, from a mixture of customs, and considered his own political institutions and his culture superior. In the Hellenistic Age culture, and not race, became the important thing, but it must be emphasized that, so far as actual race mixture in Asia was concerned, there was no great increase during the Hellenistic Age. The Hellenistic world did, however, constitute a single culture sphere.

In this vast new world man emerged as an individual. He could live anywhere; in fact, the Cynics said, "Make the world your city." This meant that a substitute had to be found for the city-state of old, with all its obligations and privileges; clubs and associations might be a poor substitute, but they satisfied man's longing in part. The clubs were generally of a social and religious nature and were usually small, though the associations of Dionysiac artists were as large as they were popular. Similarly, we can understand the growth of astrology, mystery cults, and other strange religions. The Hellenistic Age was a period of experiment, novelties, and individualism. A feature of the time, along with the greater humanity in warfare, was the growth of arbitration between cities, a disinterested city being invited to appoint a commission for the task. In like manner the disputes between individuals were often settled by judicial commissions from another city, but the irregularity of their visits made them a not wholly satisfactory substitute for the old-time juries and their political activities. The desire for arbitration was promoted by trade and by the consciousness of a common nationality and led in time to a certain standardization of laws and customs. The solidarity and friendliness of the Hellenistic Age are illustrated, for example, by the way in which kings and cities rushed aid to Rhodes at the time of her disastrous earthquake in

225 B.C. They are also illustrated by the numerous grants of citizenship by one city to individuals in another city and indeed to entire cities (isopolity).

The provision of a steady and adequate supply of grain was a pressing problem for most Greek cities, the possibility of hunger being the chief cause, no doubt, for the marked limitation of the size of families (by infanticide). Some cities had regular grain funds and regulated the wheat trade by law, but in time of famine it was often necessary to appeal to the rich. The rich could generally be counted upon in any crisis, though their gifts would be intended for the entire population and not for the poor as such. Another pressing problem for most Greek cities was the perpetually bad state of finances. The Greeks raised much of their revenue by indirect taxation, but they had no reserves and no budget. The cities, however, did take a greater interest in education, which was centered in the gymnasia under the charge of officials called gymnasiarchs; a settlement without its gymnasium could not hope to be regarded as a city. Emancipation was possible for women, since girls as well as boys now received an education. At nineteen a boy went on to the ephebate, a system that was universal, though no longer compulsory; the training was athletic and intellectual, the military features having been dropped, and at the end of the year the youth who desired a higher education sought his own teacher.

The Hellenistic Age was also a period of contradictions. In the midst of all the festivals and luxury, with a spirit of *homonoia*, Concord, abroad, the condition of the laboring man was very low. Alexander's capture of the Persian hoard had put an enormous amount of money into circulation, so that the value of the drachma grew less. Prices inevitably rose (wheat doubling in price) and though these later fell, the wages of the worker rarely rose above the fourth-century level. This led, of course, to social unrest, and the familiar cry for the cancellation of debts and the redistribution of property was heard.

EXPLORATION. The desire for wealth was largely responsible for exploration during the Hellenistic Age, though when one considers the profound effects of Alexander's expedition, it is surprising how little was done. Much was learned of India from Megasthenes, who as Seleucus' envoy to Chandragupta lived at Pataliputra (Patna) on the Ganges, but warfare and other problems prevented much active exploration. The Seleucids colonized along the Persian Gulf for purposes of trade, although they abandoned Alexander's plan for the circumnavigation of Arabia, which would have diverted trade up the Red Sea to the benefit of the Ptolemies. The Ptolemies, however, did what they could to develop the Red Sea traffic and explored further down the African coast. Patrocles did some exploring of the Caspian, while Pytheas set out from Massilia for the North Atlantic; he managed to elude the Carthaginians at Gades and to sail to Jutland. A result of his journey was more active traffic along the rivers of Gaul, bringing especially the tin of Cornwall. During the late

Hellenistic period, or early in the days of the Roman Empire, Hippalus discovered the monsoons, which made possible a quick direct sail to India. On the whole, however, exploration played a small role in Hellenistic life, and the world settled down to develop its resources as it found them.

AGRICULTURE. Agriculture, of course, was the basis of the Hellenistic world. It will be recalled that in Greece property was private and belonged to the individual, but in the East, owing to the divine or semidivine position of the ruler, the king theoretically owned the land, except for the land of the new Greek cities. Consequently, the Greeks found themselves competing in the East with royal and temple estates, worked by slaves, but nevertheless their initiative and ability won them a livelihood. Technical works were written on agriculture, and in Egypt especially experimentation was carried on. Vine growing was introduced to western Asia, while the Greeks for their part had to learn methods of irrigation. Many sections of the world were famous for their special products. Fertile Asia Minor was famous for its olives, wine, sheep, and grain; Syria and Mesopotamia for their barley, wheat, and vegetables. Because of the annual overflow of the Nile, Egypt was extraordinarily fertile and produced large quantities of grain, flax, vegetables, papyrus, sesame, and other plants. From the Black Sea came salt fish, from Athens oil and honey, from Bithynia cheese, from Pontus fruits and, later, medical drugs. The nuts of Babylonia, the prunes of Damascus, the raisins of Berytus were prized and show that relatively small products competed in the international markets, while of greater importance were the timber of Macedon, the cedars of Lebanon, and the pitch of Mt. Ida in the Troad.

TRADE. All these products, and many more, were exchanged, as well as used locally; indeed, it was commerce that tied the Hellenistic world together. Each king tried to attract trade to his own state, the Seleucids looking especially toward India and the Far East, the Ptolemies toward India, Arabia, Nubia, and Central Africa, while both states competed with Macedon in the Aegean. Ships sailed the Mediterranean and other seas, going as far as Arabia Felix and the Deccan and to the cinnamon country of East Africa. The rivers of Europe, Asia, and Africa were laden with traffic. Everything was done to make travel safe; desert routes were policed and provided with wells; harbors were improved; breakwaters built. The excellent road system of the Persian Empire was expanded, and great caravans wound their way across Central Asia. Men traveled from the Adriatic and the Balkans to Ethiopia, from Arabia and India to the Jaxartes and southern Russia. There were three main routes connecting the East with the Mediterranean (see the map, pp. 380, 381). The northern one, from Bactra across the Caspian to the Black Sea, was little used. The central route was the most important. It ran by sea from India to the Persian Gulf and up the Tigris to Seleuceia, the commercial capital of Asia. Cross-

continental caravans also ended their journey at Seleuceia. Thence the goods were sent overland to Antioch and Ephesus. The southern route also came from India by sea, but it rounded Arabia and continued up the Red Sea. Much traffic eventually reached Petra in this manner, but the Ptolemies, who were most interested in the traffic, developed Berenice as a port on the Red Sea; goods were sent thence across the desert to Coptos on the Nile. There was a lively traffic, of course, between the various ports of the Mediterranean, and as Italy increased in importance, we note the rise of two new ports, Puteoli, near Naples, and Ostia, at the mouth of the Tiber. The boats were generally small, of about 250 tons, although the world saw several pretentious and unmanageable ships, such as Hiero's *Syracosia* of 4,200 tons and Ptolemy Philopator's houseboat, which was really a floating villa.

Agricultural produce, timber, wool, raw materials, and manufactured articles were sought and traded. Gold came from Nubia, Spain, and India; silver from Spain and Mt. Pangaeus, though no longer from Laurium; copper came from Cyprus; tin from Cornwall and Brittany; iron from various sections, but especially from the land of the Chalybes in northern Armenia. Parian and Pentelic marble were exported. Lake Tatta in Asia Minor produced salt, Capadocia talc for windows, Lydia natron for bleaching cloth. The balsam of Jericho and the aromatic plants of Syria were necessary for perfumery. Tyre and Aradus grew rich on the purple dye industry, while the Dead Sea produced bitumen, which was used in Egypt for embalming the dead. Ebony from India, ivory from India and Africa, gems from India and Arabia constituted a luxury trade, though in this category first place was held by the trade in spices, the cinnamon of India, and especially the frankincense of Arabia, which was used by every religion. The greatest trade was in grain. Though most sections produced enough grain for their ordinary needs, certain places, such as Athens, Corinth, Delos, and Ionia, were compelled to import. The great exporting areas were Egypt and Cyrene, Sicily, Numidia, and the Crimea until invasions from the hinterland, after the third century, destroyed its importance. Regular depots for the international grain trade were established at Rhodes and Delos.

Certain cities grew rich on trade. Athens and Piraeus declined in importance, but not Corinth, which was famous for its bronzes and had a great transit trade. New importance attached to Ephesus, the terminus for trade from the East; to Petra, the capital of the Nabataeans, whose trade was enormously increased after Parthia's rise interfered with traffic across Central Asia; to Seleuceia on the Tigris; to Alexandria, Tyre and Sidon, Antioch, Seleuceia in Pieria, Byzantium, and Tanais. The wealth of these cities was in large part, and in certain instances exclusively, due to the transit trade. Rhodes and Delos are special cases in point. Rhodes is famous for its prestige in antiquity, for

its love of learning, the beauty of its city, the great docks, the temples, and its Colossus—Apollo as the sun god astride the harbor. It was also a great commercial city, with a busy carrying trade, the meeting point of East and West. The chief trade was in grain, and we can form an idea of the importance of the total trade when we consider that the customs revenue of Rhodes in 170 B.C. was a million drachmas as against the 200,000 drachmas of Athens in 401 B.C. (the rate of duty in each case being 2 percent). Rhodes had a cosmopolitan population, with many merchants and bankers. It was the policy of the state to suppress piracy, to enforce the freedom of the seas, and to maintain the independence of the Greek cities. The Rhodian sea law was so famous that it was eventually adopted by the Mediterranean states.

To destroy the dominance of Rhodes, Rome declared Delos a free port in 167 B.C. Delos had always been something of a banking center, since the sanctity of the island made it a safe place for deposits, but after 167 B.C. its importance greatly increased. The island became an Athenian cleruchy in name, with Athenian magistrates in charge, but actually the merchants and bankers were in control. The merchants had their own associations, the Italians, with their large meeting hall, being particularly well organized. Delos owed much of its prosperity to the slave trade, it being able, so it was said, to handle 10,000 slaves in a day; but there was no real reason for its wealth, and in the first century it declined before the attacks of Mithradates.

INDUSTRY. The prevalence of slavery probably prevented the invention of machinery in antiquity, and consequently industry did not develop as rapidly as trade and commerce. Old Greece maintained its prosperity as compared with its own past—certainly there was little poverty or depopulation before the Roman Sulla in the first century—but it did not share the great increase in prosperity of the rest of the world. In fact, during the Hellenistic Age the center of industry shifted eastward to Asia Minor, Rhodes, and Egypt. Alexandria was easily the busiest industrial center, with factories for paper, textiles, oil perfumery, beer, linen weaving, metal work, and so on. Alexandria, like Sidon, was famous for its glass, and, like Pergamum, had factories in which the workers were slaves and serfs. Pergamum had a monopoly of parchment, and its textiles, particularly its gold-woven cloth, enjoyed a great reputation. The demand for textiles was large; indeed, Greek textiles have been found in Mongolia. Miletus was the center of the wool industry, as Alexandria was of the linen. Cos spun silk from the thread of the wild silkworm of Asia Minor, though beginning in the first century Chinese silk was imported. In the West Tarentum was noted for its textiles and its pottery, but fine ceramics were driven from the market by the demand for silver plate; ordinary pots came from Samos, Rhodes, and other places.

The spread of the Greek language and the gradual development of common

principles and of a common law greatly helped trade. Trade was also promoted by the growth of a money economy, which was rare in the Near East before Alexander. There had always been moneychangers, but now the world saw regular banks—private, city, and state—which received money on deposit and made loans. Commerce, of course, needed credit, and the business in mercantile loans, as well as the investment business, was large. Cheques and letters of credit were in use. We have already said that Alexander's capture of the Persian bullion put an enormous amount of money into circulation, and the fact that there were fewer mints during the Hellenistic Age, and that two main currencies became widely adopted, served further to break down the barriers to trade. The Alexander drachma was based on the Attic and was in use in Macedonia, Athens, Asia Minor, and the Seleucid Empire generally. The Ptolemies adopted the Phoenician standard, which was used at Carthage, Syracuse, and Massilia.

It is clear that the upper and middle classes were well off during the Hellenistic Age and that their higher standard of living stimulated trade. Wealth, however, was unevenly distributed, and the lot of the worker, as already stated, was bad, though nothing could equal the condition of the convicts in the mines and quarries. The free craftsman generally followed in his father's steps and was the victim of extreme specialization; for example, the stonemason did not sharpen his own tools. The free craftsman, too, had to compete with the serf and slave workshops of kings and priests in Egypt and Asia. There was a slow development of trade guilds, particularly in Egypt, but strikes were rare, passive resistance being adopted instead. As wages failed to rise, however, or actually fell, unemployment and social unrest followed. Some people began to advocate communism, especially as developed by the Stoics. There was a regular crop of Utopias, the most famous of which was Iambulus' Sun State, situated on an island in the Indian Ocean. By the third century Delos and other cities were issuing free grain—Rome did not invent bread and circuses as an antidote to revolution—and by the second century revolts of slaves had broken out in Sicily, Greece, and Pergamum. In the midst of the great trade in slaves it is refreshing to note that Delphi steadily preached the necessity of manumission; it became common for a slave to purchase his freedom, generally by a "sale" to a god, and thereupon he acquired the status, essentially, of a metic. But the Cilician pirates, who thrived on the slave trade, war, and the threat of domestic revolution retarded trade in the Hellenistic Age. To understand that period better, we must consider Egypt and Asia under Alexander's Successors in somewhat greater detail.

XXI

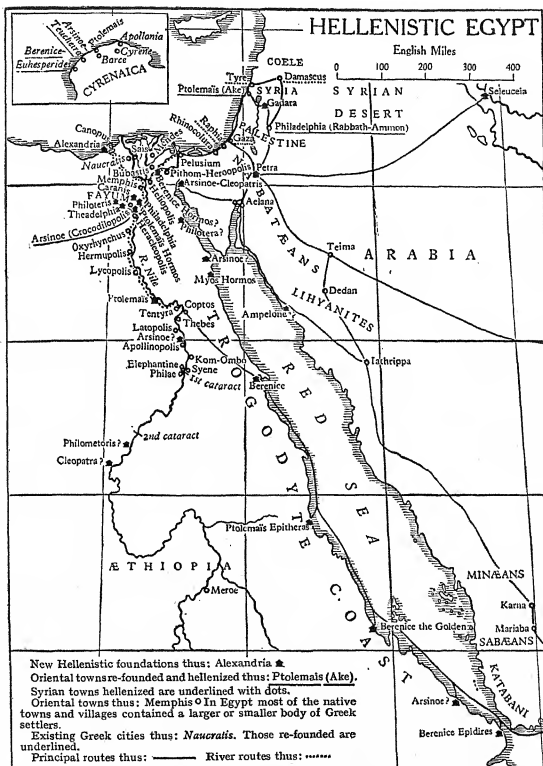
HELLENISTIC EGYPT AND ASIA

1. PTOLEMAIC EGYPT

A study of Egypt under the Ptolemies is doubly fascinating. In the first place the vast quantities of papyri that have been discovered in recent years give us an extraordinarily detailed picture of certain aspects of contemporary life (p. 10). The papyri, which are chiefly official documents, come from outside Alexandria, so that unfortunately we cannot follow events closely in the capital itself, but must draw the main outline from provincial papers; how detailed this can be, however, can be seen from the fact that we are able to watch the progress of a single lawsuit over a period of ten years. And, in the second place, Ptolemaic Egypt is fascinating because it represents a vast experiment in state nationalization. Egypt stood apart from the Hellenistic world, for special reasons, and in some ways is practically unique in history. Because the king actually owned the valley of the Nile, because he was, in other words, the state, it was possible to regulate every private activity, so that a man who wished to go fishing, for example, not only had to obtain a license, but was accompanied by an official to make sure that twenty-five percent of the catch went to the king.

The general lines of administration were laid down by Ptolemy II, and it can be said at the outset that the main purpose was to exploit the country to the uttermost. The task was made easier for Ptolemy, because over the centuries the Pharaohs had developed an intricate bureaucracy, which had, however, been allowed to decay during the Persian rule. The Ptolemies, of course, were aliens, and their chief problem was to reconcile the Egyptians to the new regime and to make it work. Egypt was a compact state, with seven or eight million people living beside the Nile, a people with long traditions, a great art, and an awe-inspiring religion. How was a new king to govern them? Obviously, Alexander's policy, which the Seleucids were following in Asia, of Hellenizing by means of new foundations would not succeed in this old settled society—and perhaps it suited the best interests of the Ptolemies, too, not to foster the idea of freedom within their kingdom. Greeks were necessary,¹ for in the last analysis the power of the Ptolemies rested on force, and this meant

¹ The distinction between Greeks and Macedonians ceased to exist.



the importation of large numbers of Greek mercenaries. Greek initiative and industry, and Greek capital, were also needed to develop the country, and consequently the Ptolemies had to offer special inducements to persuade Greeks to settle in the land. The result was that the Greeks poured into Egypt, bent on making money and determined to maintain their old ways of life. Though they were impressed with the antiquity of Egypt and stood in some awe of the religion, the Greeks, on the whole, looked down upon the natives, kept to themselves, refused to learn the Egyptian language, and, for a time, would not intermarry. They brought with them their own life, their gymnasia and schools, and formed clubs under the protection of some deity. But they were divorced from political life, and while some of them might live in cities, they did not live in city-states, so that they were destined to lose the spirit of Greece and to keep only the external forms.

The great mass of Egyptian peasants (fellahin) was Hellenized, if at all, only superficially. The Machimoi, or old warrior class, eventually assumed some importance in the state, but the power of the priests, who formed the only native aristocracy in Egypt, was restricted. As time went on, an ambitious Egyptian, wishing to rise in the bureaucracy, would learn Greek and perhaps take a Greek name; and the Greeks outside the cities, where Greek women would not be numerous, took Egyptian wives, so that distinction of race yielded to culture in importance. The Asiatics in Egypt, on the other hand, became Hellenized, at least superficially, and the Jews found it necessary to translate their scriptures, known as the *Septuagint*, into Greek. Egypt, then, consisted of a conglomeration of newcomers from many lands, overlaid on a compact native foundation, and ruled by Graeco-Macedonian kings in their own interest, though the earlier kings, at least, considered the welfare of their subjects and brought some happiness to them.

ALEXANDRIA. The Greeks spread throughout Egypt, though they were most numerous in the three Greek cities of the land: in Naucratis, an old city where Greeks had lived for many centuries; in Alexandria, the capital, founded by Alexander the Great; and in Ptolemais, founded in Upper Egypt by Ptolemy I. These three cities were the only concessions to the Greek love of autonomy to be found in Egypt, and Alexandria was by far the most important; indeed, it was the metropolis of the civilized world. Deinocrates had laid out the city, with broad streets crossing each other at right angles, interrupted now and then by squares and parks (plan of Alexandria, p. 380). The principal thoroughfare, known as Canopic Street, was 100 feet wide and ran from east to west. At its point of intersection with another street of equal width were located some of the chief buildings of the city, though the houses of ordinary men were also impressive, being several stories in height. The landmark of Alexandria was the lighthouse by Sostratus of Cnidus, 400 feet high, on the

island of Pharos, which was connected with the mainland by a mole, called the Heptastadion. Here were the busy harbors and docks. Alexandria, however, will be chiefly remembered for its Museum and Library, which Demetrius of Phaleron had helped Ptolemy I to found. Here we see the bid of the Ptolemies to create a sort of university center, rivaling Athens and giving some glamor and substance to a rule which, at heart, was sordid. The best scholars, scientists, poets, and artists of the day were invited to live in Alexandria, exempt from taxation, and it is interesting to observe how little real influence the city had on them; their work is chiefly Hellenic, international, not Alexandrian. The Library contained almost half a million rolls of papyri, and was presided over by a succession of great scholars: by Zenodotus of Ephesus, a Homeric scholar; Apollonius of Rhodes; Eratosthenes of Cyrene, perhaps the greatest librarian, a learned geographer; Aristophanes of Byzantium, another Homeric scholar.

Royal and civic buildings dominated the city. In the very center was the tomb of Alexander; near the Museum and Library were the palace, with its gardens, and the barracks for the Royal Guards. These Guards were Macedonians and were supplemented by heavy and light infantry, cavalry, mercenaries, elephants—the basis of Ptolemaic rule. In the harbor, nearby, rode the navy, a great expense to the Ptolemies and the wealthy citizens, who had to assume part of its cost as a liturgy. The vast bureaucracy had its offices in the city, but equally busy centers were the state bank for taxes paid in money and the granaries, where the grain, paid as taxes, was stored. Theaters, gymnasia, hippodromes, the Serapeum and other temples dotted the city, while the luxurious villas of the rich stretched to Canopus, the playground of the city masses. The population of Alexandria grew to about a million, and of these more than a third were "Alexandrians," as the free Greek citizens were called. In addition to the Greeks and Egyptians, however, were crowds of Persians, Jews, Syrians, Anatolians, and, indeed, Arabs, Indians, Negroes, and Italians—a motley conglomeration, ever ready to riot in the streets.

Alexandria was divided into five quarters, named after the letters of the alphabet, and the various nationalities tended to congregate in groups. The most important group consisted of the Greeks, for they were the citizens. Their constitution was not unlike that of a *polis*; the people were divided into tribes and demes, chose their own magistrates, and passed laws through their Assembly and Council. The Jews also enjoyed special rights. Ptolemy could interfere with municipal administration, if he wished, and in time the authority of the autonomous Greek city of Ptolemais was circumscribed by the governor of the Thebaid. The court of the Ptolemies was essentially Macedonian, though it revealed the influence of the Egyptian and Persian courts, with the extraordinary number of officials and titles, ministers, courtiers, eunuchs, and slaves.

The pomp was un-Greek, but the language, dress, and externals remained Greek—the rulers, like the Alexandrians, did not marry natives, though the Egyptian custom of brother-and-sister marriage grew apace.

RELIGION. At the top of the entire administration was the king, who always took the name Ptolemy, but the dynasty is also termed Lagid, after Lagus the father of the first Ptolemy. Though the Ptolemies claimed to be descended from Dionysus and Heracles, and though the old cults of Zeus and other Greek gods still persisted, it was the mystical religions, such as the Eleusinian mysteries and the cult of Adonis, which appealed chiefly to the Greeks. The Ptolemies had to reconcile the Greeks, as well as the Egyptians, to their absolute rule. This they did, in the case of the Greeks, by the encouragement of essays upon the theory of kingship and the proposition that the rule of one man, the best, was the ideal form of government. It was not difficult for the Greeks to accept their rulers as divine, for it seemed natural that a man of great merit should be counted as a god. Ptolemy I had created a state cult of Alexander, thus giving the dynasty a certain legitimacy, and Ptolemy II further legitimized it by declaring his parents gods. Temples were erected for Ptolemy I and Berenice, the Savior Gods, and every four years a festival of great magnificence was celebrated in their honor. Ptolemy II and Arsinoë shared a temple with Alexander, where they were worshiped as the Brother-and-Sister Gods. The Egyptian religion, especially the cult of Serapis, was partially taken over by the Greeks, who were also prone to worship Egyptian gods under Greek names, but the Ptolemies, to strengthen their rule, completely accepted the Egyptian religion. They appeared on the walls of temples with the dress and titles of the ancient Pharaohs, and they cut down the privileges of the priests as much as they dared; for example, though the temples were allowed the special privilege of continuing the manufacture of linen, the linen could be used only in the temples and some of it had to be given to the king; or, again, the peasants on temple land were compelled to pay rent to the king, instead of to the temple, and thus lost their feeling of dependence on the priests.

GOVERNMENT. As the head of the religion and army, as the embodiment of the state itself, the king was surrounded by a multitude of officials, many of whom had their own courts. The chief personage after the king, as might be expected in a mercantile state, was the Minister of Finance (*Dioecetes*, manager). If Ptolemy was the richest of all Hellenistic monarchs, his *Dioecetes* Apollonius must have been a close second, for he maintained an elaborate court in the capital and owned thousands of acres, including Philadelphia and several other villages, and even found time to engage in overseas trade on his own account. A voluminous correspondence with Zeno, his steward in the Fayum, has come down to us. Ptolemy II, who, we have said, laid down the general lines of administration, treated Egypt like a conquered country. He kept

the old Pharaonic division of Egypt into nomes, about forty in number; the nomes of Upper Egypt, the Thebaid, were separate, but all the nomes were divided into districts and these were divided again into villages. The titular head of a nome was the nomarch, or governor, an office to which a native might aspire, but it lost much of its importance. The real head was the Greek general, *strategos*, who was responsible for maintaining order in his nome and perhaps was the chief judge in criminal suits; he had no control, however, over financial affairs, which were left to the *economus*. Though the Ptolemies could issue a law at any time they wished, they were content to let the Egyptians live under their old laws. Egypt, then, had two legal systems, for the Greeks, we have seen, passed their own laws. Accordingly, it was necessary to have two different methods for the administration of justice. Civil suits between natives were tried before native judges, while Greek judges went on circuit to hear the suits of the Greeks. Justice was not always speedy nor sure, but Ptolemy tried to make himself accessible to his subjects by keeping a window through which anyone might throw a petition. A mixed court tried suits between Greeks and natives, but by the second century, when race tended to be more a matter of culture, the language in which the documents were written decided the appropriate court.

An army of minor officials was also necessary for the postal service, for the upkeep of roads, canals, and dams, and for the collection and storage of produce paid as rent and taxes. These minor officials received a small salary which was supplemented by graft (though they were carefully supervised), and planned to make their work a life career, hoping meanwhile to rise in the complex bureaucracy. To keep a strict account of the people and land of Egypt minute statistics were gathered in each village, in each nome, and in the capital itself.

The Greeks lived not only in the three Greek cities, but also in Memphis, Egypt's ancient capital, and in other native towns, and in villages scattered along the countryside. They came as traders and soldiers, and to secure more room for them, to say nothing of increasing the possibilities for wealth, Ptolemy II drained Lake Moeris, to the west of the Nile, and thus won a large district for cultivation, known as the Fayum. Except for Naucratis, Alexandria, and Ptolemais, the king owned all the land, which can be divided into two classes. The King's Land he occupied himself, theoretically. It was worked by the King's Peasants, in reality serfs, who were not allowed to leave it, and who had to pay the king a large rent, in money or kind. The other class of land may be described as semiprivate; it consisted of estates given to favorites, the sacred land of temples, and the lots (*kleroi*) given to soldiers. The Greek soldiers, of course, received the largest lots. The idea was to make life in Egypt attractive, to give the soldiers something to do during periods of peace, and incident-

tally to increase the productivity of the land. Every occupant of land paid rent to the king, but in practice the king allowed a cleruch—a soldier who had received a lot—to will his lot to his son, for this would insure a permanent military class.

AGRICULTURE. The land of Egypt was strictly supervised to make certain that every drachma was wrung from it. It was forbidden to cut a tree without permission, garden produce was taxed, the king owned all the pasture land and charged a fee for its use, in addition to the tax placed on the animals themselves, on the horses, donkeys, camels, sheep, goats, and geese. The state decided what the land should be used for; whether for cereals, flax, vegetables, orchards, or vineyards; the actual amount to be raised was determined in advance; and the King's Peasants were given the seed to sow. Irrigation received the closest attention, since life in Egypt depended on the regulation of the Nile's flood; forced labor on the canals was a regular part of life. Crops were rotated, excellent manures were used, new breeds of sheep were imported, the bee industry was studied, and, in short, everything was done to improve Egyptian agriculture.

TRADE. In addition to his oil monopoly (p. 10), the king had a monopoly in textiles, in papyrus, the ancient writing paper, in various mines, including salt, and in banking; and either licensed or owned outright many types of business—dyeing, leather, perfumery, cosmetics, glass, pottery, the brewing of beer, and so on. Industry flourished in Alexandria because of the large local demand and because many raw materials were turned into finished articles for export to the Mediterranean world. The chief exports were grain, paper, linen, blown glass, and various luxuries, such as cosmetics; the chief imports from the Mediterranean were metals, timber, marble, and purple dyes, while from southern Arabia and India came frankincense, myrrh, spices, and silk. The trade with the Aegean promoted money as a medium of exchange, but the Ptolemies, unlike Alexander's other Successors, did not follow the Attic standard, but the Phoenician. The currency was bimetallic, with the ratio of gold to silver in the early third century standing at 13 to 1, though debasement and inflation brought on by wars caused the silver later to lose much of its value; in the country districts copper was used extensively and, indeed, barter was never entirely abandoned. To encourage the trade with the East, Ptolemy II reopened the old canal between the Nile and the Red Sea; it soon fell into disuse, however, and goods from the East were landed at Red Sea ports, instead, and brought overland. The main route crossed the desert between Berenice and Coptos, and was policed and provided with wells. Elephants were a familiar sight, being brought from further Africa by special barges, then overland to Coptos, where they were floated down the Nile to be used in warfare. Tracks also ran into the desert to the porphyry, granite, alabaster, and

limestone quarries, which were another royal monopoly. Wages for the ordinary workman, a drachma a day or less, were so small that slaves were little used, except in households, but conditions were so bad that the workers often rioted or went on strike; that is to say, they sought sanctuary in a temple and refused to return to work until their demands, generally very moderate, were met, though some workers, such as sailors, were well enough organized in guilds to be able to force a raise in their pay.

The Egyptians never accepted the Greeks, who not only were their political masters, but had appropriated the best land and grown rich at their expense. After the battle of Raphia (217 B.C.), when Egyptian troops were used, native revolts broke out and continued intermittently for a century. The Ptolemies were unable to crush these revolts at one fell swoop by importing mercenaries, for the supply of the Greek homeland was fast drying up, and, besides, the Ptolemies now had less land to hold out as inducements for newcomers. The Ptolemies, therefore, were forced to rely more and more upon the Machimoi, the native soldier class, and to make various concessions to Egyptian sentiment; for example, more temples were granted the right of sanctuary. In spite of all this, the fusion of races continued, and, had not Rome stepped in to stop the process, would have probably ended with the submergence of the Greeks. As it was, the Greeks lost their spirit, keeping up only their language and the externals of their civilization, and becoming Egyptianized in blood, religion, and customs; in return, the Egyptians received a veneer of Greek civilization. Terrible as life was for the Egyptian peasants under the Ptolemies, it could be much worse and was under the Romans.

2. SELEUCID ASIA

If our information for Ptolemaic Egypt is fairly abundant, the precise opposite is true of Seleucid Asia. This is greatly to be regretted, for the Seleucid Empire was so vast and the policy of Hellenization so intensive that in many ways we are confronted with the most interesting of the Hellenistic states. The extent of the Seleucid Empire varied from time to time, depending on the outcome of foreign struggles, but at its greatest it reached from the Hellespont to the Indus. The problems of government were tremendous. Not only did many races inhabit this Empire—Greek, Semitic, Iranian—not only did the customs differ sharply from one section to another, some of them dating from pre-Aryan days, but each area had its own traditions of life and government, which no ruler could afford to overlook. The center of the Seleucid Empire was Syria, which, with Palestine, Babylonia, and Assyria, formed a compact Semitic mass. The land to the east was essentially Iranian, while to the west lay Asia Minor, a conglomeration of civilizations. Along the Asia Minor coast were

old established Greek cities, but the population of the interior was heterogeneous (map, pp. 380, 381).

HELLENIZATION. To administer a state of such size and complexity was no easy task. One course open to the Seleucids was to rest content with a sort of overlordship, allowing each area wide latitude in local matters; another course would have been to attempt rigid control from the center; in actual fact, however, Seleucid policy fell somewhere between the two. The old Persian system of decentralization was adopted, a wise plan for the heirs of a successful Empire to follow, but in addition Alexander's scheme of Hellenization was carried on in the hope of bringing unity to the realm. Unfortunately we do not know how many scores of settlements were founded by the Seleucids, but we do know that the great founders were Seleucus I, Antiochus I, and Antiochus IV. These settlements were islands of Hellenism, destined to bring Greek ideas, Greek law, and Greek life to numberless Asiatics—they were also designed to promote trade and to be the chief prop of the state, for naturally the Greek and Macedonian inhabitants vigorously supported their king. Since the Seleucid Empire consisted essentially of king, army, and bureaucracy, held together by the personality of the quasi-divine monarch standing above the clash of nationalities, the main object of the Seleucids in filling Asia with Greek settlements was to make of the unwieldy Empire a strong state—in short, to give to the framework of the Empire substance and living tissue. Cities and military colonies were founded along trade routes, especially along the great route that ran from Mesopotamia to the Asia Minor coast; beyond the Taurus, the Seleucids rarely held much except the actual route, until Ionia was reached. East of Mesopotamia Alexander's foundations were maintained, and new settlements were created, but we do not know whether they were founded in groups or not. Northern Syria was in a special category, for so many Greeks and Macedonians settled there that the entire district became a second Greece.

The basis of the Seleucid settlement of Asia was the military colony and not the Greek city, the *polis*. It would have been too much for any one king to found many *poleis*, for this meant that the king must find land for the city, build a wall, supply food, seed grain, cattle, and tools to give the people a start; he must also remit taxation until the city was on its feet, give it a constitution, and settle the city law, probably by the adoption of some well-known city code. The founding of a military colony, on the other hand, could be delegated to a subordinate. The idea went back to Alexander. The military colony was located near a native village and was settled with time-expired troops, who west of the Euphrates were generally Greeks and who received from the king the land and money required. Each settler was given a *kleros*, an allotment of land that carried with it the obligation to serve in the army, if needed. The military colony was walled, since it existed primarily for defense. It was a

planned foundation, with its own officials and with some control of its internal affairs. The official language was Greek. Every military colony hoped in time to become a full *polis*; that is to say, the inhabitants, whether Greeks or not, hoped to achieve Greek organization and civic forms. The *poleis*, many of which were founded with the help of the old Ionian cities, had of course greater autonomy, with their own Council and Assembly; the Greek population was divided into tribes and elected the magistrates. The king's representative (*epistates*) within the city stood above the clash of nationalities. These new cities were tied to the king by any terms he wished to impose; in fact, the rights of the various cities within the Empire constituted almost the sole limitation to the king's power. The evolution of the military colonies into *poleis* was one of the great achievements of the Seleucids, for it was this which really affected Asia, since it caused many Asiatics to desire the form of the Greek *polis*.

GOVERNMENT. The problem of the Seleucids was not simply to govern Greeks and natives, for the Greeks themselves formed two classes, those of the old cities in Asia Minor and those of the new foundations. The Asiatics, we have already said, had their own age-old traditions of life. The picture was further complicated by the existence in western Asia and Asia Minor of a large number of temple-states. These temple-states, which were of great antiquity, had generally succeeded in maintaining their separate existence, no matter who happened to rule Asia. The territory of a temple-state varied in size, but its center was a town, with priests, temple, and female sacred slaves, sometimes several thousand in number, who for a period prostituted themselves to the Great Mother of Asia. The district roundabout was cultivated by the peasants, who were serfs, and each year a colorful fair was held in the town. The Empire inherited by the Seleucids also contained great estates owned by grandees, who lived in fortified castles and looked upon themselves as independent; and, indeed, within the Empire, or on its very borders, were independent native dynasts, such as those of Armenia, Phrygia, Pontus, and Cappadocia.

The only practicable plan for the Seleucids was to stand in a different relation to the various peoples, cities, and states within the Empire, enforcing their will where they could and yielding where it was politic. The general scheme of administration can be recovered, though our sources fail us at many points. At the head of the state was the king, descended from Apollo and worshiped, by some Greeks at least, as a Benefactor; the cult of the king served as a bond for the entire Empire. The king's court was essentially Macedonian, with oriental features. In addition to the Chief Minister, Council, and Secretariat, there were Friends, Kinsmen, tutors, physicians, and so on. The court was not unlike the Egyptian, except that it was not nearly so elaborate, and the entire government was far less bureaucratic. This was due primarily to the

fact that the Seleucids did not rule a compact state, like Egypt, and secondarily to the great cost of war, foreign and domestic. The Persian system of government through satrapies was taken over. The country was divided into 25 or more satrapies. The governor of each satrapy was a general, but the financial administration was under a separate official, called the *economus*, who was responsible to the *Dioecetes* at Antioch. The famous royal roads and postal service united various parts of the Empire.

If the policy of intensive Hellenization differentiated the Seleucids from the Ptolemies, so too did their treatment of the land. The Seleucids had inherited what was called King's Land, and this was very extensive. Some of it they occupied themselves, theoretically, and it was worked by the King's Peasants, who paid taxes in kind or money to officials of the state. The rest of the King's Land was held in grant by wealthy landowners; for example, by the grandees mentioned above; the workers on these lands were serfs. The old Greek cities of Asia Minor were intermittently free and subject, depending on the strength of the individual king; speaking generally, they were tied to the Seleucids by an alliance. At times they were taxed, at times not; but on the whole they were allowed internal autonomy, and each had its city land. Ephesus, at the end of a great trade route, was the largest city on the coast of Asia Minor, but Miletus, which had a thriving wool industry, had at least 100,000 souls, and so too, probably, did Smyrna. Nearby, in the Aegean, were Delos, a center of brokers rather than a city, and Rhodes, a great social and cultural capital, which believed in free trade and tried to maintain a balance of power in the world. Greek and Macedonian soldiers, as already stated, were placed on the land by the thousand. The king probably retained title to the land, which was now regained for cultivation. In the new foundations Greeks predominated, of course, since one of the primary purposes was the Hellenization of the Empire, but many other races congregated in them, each race generally forming its own quarter. Different types of land—King's Land, temple land, and the city land of the Greek cities—no less than the diverse races in the Empire contributed to the problems of the Seleucids.

ANTIOCH. The capital of this great Empire was in northern Syria, at Antioch on the Orontes. Antioch was a Greek city of about half a million inhabitants, but it included many Jews, Syrians, and other people. Josephus, the historian of the Jews, tells us that the Jews enjoyed the same rights as the Greeks. The Greeks were divided into tribes and 18 demes, and had their own Assembly, Council, and magistrates. Antioch was not a center of learning, in the sense that Alexandria was, but it did produce some good art and later became a center of Christianity. Antioch was primarily a city of trade and pleasure—its suburb Daphne was famous for its luxury, as most of the Greek towns of northern Syria were, and this tradition has been confirmed by the quanti-

ties of house mosaics, some of them very fine, which the excavations have uncovered. Circumstances, however, forced the Seleucids to spend little upon artists and officials, though, as the capital city, Antioch was naturally the center of the land-registry bureau and other offices. Near Antioch was Apamea, the arsenal of the Empire, where weapons, war elephants, 300 stallions, and 30,000 mares were kept; and not far from the mouth of the Orontes lay Antioch's port, Seleuceia in Pieria. Further down the coast was the commercial city of Laodicea. The capital of the eastern part of the Empire was Seleuceia on the Tigris, where the heir apparent generally lived. This great city, with its 600,000 inhabitants, was larger than Antioch itself; many different peoples lived in it, with the Greeks, who were formed in a *polis*, predominating.

TRADE. The lifeblood of the Seleucid Empire was trade. A glance at the map on pp. 380, 381 will show that Seleuceia on the Tigris was the terminus for the overland trade from the eastern provinces and for the trade coming up the Persian Gulf, which, it was hoped, would damage the Red Sea traffic of the Ptolemies. From Seleuceia on the Tigris the caravans went north along the Tigris or Euphrates to Zeugma and Antioch, and thence over the Taurus to Ionia. At Dura-Europos, on the Euphrates, an alternate route later crossed the Syrian desert to the oasis of Palmyra and continued to the great highway running north from Petra through Damascus to Antioch; this "highway," it will be seen, also joined at various points the parallel coast road from Pelusium and Tyre to Antioch. Fleets stationed in the Persian Gulf and Mediterranean, together with the army of regular soldiers and mercenaries, protected this trade and commerce; but of equal importance were the military colonies and cities, especially those in the interior of Asia Minor, at river crossings, oases, and other strategic points.

The Seleucids placed a tax on commerce, but unfortunately our knowledge of the entire subject is very slight. We do know, however, that Seleucid taxes were relatively light, much less than the Egyptian. The Seleucids derived a large income from the famous tithe on King's Land, which took a fixed percentage from a peasant and not a fixed amount—the hated Ptolemaic system might ruin a peasant in a poor year. The sums paid by cities as taxes or tribute constituted another source of income, as did harbor dues and the mines, one of the few state monopolies. Various industries flourished in the Empire, and an inscription from Sardes, the capital of Lydia and the center for the manufacture of beautiful carpets, reveals how the temples, through their wealth and corporate permanence, fulfilled many of the functions of modern banks. The Attic standard was adopted for the coinage, with mints at Antioch and in the provinces.

The Greek cities, with their ephebes, gymnasia, and theaters, spread Hel-

lenism throughout the Empire, but the Asiatic remained, at bottom, unaffected by Greek civilization. In the Greek cities of Asia Minor Hellenism remained fairly pure, and elsewhere in Asia the Greeks maintained their political organization, their names and language, and, above all, their laws, though their life and religion were greatly modified by the Asiatics. The native elements in Iran successfully resisted Hellenism, especially in religious matters, partly because the Seleucids followed a policy of peaceful fusion, without trying to suppress the Asiatic element, and partly because Greek culture was of the city, whereas Zoroastrianism was the religion of the cultivated land. The Seleucids never won the confidence of the Iranian landowners, which Alexander had recognized as vital; in fact, the Iranian civilization, like the Babylonian, was too strong for the Greeks to affect. Perhaps, however, the chief reason why the Seleucids failed to Hellenize Asia was because the area was too vast.

The Seleucids had many enemies. They stabilized their relations with the native dynasts of Asia Minor by treaties, but the Galatians and Ptolemies and ultimately the Romans opposed them. The greatest enemy of the Seleucid Empire, however, was Pergamum. For a brief period in the third century, and again from 188–133 B.C., Pergamum ruled much of Asia Minor and hence deprived the Seleucids of one of their most important areas. The Attalids were looked upon as intruders in the Hellenistic world, upstarts who finally betrayed Hellenism by willing their state to Rome. Because of their opposition to the Galatians, however, the Attalids liked to look upon themselves as the defenders of Hellenism. They made their capital, Pergamum, a center of the Greek world, where a few literary persons and some excellent artists gathered. The great altar to Zeus Soter, the library, temples, theaters, and gymnasia made the city something of a show place. The Attalids themselves lived simply, as far as appearances went at least, their palace being little more than a private house, and they further proclaimed their devotion to Hellenism by gifts to Greece.

3. BACTRIA AND INDIA

The Hellenistic kingdoms, as we have seen, knew three state forms: Antigonid Macedonia, with a monarchy limited by the rights of the people under arms; Seleucid Asia, with a monarchy limited by the rights of many more or less autonomous cities; and Ptolemaic Egypt, with an unfettered monarchy. (The Attalids of Pergamum, who were successively the protégés of Egypt and Rome, were of secondary importance.) These three state forms, though each went back to some aspect of Alexander's monarchy, were not voluntarily limited by the rights of the native subjects, except in religious matters. The significance of the Greek kingdom of Bactria and India is that it tried to put in practice Alexander's dream of coöperation between peoples. Until recently

the story of the Bactrian Greeks has been relegated to Indian history, where it has no meaning, but, thanks to the labors of a distinguished British scholar, W. W. Tarn, our very fragmentary evidence—brief notices in Oriental and Western literature, and coins ²—has been sorted and arranged, so that we now have, not four, but five Hellenistic dynasties.

About the middle of the third century before Christ, when the Seleucid grip on the East was weakening and the Parni were creating their kingdom of Parthia, Bactria (today northern Afghanistan) became the shield of the Graeco-Iranian world against the nomads, just as previously Macedonia had protected the Greeks from the barbarians of the North. Bactria, then, was a march state. History abundantly proves that such a state, under the stimulus of external pressure, can develop so much strength that it will not only master the pressure, but have plenty of energy over for other purposes. (See the map, pp. 380, 381, and the rear endpaper.)

The period of Bactrian history which chiefly concerns us is covered by three reigns, those of Euthydemus, his son Demetrius, and Demetrius' son-in-law Menander; roughly the first half of the second century B.C. Toward the end of the third century the satrapy of Bactria-Sogdiana, under Diodotus, had slowly broken away from the Seleucid Empire, but its real history as an independent kingdom began, as we have just said, with Euthydemus, an able Greek from Magnesia on the Maeander, who had a Seleucid wife.

EUTHYDEMUS. Conspiring to make himself king, Euthydemus confined himself, so long as the Seleucids were strong, to what had been the Bactrian satrapy; that is, to Bactria and Sogdiana. Indeed, in 208 B.C., he had to stand a siege of two years from Antiochus III the Great, which was only terminated when it was brought home to Antiochus what would happen to the Hellenic world if Euthydemus should call the Sacas and other nomads to the rescue. Antiochus raised the siege and made an alliance with Euthydemus, and then, after a brief glimpse of India, as if he were Alexander, returned home. This enabled Euthydemus to strike out in another direction, across the Jaxartes River, on the route to Chinese Turkestan. He hoped that he might reopen the old gold route to China, and though he failed to obtain gold, he did procure nickel, which originated in China. Euthydemus was responsible for Hellenic influences and products traveling far to the East. Bactria's most important trade, however, was with India; the capital Bactra (modern Balkh) was a clearing house for the Indian trade with the West (cf. the map, pp. 4, 5).

The kernel of Euthydemus' kingdom was Bactria and southern Sogdiana, an enormously fertile country. Bactria became famous as "the land of a thousand cities," and Bactra as "the paradise of the earth." Bactra, the traditional

² The Bactrian coins, with their wonderful portraiture, are purely Greek and show the vitality of Hellenism in the East (p. 212).

home of Zoroastrianism, was a great fortress, with a striking temple to its native goddess Anaïtis. The first business of the Greek king of Bactria was to protect this land, the gateway of Iran, from the semibarbarism of the north, and in particular to guard against the strong confederacy of the Massagetae, who were massed across the Oxus and Jaxartes rivers. For purposes of administration and defense Bactria-Sogdiana was divided into a number of satrapies; the governors were generals, and on the whole the administrative system was based on that of the Seleucids.

How are we to explain "the thousand cities" of Bactria? The only explanation possible is that the Euthydemids so raised the general level of the serf population, and therefore of the villages, that the serf village evolved into an organized and quasi-autonomous township. This was one of the most important things done by the Greeks in Asia, for it was this which really touched the native mass. In some way, too, the Euthydemids won the loyalty of the Bactrian aristocracy. We must imagine something like a double state, with the Bactrian landowners managing their estates and yet coming to court and sharing in the administration. Unlike any of the other Successors, the Euthydemids gained the support of Iran, because they took it into partnership.

DEMETRIUS. After the death of Euthydemus in 189 B.C., his son, Demetrius, annexed the Seleucid provinces of Aria and Arachosia, which gave him control of the trade routes between India and the West. His thoughts then turned to India. He intended to sit on the throne of the Mauryas as Alexander had sat on that of the Persian Achaemenids. His idea of an empire, which was to be a kind of partnership between Greek and Indian, was inspired by the Alexander who had dreamt of a human brotherhood. Demetrius was not guided by sentiment any more than Euthydemus had been; but, desiring a great empire, the two men believed that in the world of their day coöperation between Greek and Asiatic, such as Alexander had envisaged, offered the best chance of making one.

Profound changes had taken place in India since Alexander's day. Then it had been a land of disconnected states, but soon after his death much of the country, including most of the peninsula, was welded into a strong empire by the great Maurya, Chandragupta, and his grandson, Asoka. Their capital was at Pataliputra (Patna) on the Ganges. The Greeks knew something of Chandragupta from the Seleucid envoy Megasthenes. It is important for what follows to note that Asoka was converted to Buddhism, though Brahmanism remained strong.

INVASION OF INDIA. The death of Asoka and the decline of the Mauryan Empire gave Demetrius his opportunity. In 183 B.C. he crossed the Hindu Kush to the land of the Paropamisadae, a district full of Greeks which he already controlled, and descended the Cabul Valley (known as Gandhara) to

the Indus River. Demetrius, however, came to India as no ordinary conqueror, for, as we have said, he took Alexander as his model. He wore the elephant scalp, the symbol of Alexander's power, and, after crossing the Indus, assumed the title "Invincible," which had been conferred on Alexander by the Delphic Apollo. Demetrius made Taxila his capital, which insured close connections with Bactria. Then he sent a Greek commoner who had been born in the Paropamisadae, Menander by name, eastward. Menander occupied Sagala (Sialkot) in the Punjab and even captured the Mauryan capital, Pataliputra on the Ganges. Meanwhile, Demetrius marched down the Indus, overran Sind, where Patala was refounded as Demetrias, and conquered the coastal provinces east of the Indus delta.

What was the reason for Demetrius' success? How could he conquer so much of India and traverse such extraordinary distances? Clearly it would have been impossible, had he met consistently hostile peoples as Alexander had. This brings us back to Asoka's conversion to Buddhism, which had become the official religion of the Empire. During the second century, however, there was a resurgence of Brahmanism. A Brahman murdered the last Maurya, seized the crown, and tried to restore the Brahman religion as the religion of India, an action which offended the Buddhists. The Greeks made use of these feelings and fought the Brahman usurper, not because he was a Brahman—a Greek rarely troubled about the next man's religion—but because they both wanted the same thing, the huge derelict Empire. In the struggle the Greeks found the Buddhists useful political allies, and that is why the conquest was so easy.

We can imagine Demetrius coming to India and proclaiming the "freedom" of the people; in fact, we catch an echo of his proclamations on the coinage, which bear the legend "Soter" (Savior). In Demetrius' brain, too, was conceived the plan of organization. The new realm was to be a partnership of Greek and Indian, with himself as the head of both races. He was to be an Indian king no less than a Greek one. In this spirit he rebuilt Taxila, his capital, as an Indian rather than a Greek city; and, contrary to the Seleucid practice with regard to Greek cities with dynastic names, he admitted Indians as citizens of Demetrias in Sind. He also issued a bilingual coinage, with a Greek legend on the obverse, and a Prakrit legend written in Kharoshthi on the reverse, a practice copied by his successors. It is not surprising, then, that some Indians saw in Demetrius the traditional King of Justice.

THE FALL OF DEMETRIUS. The fall of Demetrius and the consequent weakening of Hellenism in the East were due to the Seleucid ruler, Antiochus IV Epiphanes. For two decades after its defeat by Rome at Magnesia (190 B.C.) the Seleucid Empire had refrained from war in the hope of recovering its strength. Asia Minor seemed permanently lost, the eastern provinces had been

taken by Demetrius, and, above all, Antiochus feared Rome. If the West were lost forever, the East remained, and Antiochus conceived the idea of restoring Alexander's Empire, with the capital at Babylon. In 169 B.C. Antiochus sent his cousin, Eucratides, to recover the eastern provinces. The venture ended in the death of Demetrius and the conquest of Bactria-Sogdiana.

EUCRATIDES. At first glance it seems a little difficult to understand how Eucratides, with a very small force, should be able to carry through such a conquest so quickly. The answer is to be found in the abiding loyalty of the Graeco-Macedonian settlers to the person of the reigning Seleucid. In other words, Eucratides led a rebellion. A Seleucid himself, he held a commission from Antiochus as subking; that is to say, Antiochus' action meant that in the future there were to be two Seleucid realms, with himself as ruler of one and suzerain of the other. We must imagine Eucratides coming to the East and calling upon the Greeks to rise against the pretender and return to their rightful ruler, the reigning Seleucid. Once again the coins give an echo to the manifestoes and proclamations. As propaganda against Eucratides, the Bactrian kings issued their famous "memorial" coins, which gave their pedigree and showed that they, too, were Seleucids and, as they claimed, were descended from Alexander. Eucratides answered this by issuing coins which figured his mother as a Seleucid princess. The rebellion was a success, helped, perhaps, by the preference of many Bactrian Greeks for the Hellenizing policy of Antiochus rather than for the pronative policy of Demetrius—a difficulty that Alexander had encountered with his Macedonians long before.

Antiochus celebrated his great success by a magnificent festival at Daphne, the suburb of Antioch, in 166 B.C. His mighty army marched by in review, and in every way the occasion was made the Greek counterpart of a Roman triumph. He then went to Babylon, where he was greeted as the "Savior of Asia" and celebrated the Charisteria, a thanksgiving. His new coins exhibited Zeus occasionally with his features and carried the legend, "Of King Antiochus the god manifest, the Victorious." He was, indeed, becoming a counterpoise to Rome. His next step was to attack Parthia and thus consolidate his realm, but at Gabae he died.

Not much later Eucratides was killed by the son of Demetrius. The results of his extraordinary expedition and exhausting wars were the failure of the Euthydemid attempt to revive the Mauryan Empire, the acquisition by the Parthians of much of the Euthydemid realm in Iran, and a great weakening of the Greek position in Bactria and eventually in India.

MENANDER. Meanwhile Demetrius' old general, Menander, was left master of the situation in India. He was the most famous of the "Yavana" kings and became, as Milinda, the chief character of the *Questions of Milinda*; this is the only extant work professedly dealing with any of the Greek monarchs in

the Far East. Menander legitimized his rule by marrying a daughter of Demetrius, and until his death held all the territory remaining to the Greeks in India. From Indian ports were exported ebony and other woods, peacocks, spices, ivory, dogs, cattle, precious stones, and the pepper beloved by the West. The goods left India in Indian bottoms, but were brought to their ultimate destination by middlemen: by southern Arabs to Egypt, by people living about the Straits of Ormuz to Babylonia. Menander's Empire was directed by a Council composed of men of different races, for the Empire was not Greek, as the Seleucid was meant to be; it was essentially an Indian Empire with a small Greek ruling caste, a partnership between the races, in the spirit of Demetrius. Menander was famous for his rule of equity, which has led to the unfounded belief that he became a Buddhist. He did, however, acquire a legend and therefore must have struck the imagination of his contemporaries.

Menander's Empire began to break up on his death (ca. 150 B.C.), though Greek rule survived for more than a century in some places of India. The Saca invasion (ca. 120 B.C.) marked the beginning of the end; in fact, by 30 B.C. everything that the Greeks had once ruled east of the Euphrates belonged to peoples from the northern steppes. Greek rule did not last so long in Bactria, but here, as in India, the primary reason for the weakening of the Greek position was not some external force, but, as might be expected, the internecine quarreling of the Greeks themselves. Heliocles, the son of Eucratides, was probably the last Greek king of Bactria (p. 212). The people apparently rallied to him against the Parthians, who by 141 B.C., under Mithradates I, had conquered most of Iran, except Bactria, from the Caspian to the Persian Gulf. In this year, too, the curtain falls on the Greeks of Bactria, to rise again in 128 B.C. upon new peoples and new names. In 128 B.C. the Chinese general and diplomat, Chang-k'ien, was in Bactria, and his Report to his emperor, the Han Wu-ti, supplies us with our knowledge of Bactria after its conquest by a nomad horde, the Yueh-chi from northwest China. Chang-k'ien opened up to China a new world in the West, and enabled regular trade communication to be started between China and Iran along the subsequently famous Silk Route. In 106 B.C. the first through caravan reached Parthia from China, by way of Bactra.

Nothing that might be called Greek remained in India after 50 A.D. What, then, did the Greeks accomplish in India? We have seen that the Indians of one Greek city, Demetrias in Sind, and probably of the other Greek cities, were admitted as citizens and held office as a matter of policy. Taxila and Sagala, the capitals of Demetrius and Menander, were Indian, not Greek, cities. The satrapies were managed by the retention of much of the existing Indian arrangements; the Euthydemid provincial administration was essentially Graeco-Indian, under Greek generals. The Greeks introduced a calendar, that of the Seleucid Era, and produced some literature, as an assertion of their continuing

Greekhood. The two peoples lived side by side on good terms, but the Indians took little from the Greeks; Indians did not become "culture Greeks." It was otherwise with the Greeks. In western Asia the Greeks influenced the native population, but, except for religion, the only people who really affected them in turn were the Babylonians. In India, however, many Greeks knew an Indian language, and by 100 B.C. most Greeks were becoming Indianized, which does not mean at all that they became Eurasians. The Indianization of the Greeks led to the one great mark which they set upon India: the idea of representing Buddha as a man. The content of Gandhara sculpture is purely Buddhist, but the form at the start is largely Hellenistic, with commonplace Greek motives used freely as decoration. In the West a Greek might make a statue of Isis, for example, because he wanted it—he did not do it for the benefit of the Egyptian religion—but in Gandhara the Greeks worked for the Buddhist world, because it was their world, with the result that Buddha ceased to be an abstraction in art and became a man. But all the other works of the Greeks have long since vanished from India; indeed, India would be exactly the same today had the Greeks never existed.

XXII

HELLENISTIC ART AND LITERATURE

1. ART

ARCHITECTURE. The spirit of the Hellenistic Age revealed itself as surely in art as in other aspects of life. We might be certain, for example, that the growth and rivalry of the new states, the creation of new capitals and many new foundations, would lead to the science of town planning. We have already seen that Hippodamus of Miletus was commissioned in the fifth century to lay out Piraeus, but now it became the ordinary practice to build a city on a pre-conceived plan. It was customary for the Hellenistic architects to take advantage of the general lay of the land, though, when possible, they preferred a rectangular plan. The streets crossed each other at right angles but, except for the main thoroughfares, were still narrow. Roman engineers of a later day were masters in this field; nevertheless, most of the new tendencies were already present in the Hellenistic Age and some of them were carried to a high peak. For example, great care was taken with the water supply, though it was not yet common to pipe the water directly to private houses; paved streets and covered drains were still the exception. (Plan of Alexandria, p. 380.)

The new big cities of the Hellenistic Age were divided into quarters. Palaces and temples there might be—unfortunately practically all the palaces have long since disappeared—but in any case a Hellenistic city would surely have its gymnasia, theaters, baths, and Agora. The fortification walls were very strong, to withstand the new siege engines, and not infrequently were many miles in circuit, enclosing farm land against a siege. The best examples of private houses can today be seen at Delos and Priene; they are more luxurious than those of earlier centuries, are several stories high, and are built around the familiar colonnaded court. Since love of gods and city was not the primary driving force of the Hellenistic Age, we note a marked decrease in the number of temples. The Roman architect Cossutius was commissioned, however, by Antiochus IV Epiphanes in 174 B.C. to finish the great temple of Olympian Zeus at Athens. This had been begun as an Ionic building under the Peisistratids, but the more ornate Corinthian order became popular during the Hellenistic Age, and the Olympieum was reconstituted as a Corinthian structure 135 by 354 feet, standing in a peribolus of 424 by 680 feet. The temple had

two rows of 20 columns each along the flanks, with eight columns, three rows deep, across the front and rear. In the first century B.C., Sulla removed some of the columns to Rome, where they were an inspiration to Roman architects, and finally in the second century A.D., Hadrian completed the building.

SCULPTURE. The patronage of kings and wealthy citizens extended also to sculpture. Here particularly we catch the spirit of the Hellenistic Age. We have all the conflicts of the day, the love of beauty and the commonplace, realism and romanticism, adventure and reaction. Some sculptors struck out along new paths, while others clung closely to the past. There were few restraints in this day of rampant individualism. Genre figures, grotesques, realistic portraiture were in greater demand than were statues of the Olympian gods. The output of statues was very large, and, though many of those that are preserved are mediocre, some are truly great, and practically all reveal high technical skill. For some of the sculpture, too, we are dependent on inferior Roman copies.

Hellenistic sculptors were handicapped by the fact that subjects had been exhausted. Some tremendous new force was needed to carry sculpture to a different and great level, and this was only partially provided by the invasion of the Gauls. Interest in everyday life also filled this lack in part. But the old themes, of gods and battles, had been adequately treated in the past, and it was not enough now to render drapery in new ways, or to combine, in a curious eclecticism, old ideas with new methods of execution.

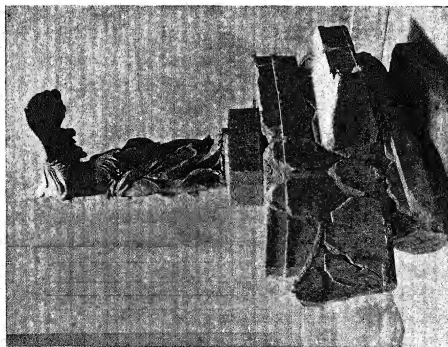
Hellenistic sculptors traveled from city to city, borrowing ideas from one another and from the past. When we speak of schools, therefore, we must think primarily of cities that patronized art and not imagine that the artists were necessarily native sons. The Rhodian School is an illustration. Here worked pupils of Lysippus of Sicyon, artists interested in athletes. They produced a strong and virile art. We have already spoken of the bronze Colossus of Rhodes—one of the wonders of the ancient world—by Chares of Lindus. It commemorated the resistance of the city to Demetrius Poliorcetes in 304 B.C. and showed Apollo, 100 feet high, astride the harbor as the sun god. Eutychides, another pupil of Lysippus, made the famous statue of the Tyche of Antioch. Tyche (Fortune) is the personification of the city; she sits on a rock, a turreted crown (the city walls) resting on her head; at the base of the rock the river Orontes, as a youth, rushes along. Another Rhodian sculptor made the magnificent Nike of Samothrace. This statue was probably set up by Antigonos Gonatas to celebrate the naval victory over Ptolemy II at Cos (about 258 B.C.) and shows Victory alighting on the prow of a warship. The great wings, the strong, beautiful body beneath the whirling drapery, the majestic dignity tempered by restless motion, mark this statue as one of the superb creations of the Hellenistic Age. The Rhodian School was important

throughout the entire period, for as late as 25 B.C. it produced the famous group of Laocoön and his sons—unrestrained, moving figures, without, however, much real feeling.

Alexandria loved luxury and art, but, except for a certain interest in pictorial reliefs and in the minor arts, it produced little significant sculpture. It was far otherwise with Pergamum. The havoc wrought by the Gauls in Asia Minor will be recalled; when victory finally came to the Greeks, dread fear yielded to rejoicing, and artists were called upon in the third quarter of the third century B.C. to commemorate the deliverance of the Greeks. The artists of the First Pergamene School rose to their new opportunity. Though we must study them through Roman copies, it is abundantly clear that these artists were thinking along new lines, that they had not only a high technical skill, but that they could show rest and motion and inner feeling as few have ever done. Their enemies had been great fighters and they carved them, therefore, as great men. This we see in the Dying Gaul and the Gaul who has killed his wife, rather than let her fall into the hands of the barbarous Greeks, and is defiantly stabbing himself. Early in the second century Eumenes II celebrated the battle of Magnesia with a monument which is now the pride of Berlin. Artists of the Second Pergamene School decorated the great altar of Zeus Soter with a frieze depicting the struggle of gods and giants. Really, it is symbolic of the victory of civilization over barbarism; the writhing figures themselves bespeak the contradictions and inner conflicts of the Hellenistic Age.

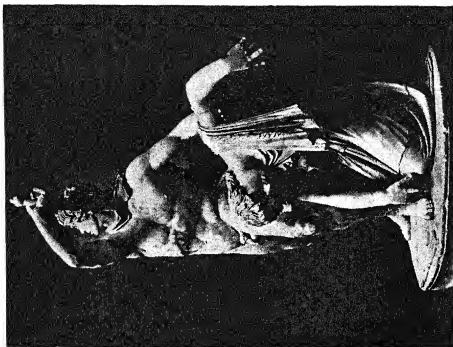
The Aphrodite of Melos, now in the Louvre in Paris, is a fine example of the mid-second-century conception of the gods. It is a statue of a serene and physically beautiful woman—technically perfect; it is inspired by the past, but lacks nobility. People were also interested in more ordinary matters, in drunken women, in old market women, in children at play, and similar subjects. The realistic temper of the day also called forth great portraits. The best examples are on the coins: the wonderfully idealized heads of Alexander on the coins of Lysimachus, and the brutally frank heads of the Graeco-Bactrian kings, which possess, as well, a spiritual quality (pp. 212, 377). Of the many superb portrait statues, few can be identified, but among the best is a statue of Demosthenes by Polyeuctus (p. 326).

PAINTING AND MUSIC. Our knowledge of Hellenistic painting is slight, for vase painting had ceased to count, and most of the other pictures have disappeared. Delos and Dura-Europos shed some light on the subject, however, while the murals and mosaics at Pompeii and Herculaneum are often inspired by great Hellenistic paintings and occasionally are more or less exact copies of them (p. 326). Hellenistic painters successfully handled problems of composition, perspective, and color. For subject matter they still clung to mythology, though they could also paint fine portraits and lovely scenes from still



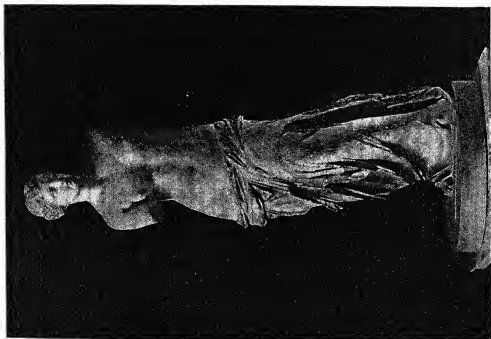
Photograph by Giraudon

A magnificent Nike (Victory) alighting on the prow of a warship. From the island of Samothrace. By a Rhodian sculptor, late 3rd century B.C. Strong and majestic, it also captures the restlessness of the Hellenistic Age. Recent American excavations on Samothrace have recovered a hand of this statue. In the Louvre, Paris



Photograph by Alinari

The terrifying Gallic invasion of Asia Minor summoned Greek artists to rise to new heights of feeling to celebrate their deliverance. Here we see a Gaul killing his wife and himself to prevent capture by the "barbarous" Greeks. This is a Roman copy of a dedication in bronze by Attalus I of Pergamum, ca. 235-225 B.C. In the Museo Nazionale delle Terme, Rome

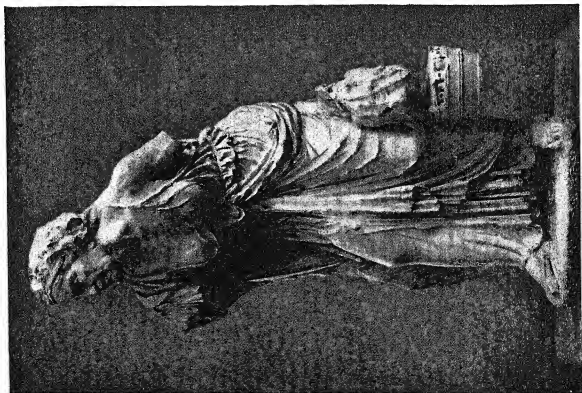


Photograph by Girardon

Aphrodite, from the island of Melos. By a sculptor of Antioch on the Maeander, ca. 150 B.C. Inspired by a late 4th century work, it achieves physical beauty but not the earlier conception of nobility becoming the gods. In the Louvre, Paris



A drunken old woman, a striking example of the realistic temper of Hellenistic art. A Roman copy of a Greek bronze original. In the Glyptothek, Munich



Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York



Courtesy of Semni Karouzou

It occasionally happens that fishermen find wrecks of ships that had set sail with objects of art for Rome or Constantinople, the new capitals of the ancient world. This bronze rider and horse, full of the fiery realism of the Hellenistic Age, were found off Euboea. About 200 B.C. In the National Museum, Athens

An old market woman, from Rome. 2nd century B.C. The Hellenistic artist was keenly interested in everyday affairs. In the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

life. Landscape was used only as a background for people. Music was very popular during the Hellenistic Age, and yet, except for two hymns to the Delphic Apollo dating from the second century B.C., our knowledge of it is practically a blank.

2. LITERATURE

RELIGION. It was but natural that the revolution in Hellenic government and society since the fourth century should be accompanied by a corresponding change in literature. The Hellenistic Age was marked by a great interest in research and science, though the lack of scientific instruments and the Greek dislike of applied knowledge prevented the full development of scientific studies. The Greek found the study of philosophy more congenial. The interest in philosophy was also due in part to the fact that the old gods of Olympus no longer satisfied intellectuals. Any generalization, however, would be dangerous, for Fortune was worshiped by many persons of modest education, and the masses still clung to the ancestral religion. Kings and cities paid at least lip service to the old religion, and it is fair to say that all Greeks, in one way or another, associated themselves with it, for it served to set them apart from the barbarian world. But the new forces of the day were weakening the traditional religion, as is amply proved by the growth of king worship and the increasing appeal of mystery cults, the cult of Eleusis, Orphic cults, astrology, and magic. The eastern religions also made some progress among the Greeks, especially among the offspring of mixed marriages, and in particular two Egyptian cults appealed to many Greeks: that of Serapis, the guardian of sailors as he became, whose worship was carried far and wide; and that of Isis, who was very popular because of her promises of future bliss. Among Orientals, however, the Olympic religion made no headway—except among those who, hoping for personal advancement, took over the externals of Hellenism—for the eastern religions were of great antiquity and as a rule were given complete tolerance by the Successors.

PHILOSOPHY. During the Hellenistic Age philosophy, we have intimated, underwent a change. Philosophic thought had previously rested on two principles: first, the complete trust reposed in abstract thinking for the discovery of truth; and, secondly, the perfect correspondence assumed between the inner man and the world without. This correspondence was supported by a religion which peopled nature with souls like those of men. It was partly this relation between the world and man which led the philosophers to believe that by mere thinking they could discover the principles of nature, and partly the circumstance that philosophic thought was as yet in its infancy with its limitations unknown and the value of its products untested. With the breaking down of the city-state and traditional religion and the concomitant growth of indi-

vidualism and humanism, philosophy, abandoning its original foundation, attempted to lay a new basis in the changed conditions of life.

The ground had been prepared by Antisthenes of Athens, who was a disciple of Socrates and an older contemporary of Plato. From his teaching in the gymnasium of the Cynosarges his school was called Cynic. In his doctrine virtue is the only good, vice the sole evil. Wealth, social position, honor, and country are nothing. A tattered mantle, a piece of barley bread, and water are all that a man needs. The Cynics taught that we should renounce every bodily pleasure and comfort for the spiritual contentment derived from the exercise of virtue. Through the contempt of this school for convention and nearly everything mankind holds dear—Diogenes, for example, lived in a tub—the word “cynic” has taken its present meaning.

In the Hellenistic Age, while the members of the Cynic school degenerated into boorish and brutal tramp philosophers, the better elements of their philosophy were adopted by the Stoics. The founder of this school was Zeno, a Semite of Citium in Cyprus, who had come to Athens in 311 B.C. There for a time he studied with the Cynics, but ten years later he began to teach independently in the Painted Porch—*Stoa Poikile*—which gave its name to his school. His Semitic nationality shows itself, not in the content of his teaching, which is Hellenic, but in its utterance. Stoicism is less rational, more dogmatic, than any previous philosophy. Zeno's object was the moulding of man's character to meet the difficulties of the world, and regardless of consistency he presented the doctrines suited to this end, implanting them in the minds of others less by reason than as the utterance of a prophet. It seemed to him, amid the wreck of religious and moral ideas formerly sustained by the city-state, that mankind needed a higher degree of individual self-sufficiency. To reach this end it is necessary, he taught, to train the will into conformity with nature, to desire only those things that are certain of realization independently of ourselves.

In order to prove that this central doctrine is rational and that it will assure happiness Zeno developed a whole system of philosophy. It consists of three branches, Logic, Physics, and Ethics. Logic includes a theory of knowledge. While the skeptics of his age were denying the possibility of knowing, Zeno insisted that we could accept as the truth all “grasping impressions,” the sense perceptions that come to us with irresistible strength. Whereas to the acute thinker this dictum was childish folly, it sufficed for a common-sense philosophy. Logic included also everything connected with the expression of thought and feeling from grammar to rhetoric and music, as well as the forms of reasoning. In this department the Stoics contributed little to existing knowledge. In Physics, the study of nature, their most startling dogma is that everything is material, even God and the human soul. The qualities of objects, emo-

tions, virtues, and vices are all corporeal. In fact, the purely practical object of Zeno's system seemed to him to demand that it be grounded upon ordinary experience, which has to do primarily with material things. It is our common experience, too, that matter cannot move itself or take on living forms; nothing but a soul can bring about such changes. The world, therefore, has a soul; this is God, the reason and motive power of the universe. He is a Providence who in loving care watches over the world and every part of it, who maintains it in physical and moral perfection. Everything in nature therefore is rational and good. Thus from Physics we pass imperceptibly to Ethics. The soul of man is a part of the divine soul, and a virtuous life is conformity to nature. Everything that exists is advantageous to man, even sickness, noxious animals, earthquakes, and the like; they are intended for our education. Thus we are gradually led back to the central idea of Stoicism that happiness, the supreme good, is reached by making our will conform to the laws of nature, which are absolutely rational and just.

Under Zeno and his successors—notably, Cleanthes, Chrysippus, and Panaetius of Rhodes—Stoicism became a religion. The only motive to right conduct, conformity to nature, is nothing more than submission to the will of God. It is a pure monotheism, the worship of one Supreme Being. As He wishes only well for us, and blesses but never harms, we, who are parts of Him, have no reason to fear Him, but should only revere and love. For this worship there is no need of altars or temples or images or even prayer, but only purity in life and thought. The gods of popular belief with their foibles and vices are creatures of the imagination, and the many myths are worthy only of contempt. To a certain extent, however, the Stoics compromised with popular faith. Just as Christians grant the existence of angels and devils, the Stoics assume the activity of superhuman beings, called gods, but subject to the Supreme Being. In like manner, while repeating the literal content of myths, the Stoics were able to save them for a useful purpose by giving them an allegorical interpretation. In this activity they were but extending an invention of earlier philosophies. Necessarily their interpretations were fantastical. For example, Heracles was not merely a strong man, but a great philosopher. His slaying of monsters signifies his conquest of human vices; and when he leads the three-headed dog from the nether world to earth's surface, he is merely bringing to light the three heads of philosophy—Logic, Physics, and Ethics. The effect of such teaching was to purify myth of all immoralities, and to preserve the traditional religion while endowing it with a wholly new meaning as well.

Zeno took over Alexander's vision of a world state and of *homonoia*, Concord, but under the Stoics the idea of the brotherhood of man became, unfortunately, more the business of individuals than of kings. The trend of Stoicism,

while strengthening religious faith, was to make the individual self-sufficient, independent of all externals, human and material, and to give him an absolute mastery of himself. He is lord of his own life, and may put an end to it when he judges best. Though he may have been suddenly converted to Stoicism, it is possible to grow in character throughout life; but only a few men of old, such as Socrates, have attained to a perfection of virtue. Society, too, exists, and the individual has social instincts, which are natural, and therefore good. All are members of one body; all are parts of one God, bound together in a common sympathy. In striving to benefit our fellows we do but obey a law of nature. While working out the problem of virtue many Stoics were driven into seclusion or lived in a commonwealth of their own imagining, out of space and time, where no sordid ambitions or passions or human weaknesses found entrance, but all dwelt in perfect harmony and content. Others in the hope of impressing their fellow men mingled in society or became statesmen and rulers. Their creed, though appealing to the intellectuals rather than the mass, has served as a positive force in the history of thought and conduct. It moulded Roman law; it contributed to the humanism of Roman imperial times; at various points it proved akin to Christianity; and much of it, remaining in the ethics of today, still makes for strength and stability of character.

In opposition to the Stoics there were powerful forces of disintegration. There were Skeptics, who, while accepting appearances as such, denied the possibility of real knowledge. Thoroughly typical of these disturbed intellectual conditions is the work of Euhemerus of Messene. In a book entitled *Sacred Inscription*, composed early in the third century, he pretended that on a visit to a distant island he found in a temple of Zeus an ancient inscription which detailed the origin and doings of the gods. It was there set forth that Zeus was once a man who had distinguished himself as king and conqueror and had received divine worship in reward for his benefits; and similarly that all the deities, Apollo, Aphrodite, and the rest, were once human beings who had attained to fame and had been raised to the rank of gods in human opinion, whereas in fact they died like all other mortals and are no more. While undermining what remained of the traditional faith, this book supported the deification of kings.

The philosophic system, however, which is rightly set down as the opponent of Stoicism, was that of Epicurus of Samos, who founded his school at Athens in 306 B.C. His school, like the Stoa, was materialistic; he accepted substantially the atomic theory of Democritus. Even the soul, he asserted, is material and dissolves at death. As it is mortal, we have nothing to fear from a future life. Gods exist, but not those of popular faith. The real deities live apart from the world in unalloyed happiness, caring nothing for the human race. In the Epicurean system, as among the Stoics, the whole superstructure is

occupied by Ethics. The supreme Good is apparently the same in both philosophies, happiness. With Epicurus, however, happiness is freedom from pain, or from fear, which is mental suffering. The aim was not hedonism, but quietism. Pleasures and pains differ in degrees; and in making choice the wise man will aim to avoid the severest and the most lasting pains and to seek the highest and the most permanent pleasures. The delights of sensation are coarse and transitory, those of mind exalted and lasting. Hence the wise man will choose poverty and bodily suffering if necessary to secure the highest pleasures. The intelligent Epicurean will be as virtuous as the Stoic, because through virtue he secures the utmost happiness. The founder of the school was himself an admirable character; and his object was undoubtedly to benefit his fellow men. His system, though it has many points of likeness to Stoicism, has been condemned by the tribunal of history. The reason is that it is essentially selfish. Individual man is his own all-in-all. Different from the Stoic, the Epicurean is subject to no spiritual ideal toward which he should strive. It is true that the system as originally taught produced a few eminently worthy characters; but its general effect has been demoralizing. The doctrine of happiness was too readily perverted; and Epicureanism became synonymous with a love of eating and drinking, with gluttony and the coarsest pleasures.

LIBRARIES. The mental attitude of the Hellenistic Age, however, was essentially an appreciation of the past and an effort to master its vast intellectual treasures. The originality of the Age, the achievement of adding to the accumulated store of knowledge, is seen in its scientific discoveries and mechanical inventions. Fortunately for the progress of science the task which Aristotle set for himself was not only the collection of facts and the organization of knowledge, but also the direction of his pupils to individual fields of research. His work continued therefore after his death. An added impetus to the study of geography and astronomy, of plants and animals, to discovery and invention in general, was given by the marches of Alexander. And the interest of the Ptolemies in art and science devoted a goodly share of Egyptian wealth to collections and institutions for the furtherance of scholarly and scientific progress.

One of the necessary requisites to this work was the founding of a library. Under the earlier Ptolemies a search for valuable manuscripts was made throughout the Hellenic world; and within a few years a collection was made at Alexandria of 500,000 volumes (rolls), which in time was further increased. This was the royal library, the greatest in the ancient world. Callimachus, a peripatetic of Cyrene (ca. 310-240 B.C.), one of the chief librarians, compiled a catalogue, said to have filled 120 volumes, comprising the authors and their works in order. It included, too, short biographies of the authors and a few critical data for the evaluation of the books. Briefer aids to the choice and

use of books were added by various scholars. Other Hellenistic kings established libraries in their respective capitals, notably in Pergamum and Antioch, none of which, however, equaled that of Alexandria. The Museum, connected with the Library of Alexandria, was an association of scholars and investigators, like the Academy and the Lyceum, formed nominally for the worship of the Muses. Their president was a priest appointed by the king, who assigned them quarters in his palace, a large hall, in which they took their meals in common, a garden with seats and an agreeable place for walking. The members received money for support from the king's treasury.

Members of this association and other learned men in the Aristotelian spirit mapped out the fields of knowledge, which they vigorously cultivated according to their several tastes. Under Grammar, nearly equivalent to our Philology, may be included everything relating to the study of language and literature. Scholars, of whom we know scarcely more than the names, wrote histories of the various departments of literature, as the drama, poetry, and philosophy, and biographies of famous authors. A most valuable service was the comparison and criticism of manuscripts with a view to purifying the texts of errors and interpolations. This textual criticism centered in the poems of Homer. It had begun as early as the sixth century, but the first scholarly edition of Homer was prepared by Zenodotus, the first librarian at Alexandria (285–260 B.C.). It put the text substantially in the form in which we read it today. The division of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* into books was made either by this scholar or by his immediate successors. In his judgment these were the only works of Homer, whereas others, the Separatists, assigned the two poems to different authors. The texts of the classic poets and many prose writers were similarly treated; and minute commentaries on the language and the subject matter were prepared. Philology included also technical grammar, which had a relatively slow growth, prosody, and lexicons. The scientific spirit of Alexandria was Aristotelian, whereas that of the rival Pergamene school was Stoic. The famous master at Pergamum was Crates of Mallos, an opponent of the Alexandrian librarian, Aristarchus. The Stoic love of allegory, prominent in this school's interpretation of the poets, blurred their scientific perception. This shortcoming is counterbalanced by great attention to the subject matter of literature, rather than to textual criticism, and in general to the collection and organization of facts.

SCIENCE. For the progress of physical science a careful foundation in pure mathematics had to be laid. This service was performed by Euclid of Alexandria (ca. 300 B.C.), who continued the mathematical studies of Plato and the Academy. His chief work, named *Elements*, which is still extant, is a textbook on geometry, so precise, clear, and logical that little improvement has since been made upon it.

More inventive was Archimedes of Syracuse (ca. 287–212 B.C.), one of the geniuses of antiquity. His main interest was in pure mathematics, in the exact measurement of the circle, the sphere, the cone, conoids, spheroids, and the cylinder. In some of his operations he has anticipated the principle of integral calculus; and in his applied mathematics he reveals a command of the principles of higher algebra. His work in applied science, though in his own judgment distinctly subsidiary, was in fact epoch-making. The founder of mechanics and hydrostatics, Archimedes invented a planetarium, the compound pulley, and the so-called Archimedean drill—an endless screw used to pump water from ships and to drain Egyptian fields after the flood of the Nile. He discovered a means of determining the center of gravity of complex forms and of computing the specific gravity of objects; the latter discovery was the result of his observation of the water he displaced in his bath, whereupon he rushed home naked, crying *Eureka* (I have found it). He invented engines for hurling great missiles with which his fellow citizens long kept at bay the besieging Romans, the helix for launching great ships and conveying other heavy weights, and other useful machines. In the application of power Archimedes and other ancient mechanics made use of water, compressed air (pneumatics), with levers, screws, and cogged wheels. Some inventions added to the conveniences of life, such as water mills, automatic door openers, washing machines; others were for entertainment, including fountains adorned with automatically moving figurines, and an automatic theater in which the figures performed their parts through five complicated acts.

The advance of mathematical and mechanical study inevitably led to a development of astronomy and mathematical geography. The first Hellenistic master of this field was Eratosthenes of Cyrene (ca. 275–195 B.C.), the successor of Callimachus as chief librarian at Alexandria. There he was able to study the heavens in an observatory patterned after those of Babylon, whose scientists had a highly developed mathematical astronomy by 300 B.C. Eratosthenes' most celebrated achievement was the computation of the circumference of the earth. By means of sundials placed at Syene and Alexandria, he determined the position of the sun from these two points; and with the angle thus formed he computed the earth's circumference at 252,000 stadia, or 24,662 miles. He wrote a *History of Geography* from Homer to his own day, in which he recognized the limitations of earlier authors. It included his own map of the world with an explanation of it, in which he expressed the possibility of reaching India by sailing west across the Atlantic, though, he added, the intervening space might be divided longitudinally by land. The similarity in the tides of the Atlantic and Indian Oceans led Eratosthenes to the conclusion that one could sail from Spain around Africa to India. His achievements were vast and so accurate that until the beginning of modern times no improvements

were made upon them except in the correction and addition of minor details (see the inset, p. 119).

Astronomy had always been the special province of the Babylonians, from whom the Greeks learned much; this was a field in which there was real coöperation between people of different race. In the third century, however, Aristarchus of Samos (ca. 310–230 B.C.) brought astronomy to the highest reach attained by the ancients. He discovered that the volume of the sun is many times greater than that of the earth. It was this fact that led him ultimately to the conclusion that "the earth annually revolves round the sun in the circumference of a circle, in the center of which the sun remains fixed." The heliocentric theory, however, was too radical for popular acceptance, and in the second century the world reverted to the geocentric theory with Hipparchus of Nicaea. It was Hipparchus who discovered the precession of the equinoxes—if, indeed, this discovery had not already been made by Kidenas, the distinguished Babylonian, whose calculation of the length of the year was but 7 minutes and 16 seconds too short for the year 300 B.C. The theory of the spheres now continued with an important modification. Instead of assigning a plurality of spheres to a planet, it was found more practicable to assume that each planet moved in a little circle whose center lay in a larger circle surrounding the earth. This theory of epicycles—circles upon circles—prevailed, and was accepted by the Egyptian Claudius Ptolemy, an encyclopedic compiler of sciences, who flourished in the second century A.D. After him it came to be known as the Ptolemaic system, and held its place till overthrown by Copernicus. (Cf. the inset, p. 647, for Ptolemy's conception of geography.)

The settlement of Egypt and western Asia by the Greeks brought to their knowledge a large number of animals and plants, hitherto unknown to them. In spite of the opportunities provided, for example, by the Zoölogical Garden maintained by the Ptolemies at Alexandria, zoölogy and botany failed to make an appreciable advance beyond the works of Aristotle and Theophrastus. People had only a curious interest in animals, whereas botany was more vigorously pursued as an auxiliary to medicine. A limited number of plants and animals had to be taken into account in scientific agriculture, horticulture, beekeeping, and stockbreeding, all of which were diligently studied. The loss of all the books in these fields with the exception of a few fragments has unfortunately left us ignorant of Hellenic learning in one of its most useful departments.

MEDICINE. The growth of civilization and the urbanization of mankind makes an ever-increasing demand upon the physician for hygienic regulations and the cure of new diseases. Acquaintance with the Egyptian custom of embalming expelled from the minds of Greek physicians their last scruples against the dissection of the human body. For the first time in history vivisection was

practiced on condemned criminals furnished to the physicians by the Egyptian king.¹ The result was an advance in anatomy and physiology which marked an epoch in the history of medical science.

The leading physician of the early third century was Herophilus of Chalceldon, whose achievement it was to bring medical science to a height never exceeded by the ancients. He discovered that the brain is the seat of the mind, and that the nerves, branching out from the brain and spine, are the medium for the conveyance of sensation and will power respectively. He also made a special study of the eye. In his diagnosis of ailments, for which he was famous, he discovered the value of pulsation, which became the chief criterion of the patient's condition. Whereas other physicians believed that the arteries were normally filled with air, Herophilus discovered that they contain blood, which they convey from the heart to all parts of the body. In other words, he discovered essentially the circulation of the blood. Without neglecting diet and exercise for the cure of illness, he laid great stress on drugs, especially vegetable medicines, as the "hands of God."

Unfortunately Herophilus was too far in advance of his age to find complete acceptance. The most eminent physician after him, Erasistratus of Ceos, insisted that the arteries are normally filled with air and that the presence of blood in them is a symptom of illness. In other respects he made actual improvements upon Herophilus, as in his greater stress on hygiene and his clearer distinction between sensory and motor nerves. Opposed to the teachings of these eminent scientists were the Empiricists, who, rejecting all reason, depended wholly on experimentation. There were charlatans, too, as at present; and despite all intellectual progress incubation and magical cures persisted, and sanctuaries of Asclepius grew ever more popular.

POETRY. For an appreciation of the artistic literature of the Hellenistic Age it is necessary to take account of the general environment, especially the intense urbanization of the Greeks, the growth of libraries, the keen interest in science and erudition. Since the mind of the Hellenistic Greek was so largely concentrated upon the riches of the past and scientific discoveries, we shall find in literature analogous efforts manifested in imitations of the past and in the working out of new problems suggested by the greatly changed environment. It was inevitable that the polite literature should taste of erudition, that it should be labored and pedantic. The generality of men, however, who lived in a highly artificial atmosphere, longed for diversion and rest, the freshness of nature; and at the same time the spirit of science was experimenting with emotions hitherto but little used. The period, therefore, saw the beginning of a new literary treatment of nature and man. The novel element in nature is the environment of common people, of shepherds, ploughmen, and charcoal

¹ Cf. p. 622 ff.

burners, refreshed with the dew and clear in the sunlight of morning. The new force in human kind is romantic love between man and woman.

These are prominent features in the Sicilian Theocritus (ca. 315–250 B.C.), the last Greek classic and the first and greatest of Hellenistic poets. His creation, the idyl, is a short poem exquisitely wrought. It possesses a wide range of character, epic, lyric, and dramatic. Preferably his idyls treat of common persons in rural scenes, and hence have been described as pastoral. Though he lived his later years at the court of the Ptolemies, he drew his inspiration from the lovely air and the beautiful landscapes of Sicily, which wafted through his sweet poems refreshing breezes, with delicious memories of cool shade of green fields and radiant flowers, into the dusty streets and arid studios of Alexandria.

Whereas Theocritus stands at the threshold of Alexandrian life, Callimachus occupies its inmost shrine, though he belongs to neither Europe nor Asia. In him the Hellenistic spirit found its purest expression. The chief librarian and a man of vast learning, he is equally conspicuous as a poet of stupendous productivity. His own writings are said to have filled 800 volumes. Of all these works there remain a few hymns and epigrams. The hymns are courtly, composed for royal occasions. With great talent the author creates brilliant effects for their own sake. Doubtless there is feeling in the poet, but it is hidden in the elaborate apparatus of his song. At the same time Callimachus was proclaimed the greatest master of elegy. This form of poetry was used for the expression of sentiment on all subjects and, in this age particularly, for mythical tales of love. The epigrams show him to better advantage. They are in the elegiac meter, but are short and highly polished. Usually the epigram expresses an occasional sentiment of the author on any subject that attracted his attention.

In didactic verse the spirit of scholarship prevailed. The aim was to teach, and the lines were without imagination or charm. This kind of poem remained dead till the Roman Lucretius endowed it with life and power. Quite different was the romantic epic, represented by the *Argonautica* of Apollonius, an emigrant from Alexandria to Rhodes. This work is a long narrative of a popular myth, the quest for the Golden Fleece. In this respect it is an imitation of the past, an echo from Homer. In his presentation of Medea's love for Jason, the analysis of its origin and growth and conflict with duty, the author has created a new theme, but one oft treated from that day to this. Although the poet lacked the genius for making it a success, the work has a value in illustrating the intellectual efforts of the period and in the suggestion it offered to Vergil for his *Aeneid*, an incomparably superior work.

Hellenistic poetry appealed only to the selected few, which helps to explain the popularity of the mimes of Herondas, dealing lightly, as they did, with everyday matters. But Hellenistic poetry lost its spiritual relation to religion

and no longer was the manifestation of the Greek nation. Speaking generally, it is self-conscious, the child of the society of poets who gathered in cosmopolitan Alexandria, where the despotism of the court caused it to lose its Hellenic spirit. Elaboration and criticism took the place of creation in the Hellenistic Age, and the poets, undertaking researches themselves, consciously went back to forms which were no longer current, to epic, iambic, and elegiac poetry.

DRAMA. Prosperity, as we have seen, enabled Alexandria to seize the leadership of the world of letters, though the schools of philosophy gave Athens a certain preëminence. Athens was also the center for comedy. This was the so-called New Comedy, the comedy of manners, typically Athenian and yet immensely popular throughout the Greek world. Of the many comedians, Diphilus, Philemon, and others, by far the greatest was Menander (ca. 342–291 B.C.). The sands of Egypt have yielded extended fragments of his plays. Menander has a tremendous appeal, because he depicts sympathetic characters in trouble and gives a lively and varied portrayal of daily life, a realistic picture of domestic difficulties with happy endings. The plots of *The Arbitration* and his other plays deal with separated families that are reunited in the end after a recognition scene, but the atmosphere, incidents, and principal characters are different. Menander had a great influence on succeeding centuries, from Terence to Shakespeare. After the third century comedy lost its vigor, a fate that had befallen tragedy even earlier. Interest in rhetoric, however, continued, but the new order of the day, which permitted so little real liberty, was responsible for the decline of oratory.

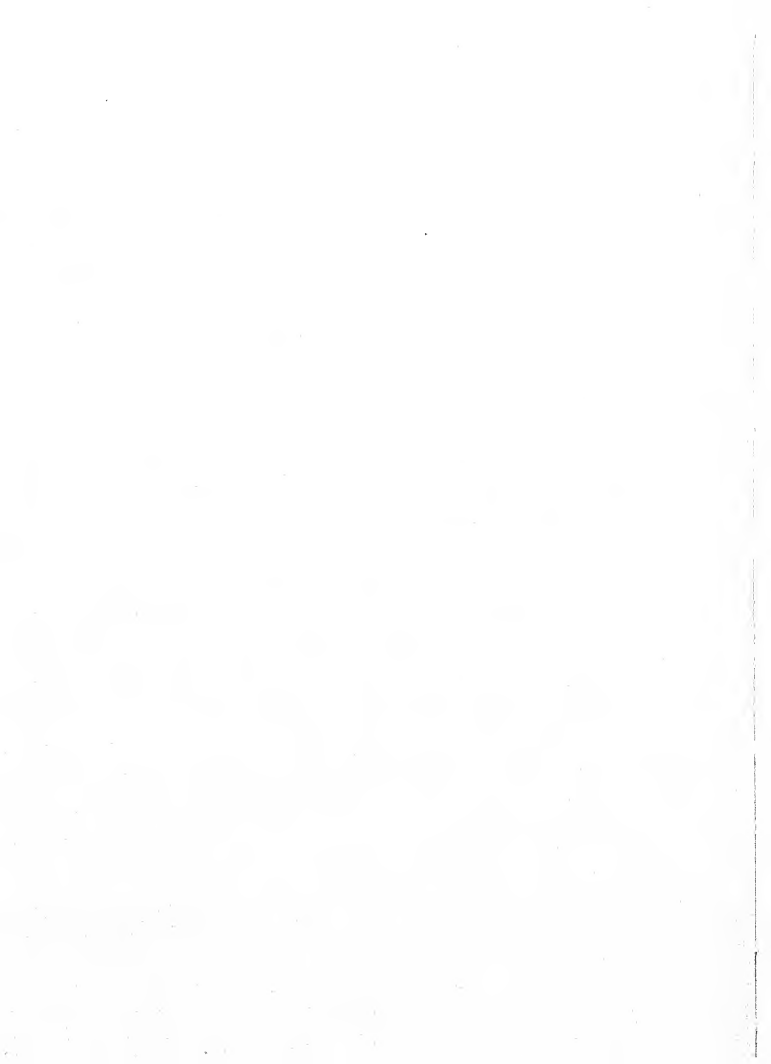
HISTORY. It was far otherwise with history. A tremendous number of histories were written during the Hellenistic Age. Their emphasis, characteristically, was on contemporary events, a trend which had received impetus from Calisthenes, Ptolemy, Aristobulus, and others who had accompanied Alexander on his expedition. The new humanism and the great stress placed on research led many into the field of biography, and, indeed, Aratus of Sicyon wrote his autobiography, an important source, through Plutarch, for the Achaean League. Most of the Hellenistic historians, unfortunately, are lost to us, but judging from the extant fragments it is clear that, though many of the works were plain straightforward accounts, many more were spoiled by too great attention to style.

One of the most important Hellenistic historians was Hieronymus of Cardia, whose *History of the Successors* covered the period from 323 to 266 B.C. His work, for the first two decades, is preserved in Diodorus of Sicily (ca. 27 B.C.) and shows him to have been a sound writer, chiefly interested in political and military history. By far the greatest of Hellenistic historians was Polybius of Megalopolis in Arcadia, who ranks second only to Thucydides among Greek historians. Polybius came from a prominent family and played an active role

in the affairs of the Achaean League. In 167 B.C., after the Third Macedonian War, he was carried off as a hostage to Rome, where he became the friend of Scipio Aemilianus and other important Romans. He soon grew to admire Rome tremendously, and was inspired with the ambition to tell the moving story of the new world power. His *History* covered the period from 221 to 146 B.C., and of the forty books the first five and various extracts remain. Polybius believed that contemporary politicians could learn much from the past and he therefore addressed himself to them and not to the general public. As a result, he does not make exciting reading. He makes many digressions and is verbose; he is unfair to Carthage, and allots too much space to the Achaean League. Nevertheless, Polybius was a scientific historian, who diligently studied his sources and often traveled to various sites to verify his data. Though he lacked detachment, Polybius was industrious and, with his own experience in political affairs, succeeded to a large degree in writing a critical and immensely valuable account of the Mediterranean world. By Polybius' day, of course, the history of the Hellenistic world had become inextricably mixed with that of Rome.

PART FIVE

THE ROMAN REPUBLIC



XXIII

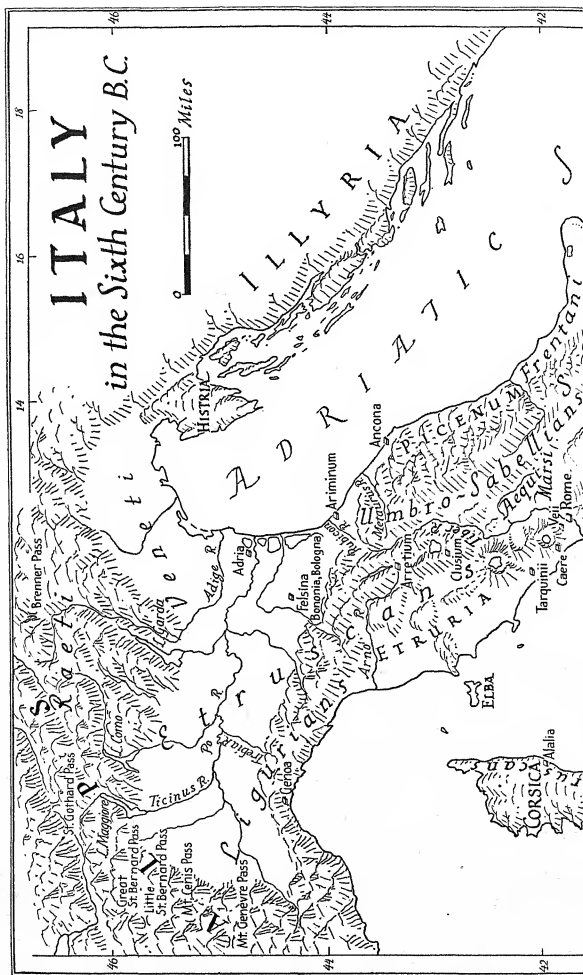
EARLY ITALY

1. THE LAND AND ITS PEOPLE

No other state fills so large a place in the history of the world as Rome. It was the achievement of this city to unite all the Mediterranean basin in a great empire under a single government and to make the nations of this region one in science, industry, and art, one in customs, thought, and sympathy, one in the Christian religion. For centuries civilized man from Scotland to Persia paid his taxes into the same treasury, was tried by the same law, was protected by the same armies, and enjoyed a more profound and real peace—the *pax Romana*—than at any other time (map, front endpaper). This achievement was made possible on the one hand by geography and on the other hand by able diplomacy, generalship, organization, government, and character. The Roman genius, for example, is best shown in the creation of a body of law, which for its completeness and excellence must be considered the greatest legislative work of the human race. After many centuries of development, it is true, the empire declined and finally fell into pieces, but from the fragments great modern states, such as England, France, and Italy, have grown, and its civilization in a modified form has passed into modern life.

The Romans, being farther removed from the influences of the Near East, became civilized later than the Greeks and received most of their improvements from them, but whatever they borrowed they modified to suit their own conditions and thus created a Roman civilization. Just as the history of Greece assumes wider proportions with Alexander's conquest of the ancient Orient, so the history of the entire ancient world becomes a unit as Rome absorbs both Greece and Orient and expands to the Atlantic Ocean and the North Sea, an accomplishment that throws into high relief the failure of the Greeks to form a united state.

PHYSICAL FEATURES OF ITALY. Italy, the home of the Romans, consists of two regions, together more than 90,000 square miles in area, the continental—which extends 70 miles from the Alps to the Apennines and is 320 miles from east to west—and the peninsula, which runs 650 miles in a southeasterly direction between the Mediterranean and Adriatic Seas and is nowhere broader than 125 miles. The northern, or continental, region is essentially a great



alluvial plain between the foothills of the Alps and the Apennines. The Po, which is the largest river in Italy, rises in the western Alps and is fed chiefly from Alpine streams and lakes. The Apennines traverse northern Italy south of the Po, then form the backbone of the long peninsula whose shore line exceeds 2,000 miles in length. The fact that these mountains, which rise in places to 9,500 feet, lie nearer to the eastern than to the western coast makes the eastern slope shorter and steeper, the rivers smaller, and the harbors fewer. The longer slopes on the west terminate in fertile coastal plains; a few rivers, such as the Tiber in central Italy, are navigable; and there are good harbors, particularly at Genoa and Naples and, southward, at Sparta's colony, Tarentum. Unlike Greece with its clusters of islands, Italy has but three large islands off its coast: Sardinia and Corsica, where the Italians were to meet Carthaginians, and Sicily, whose Greek colonists derived the word *Italia* from the Oscan dialect across the strait (*vitelliu*, calf land). These islands are all that is now left of the land bridge which in geologic times stretched from Europe to Africa.

Continental Italy, the plain and hills of the Po valley, has a climate not unlike that of central Europe, with four distinct seasons, but the peninsula, in spite of hot dry summers and rainy winters, also enjoys considerable diversity, due to the fact that it passes through many degrees of latitude no less than to the lofty Apennines and the tempering effect of the neighboring seas. Malaria and the absence of rich mineral deposits are disadvantages which, however, have not prevented the growth of a dense population, for there is a great variety and abundance of natural resources and of useful products in this beautiful and sunny land—wheat, barley, clay fields, salt from the Tiber marshes, marble, the vine and olive, vegetables, fine pastures. The Apennines, as the spine of the peninsula, made timber for shipbuilding readily available, and various volcanoes on the west, especially in the district around the Bay of Naples known as Campania and in Sicily, enriched the soil.

Long before the coming of the Greeks to Sicily, southern Italy (Magna Graecia), and Campania, Italy was the home of rude peoples, who were not even loosely joined together. They spread, however, throughout the whole land. In northern, or continental, Italy, for example, they occupied on the west Liguria (as it was later called), Venetia on the east, and, in between, an area called Cisalpine Gaul to differentiate it from Transalpine Gaul beyond the Alps; in that part of the peninsula known as central Italy, they occupied Etruria, Latium, and Campania on the Tyrrhenian (western) coast, Samnium in the mountainous interior, and Umbria on the Adriatic; and in the south, Apulia and Calabria in the heel of the "Italian boot," and Bruttium in the toe.

One of the great facts in the history of the peninsula is that the Alps are passable only at certain points, and even there with difficulty, so that the maintenance of relations with the interior of the continent was not easy, and Italy

was compelled to associate with the other countries of the Mediterranean. On the other hand, the accessibility of Italy is another great fact in its history, for across the narrow Adriatic is Illyria, while Greece lies but a short distance beyond the Ionian Sea, and on the southwest Sicily connects closely with Africa. Hence have come many invaders, and indeed even the Alps, hindrance though they may be to commerce, have often proved a weak barrier against enemies. The early immigrants of diverse race, mingling in friendship and war, stimulated one another to great activity, and in fact for centuries Italy formed the western frontier of civilization, drawing to itself the boldest and most enterprising people of the older world and developing intensely the frontier qualities of courage, patience, hardihood, and practical intelligence (map, pp. 4, 5).

There were differences in language and customs between one part of early Italy and another, and consequently there grew up a multitude of small independent states, continually warring among themselves; but as life became more settled and communities grew in size, and as a desire for peace developed, the people found the exposed position of their country a positive disadvantage. They were willing therefore to accept the supremacy of Rome, as the one state best able to give them protection. Ultimately, however, the Italians discovered that, even when they were united, their country was unsafe while neighboring states were free to assail it, and that self-preservation demanded foreign conquest. Thus the accessibility of the country helps to explain at once the political unification of Italy and that of the Mediterranean world. The third and most important task achieved by Rome in her career of empire building was in civilizing her empire, especially the western half, and in this work, too, she was favored by the form and situation of Italy. In part, at least, because the western coast is better supplied than the eastern with harbors, Rome came into closer touch and sympathy with Spain, Gaul, and northwestern Africa than with Greece and the Near East, and the fresh, vital peoples of the West were accordingly far readier than those of the East to adopt her customs, institutions, and ideas.

THE NEOLITHIC AGE. Naturally we think of all the inhabitants of Italy as Italians, but it is not possible to speak of an Italian population until after the opening of the Neolithic, or New Stone, Age in 5000 B.C., when a short, dark people, belonging to the Mediterranean race, migrated from North Africa. These people enjoyed a typical neolithic culture, with improved stone implements, simple pottery and textiles. Their chief activity in life was to tend herds of oxen and sheep, to hunt, and to cultivate various grains. They lived in huts in villages, and buried their dead in caves or pits.

THE BRONZE AGE. During the Bronze Age (2000-1000 B.C.) an Indo-European form of speech was brought to the Italian peninsula by invaders from Switzerland and the upper valley of the Danube. The first wave of newcomers

chose as their homes the shores around the northern Italian lakes. As had been their custom in Switzerland, these lake dwellers often built their houses on piles driven into the bottom of the lakes. But when other invaders, about 1500 B.C., penetrated as far as the Po, it was found that the course of the river was too swift for the familiar type of house, and accordingly they built their huts on dry land. The soil about their settlements became particularly fertile, and has been referred to by modern Italians as *terramara* (plural, *terremare*), a term which is now applied to the early civilization itself. The *terremare* people were skilled in the use of bronze, raised cattle, and farmed their lands. They cremated their dead and placed the ashes in urns. During the Bronze Age there were, of course, invasions by still other peoples, and particularly by bands of Illyrians from across the Adriatic, who occupied the Venetian plains (the Veneti of the Roman period) and, under the name of Iapygians, the southeast coast of Italy as well. At the same time strong Mycenaean influences reached Sicily.

THE IRON AGE. Not long after the opening of the Iron Age in 1000 B.C., three Indo-European-speaking clans from the north spread the Italic dialects (all akin to Celtic) throughout Italy: the Umbrians in northern Italy, the Latins in the lower valley of the Tiber, and the Sabellian Samnites in the mountains to the south. In northern Italy, at Villanova (near Bologna), the Iron Age culture was developed early. The Villanovans lived in villages composed of round huts, made fine weapons of both iron and bronze, and buried the ashes of their dead in distinctive biconical urns. By the sixth century B.C., when the Celts, or Gauls as the Romans called them, entered the valley of the Po, the great migrations by land were over, but in the meantime two other peoples—the Etruscans and the Greeks—had come by sea and seized much of the Italian coast (map, pp. 144, 145).

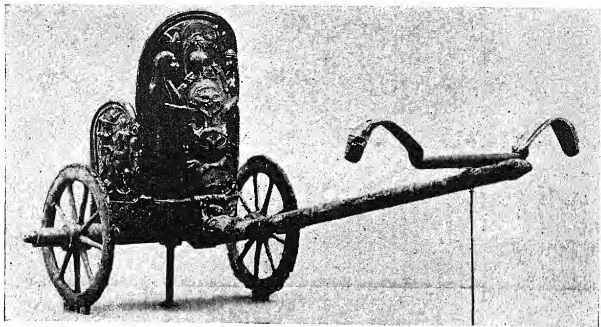
2. THE ETRUSCANS

The wealthy, luxury-loving, piratical Etruscans are one of the enigmas of history. They have left us an arresting art full of Greek influences and thousands of inscriptions in a Greek alphabet, though the language itself is apparently a pre-Indo-European speech of Asia Minor and, save for proper names, has not yet been translated. It is probably correct, however, to think of the Etruscans as migrating from western Asia Minor in the late ninth century B.C. and during the next three centuries building up in Italy a considerable civilization, which was largely a fusion of native and Greek elements with their own. Because of their superior culture and organization they were able, starting with Tarquinii and Caere near the western coast, to occupy the area between the Tiber and Arno rivers, Etruria or Tuscany as it is called today. In time they expanded southward to Latium and Campania—though the Greeks resisted them at Cumae—and northward across the Apennines, where their most



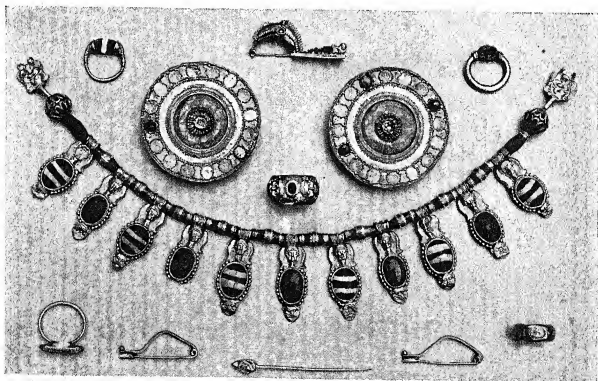
Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

A magnificent terracotta warrior. Etruscan, with strong Greek influence. About 500 B.C. In the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York



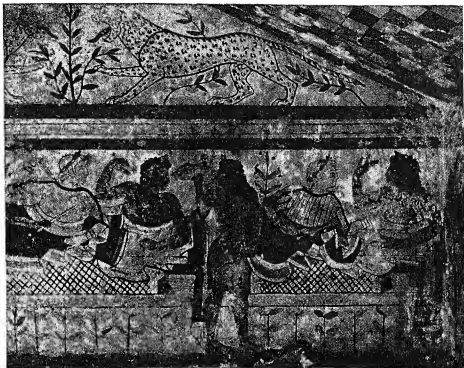
Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

Chariot made of wood with bronze sheathing and iron tires, late 6th century B.C. The bronze is richly ornamented with reliefs in repoussé work with incised details; in the central panel an Etruscan warrior receives his armor from his wife. In the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York



Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

Jewelry—necklace, disks, fibulae and rings—of gold, glass or carnelian. About 500 B.C. Striking testimony to the Etruscan reputation for taste and luxury. In the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York



Photograph by Brogi

An Etruscan symposium. A naked page serves the guests reclining on couches; the young men wear mantles, the girls chitons and mantles. Wall painting in the Tomb of the Leopards at Corneto, about 500 B.C.



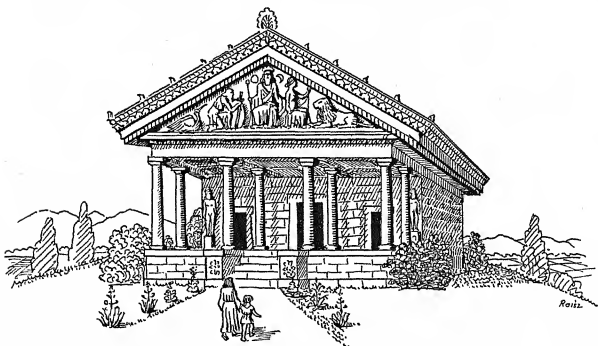
Photograph by Alinari

A magnificent bronze monster, known as a Chimaera, with an inscription on the right foreleg. About 400 B.C., from Arezzo. Except for proper names, the Etruscan language, though written in letters derived from Greek, cannot be read. In the Museo Archeologico, Florence

important city, Felsina, lay not far from modern Bologna; their seaport, Adria, to the north of the Po, eventually gave its name to the Adriatic Sea.

The height of Etruscan power and influence was reached in the sixth century before Christ. The Etruscans even made a treaty with the Carthaginians, and in 535 B.C., because of their fear of Greek competition, the allies expelled the Greeks from their chief colony on Corsica, Alalia. In 509 B.C., however, the Romans drove out their last Etruscan king; in 474 B.C., Hiero of Syracuse defeated an Etruscan fleet before Cumae; in 438 B.C. the Samnites took Capua, their main Campanian city; and by the end of the century Celtic tribes had deprived them of their northern possessions, so that the Etruscans henceforth were limited to Etruria proper.

ETRUSCAN CULTURE. The weakness of the Etruscans lay in their extremely loose federation, for their chief league, that of twelve cities, was a religious



Reconstruction of an Etruscan Temple

rather than a political union, and such expansion as there was sprang from the initiative of individual cities and the elective magistrates of the ruling aristocrats, who, by the sixth century B.C., had displaced the kings and lorded it over masses of serfs. But in their heyday the Etruscan ships controlled the sea which the Greeks named after them, the Tyrrhenian, imported iron from the neighboring island of Elba, and carried on a lively traffic with Greece. Seagoing though they were, the Etruscans were famous also as farmers and raisers of horses and, because of the natural resources of their land, such as copper, tin, marble, and timber, for their arts and crafts as well. They paved roads, dug canals for drainage and irrigation, and ruled from lofty hills fortified with mas-

sive walls of stone. Their towns were laid out in a regular plan with the two main streets crossing each other at right angles. They produced realistic portraiture, wonderful mirrors, weapons, and other metal work, a fine black pottery, called *bucchero*, textiles, and interesting temples on a high base and decorated with colored terracottas. In plan the temple was almost square, but in contrast to the Greek it had a deep porch, behind which the broad room or temple proper was divided into three compartments called *cellas*. Trade with Greece brought strong Hellenic influences into their art and to a limited extent into their religious beliefs, but it was the Near East that gave the Etruscans a knowledge both of the arch and vault and of divination.

Because of their belief in a future life the Etruscans, who preferred inhumation to the cremation practiced by the older population, buried their dead in stone sarcophagi, the lids of which were sometimes carved with figures of men or women laden with ornate jewelry. Their chamber tombs recall somewhat those of Mycenae. The colorful paintings of these tombs show spirit and originality and often suggest the Etruscan love of war, sports, dancing, feasting, and ostentatious display, as well as their fear of the evil spirits of the next world. To win the good will of the gods in this world they were willing to sacrifice living persons. Wherever the Etruscans went, their ideas and customs were likely to prevail, and the Latins learned from them to interpret omens, to organize and equip their army, and to build sewers, walls, houses, temples, and cities. The Latins, nevertheless, maintained their own language and national character against these clever immigrants, and in the final issue received most of their foreign influences from the Greeks, even if some of these in actual fact reached them through the Etruscans.

3. LATIUM

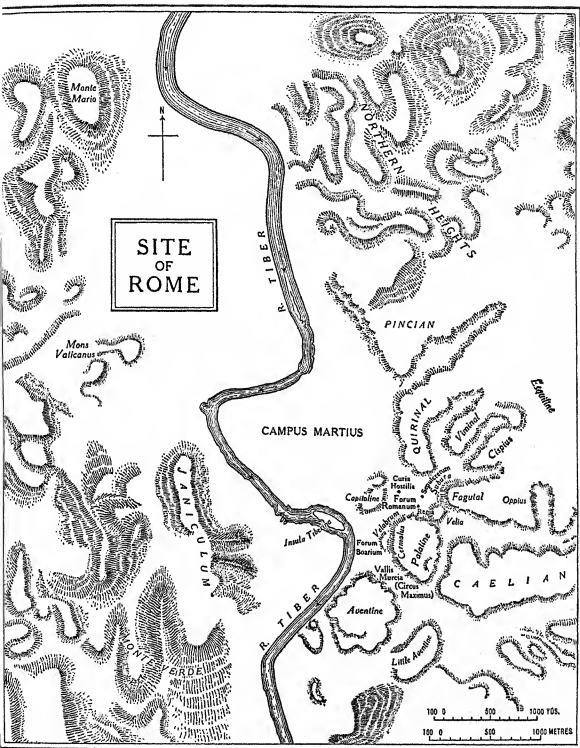
The familiar picture of the founding of Rome—"Such toil it cost to found the Roman race"—has come down to us from the great poet of Augustan days, Vergil, who told how Aeneas, the son of Venus, escaped from burning Troy, and after many perils and long wanderings found a haven at Lanuvium on the west coast of Italy. His son, Ascanius, founded Alba Longa, and a descendant, Rhea, who was a Vestal Virgin, had twin sons, Romulus and Remus, by Mars, the god of war. Set adrift on the Tiber, they were cast ashore near the Palatine, nursed by a she-wolf, and in manhood one of them, Romulus, founded Rome in 753 B.C., as tradition ultimately agreed.

Vergil was not the first to connect the founding of Rome with Troy, for Roman pride had long required that the city—even though its name is probably Etruscan in origin—be brought within the orbit of Greece and particularly of the tales of Homer, but in actual fact neither Vergil nor his older contemporary, the historian Livy, had any knowledge of the beginnings of

Rome. For the early history of the Eternal City we are dependent chiefly on the evidence of archaeology and on what we can glean from the traditions of noble families and certain religious survivals. Greek historians, especially those in Sicily, give references to early Roman history, but it was not until the end of the fourth century B.C. that the Romans themselves began to make reliable records of their consuls and chief events. When, therefore, the patriotism of conquering Rome demanded a glorious past, the first Roman historians—such as Ennius and Naevius during the Punic Wars, and Fabius Pictor not long afterward—were bewildered by the conflicting and scanty evidence and did not hesitate to invent stories and twist others to the advantage of Rome. Needless to say, our own knowledge for this early period is severely limited.

ROME'S LOCATION. We do know, however, that Rome's central position in Italy, allowing her to conquer southward and northward at her convenience, was favorable for ultimate control of the peninsula, whereas in her early period the fact that she was astride the Tiber crossing and so the trade route between Etruria and Campania brought quickening influences into her life, while the inhospitable marshes south of the Tiber long protected her from enterprising Greeks. The Tiber is navigable for fifteen miles from its mouth, where the port of Ostia was later founded, and at the limit of navigation, opposite the Palatine, there is an island which facilitated land traffic. At this point on the left, or eastern, bank of the river are located the famous Seven Hills of Rome: the Capitoline, Palatine, and Aventine, with their spurs, the Quirinal, Viminal, Esquiline, and Caelian; and across the river are the Janiculum and Vatican, originally outer defenses but ultimately brought within the city. The hills, which controlled the Tiber passage, attracted early settlers, but the danger of constant floods was a drawback that was not overcome till Etruscan engineers drained the area between the Capitoline and the Palatine; eventually this became the Forum or market place.

Archaeological investigations have revealed cemeteries on the Palatine, Esquiline, and Quirinal that belong to the early Iron Age (not long after 1000 B.C.) and prove the existence of three separate communities in Rome at this time. We are doubtless correct in supposing that these people represented a cremating Italic folk, called Latins, and an inhuming Sabine stock, who arrived somewhat later, and as the two amalgamated they absorbed the descendants of neolithic days. Racially mixed though they were, and destined to receive Etruscan blood as well, the Romans were nevertheless Latins and akin to the other dwellers of Latium. Latium is a district that extends from the Tiber southward along the coast to the promontory of Circeii and inland to the Apennines. In the mountains south of Circeii, separating Latium from Campania, lived the fierce and hostile Volsci, one of the tribes of the Sabellian-Umbrian group (maps, pp. 436, 437, 453).



The chief Latin towns, in addition to Rome, were Praeneste, Tibur, and Tusculum, but perhaps because of its reputed age a certain precedence was enjoyed by Alba Longa. This town was situated on the Alban Lake and was the head of a religious league which met annually on the Alban Mount to honor the Latin Jupiter. When Rome began to expand in the sixth century and conquered Alba Longa, some of these Latin towns founded another religious league, in the grove of Diana at Aricia, which was in part a defensive alliance against the rising power of Rome. The first and humble step toward Roman expansion, however, was the creation of a religious festival—that of the Seven Mounts—and the bringing together of the three separate communities on the Palatine, Esquiline, and Quirinal, and those which had developed on the Viminal and Caelian, into a union known as Rome of the Four Regions, with its citadel (*arx*) on the Capitoline. The sacred boundary of this city, which was not to include the Aventine until later, was known as the *pomerium* and was protected by a simple wall.

THE ROMAN CHARACTER. With the growth of Etruscan civilization some Romans engaged in making and exchanging wares, but most of the people remained farmers and cultivated their little fields in the flat land about the city, which is known today as the Campagna. As the farmer, clad in his tunic (a loose woolen garment which reached the knee), followed his bronze-shod plough and yoke of cattle, his narrow mind held only sober, practical ideas, for he saw nothing of the world beyond the mountains bordering the Latian plain—mountains which inspired him with no love of the beautiful and grand, but rather with a feeling of hatred for the enemies who were accustomed to swoop down upon his fields. His laborious life, his warfare against famine, pestilence, and neighbors, made him stern and harsh and, even in his dealings with the gods, calculating and illiberal. Love, pity, and benevolence found little place in his heart, but he was strong in the more heroic virtues, in dignity, bravery, and energy; he respected the gods and forefathers and, above all, obeyed the laws and ancestral custom (*mos maiorum*) and was a man of his word.

The same simplicity and severity characterized the family and its dwelling. The early house was generally round, with a hole in the thatched roof to carry off the smoke from the hearth in the single room (*atrium*); these houses, incidentally, often served as models for urns to hold the ashes of those who were cremated. The home was sacred, consecrated by the religious marriage act, and within it lived the guardian deities, the Lares who protected the fields and the Penates who watched over the family stores. To them and the other gods the father, in the discharge of his duties (*pietas*), was bound to sacrifice. The father (*pater familias*) had absolute authority (*patria potestas*), even the power of life and death, over his wife and children, his slaves and tenant farm-

ers (*clientes*)—a strict moral school, if we may so describe it, where the wife was respected, and shared in the family worship and inheritance, and the young men were disciplined for public life. As the family grew larger in the course of several generations, it often happened that the members, even if widely separated, kept up their social and religious relations with one another in an association known as a clan (*gens*).¹ Small groups of families united in a brotherhood (*curia*), and on certain festal days the men ate together in a common dining hall containing a sacred hearth, on which they kept fire burning perpetually in honor of Juno. When war broke out, the members of a *curia* followed their leaders to the front and stood side by side on the field of battle, inspired by kinship and religion to deeds of daring.

4. THE KINGS OF ROME

Seven kings, according to tradition, ruled Rome in early times: Romulus, a purely legendary figure, Numa Pompilius, Tullus Hostilius, Ancus Martius, and three others who probably date from the Etruscan conquest, Lucius Tarquinius Priscus, Servius Tullius, and Lucius Tarquinius Superbus. Obscure though these personages are, the fact of the monarchy is proved by the survival in republican days of a priestly office known as king (*rex sacrorum*) and of another office, that of *interrex*, upon whom fell the duty, if the state was without magistrates, of carrying on the government until elections were held. The people elected the king for life from among the members of the royal family and conferred the authority, or *imperium*, upon him, which made him absolute commander in war, as well as chief priest and judge. The king appointed the various officials and, because of the dignity of his office, dressed in an embroidered purple robe and high red shoes; with an eagle-headed scepter in his hand he sat on an ivory throne, the so-called curule chair. Twelve attendants (*lictors*) carried the symbols of the king's *imperium*, an axe bound in a bundle of rods (*fascēs*).

GOVERNMENT AND SOCIAL CLASSES. When the king wished to consult his people on questions of public interest, such as the possibility of war, his criers went about the city with oxhorns, calling them to the meeting place (*comitium*). Here the thirty *curiae*, ten from each of the three tribes (*Thiēs*, *Ramnes*, *Luceres*, which ultimately became the names of the cavalry corps of the army), met as the Assembly, or *comitia curiata*, and listened to the king's proposition. Each *curia* cast its own vote, and a majority of *curiae* decided the matter. To be binding, however, such a decision of the Assembly had to receive the sanction (the *patrum auctoritas*) of the Senate, the ancient advisory coun-

¹ Every member of a clan bore its name and two others; for example, in the case of Publius Cornelius Scipio, Publius is the personal name (*praenomen*) given by his parents, Cornelius is the clan name (*nomen*), and Scipio is the name of his family (*cognomen*), a branch of the Cornelian clan.

cil of elders. The senators (*patres*, fathers) came exclusively from the well-organized, wealthy aristocracy, and the members of their families and their descendants, known as patricians, filled the priestly colleges and other offices. The great mass of Romans were called plebeians, and though they were debarred from priesthoods, offices, and Senate, they were personally free and could own property, engage in business, and vote in the popular Assembly. Patricians and plebeians together formed at once the Roman people (*populus Romanus et Quirites*) and the army. The patricians made up the cavalry and were followed into battle by the poorer plebeians, many of whom had fallen into a state of clientage to their wealthy patrons. In days of peace, however, the client worked the land of his noble patron, supported him in public life, and in return received legal advice and protection, but the relationship of dependency inevitably sharpened the bitter struggle between the social classes of patricians and plebeians that was long to characterize republican Rome.

RELIGION. It may have been the growing prosperity of Rome that tempted the Etruscans to Latium. At any rate, it was under the Etruscan kings in the sixth century that Rome became an important and powerful community. Several Latin towns were conquered, including even Alba Longa; trade increased to such an extent that Carthage came within the orbit of Rome; trade guilds of flute players, smiths, potters, and so on, grew up under the patronage of Minerva; fields were drained, with a corresponding benefit to agriculture, which was the basis of economic life; the Forum was drained and the city fortified. There was strong Etruscan influence in the art and architecture of the temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline, but it was probably in religious ritual itself that Etruscan influence was most profound. For example, the Romans took over from Etruria their great trinity, though they identified the chief guardian of the state Jupiter, and Juno the patron spirit of women, with their own deities and retained for them the Latin names. Minerva, the third of the trinity and goddess of war, skill and wisdom, kept an Etruscan name. There were, of course, many other Roman gods, such as Mars, the god of war; Vulcan, the god of fire and forge; Janus, god of the doorway; and Vesta, the goddess of the hearth. As the Romans became more and more aware of Greek civilization, however, they began to identify the gods of Greece with their own. Jupiter was identified with Zeus, Juno with Hera, Minerva with Athena, Mars with Ares, and Venus, a garden deity, with Aphrodite, the goddess of love; several Greek gods, such as Apollo, were adopted outright. Roman religion concerned itself primarily with material blessings and had little to do with spiritual needs. In order to win the favor of the gods the most important thing was the strict observance of ritual; the word *religio* suggests fear, the necessity of performing duties inspired by fear.

It was the task of priests to see to the service of the various gods, but

certain religious duties were under the supervision of groups, or colleges, of sacred persons, such as the six Vestal Virgins who attended to the worship of Vesta and preserved the sacred fire of the state in her temple. The college of augurs interpreted for the king the omens (auspices) sent by Jupiter, through which he revealed his will regarding the state, in the flight of birds and in thunder and lightning. The Romans borrowed the elements of the auspices from Etruria and developed them into a complex system. Since they were intensely religious and obeyed strictly what they believed to be the divine will, it was partly through the auspices that the magistrate controlled the people. The college of pontiffs was the principal adviser of the king in religious matters and, as the guardian of the civil and religious law (*ius* and *fas*), drew up the calendar of sacred days. The power of the chief of this college (the *pontifex maximus*) was so great that it probably reflected the union of religious and political authority in the person of the king during the regal period. The fact that many important religious offices were occupied by magistrates doubtless explains why government at Rome did not fall into the hands of priests, as so often happened in the Near East, and the same principle holds for all Roman history: the magistrates were not slaves to religion, but used religion rather as an aid to government.

OVERTHROW OF THE MONARCHY. Important as was the Etruscan contribution to the development of Rome, about the year 509 B.C. the Latin aristocracy rose up against their last king, Tarquin the Proud, and overthrew him. Once freed from Etruscan domination, however, the nobles faced immediately the struggle against the common people in their own state. It was amid these circumstances that the Roman Republic was born.

XXIV

THE EXPANSION AND DEVELOPMENT OF ROME TO 265 B.C.

1. THE EARLY REPUBLIC

Although the details are inexact for the two and a half centuries following the fall of the Roman monarchy, and the dates themselves are largely traditional, there is no doubt that the years were crowded with wars, the successful conclusion of which meant, first, the preservation of Rome itself and, secondly, the unification of the peninsula under her single rule. These wars helped to determine the character and outcome of the political struggle of the people with the nobles, because the democratic masses, ever incited to further expansion by the fruits of conquest and realizing their own importance to the military machine, were able to wring greater and greater concessions from the nobility (cf. map, pp. 478, 479).

ROME'S NEIGHBORS. The downfall of monarchy and the establishment of the Republic left Rome exposed to the attacks of her neighbors, especially the Latins, and of the now hostile Etruscans. She was further weakened by dissensions between patricians and plebeians within her own city. But after a brief war the leading Roman statesman of the time, Spurius Cassius, negotiated a perpetual peace with the Latin League (ca. 493 B.C.). This provided not only for an offensive and defensive alliance, but also for an exchange of the private rights of citizenship; that is to say, the right of *commercium* granted Romans and Latins the privilege of carrying on business and owning property in each other's territory, while the right of *conubium* assured legal marriage and inheritance.

It was well that the Romans and Latins had renewed their alliance, for they were soon to begin a long, hard struggle in defense of their property and lives against the hungry tribes of the hills. Year after year the Sabines, descending from their mountain homes, pillaged the Roman territory, and often, too, the Aequi burned farmhouses and drove off the farmers' cattle. Once they trapped a consul and his army in a valley and, according to the famous story, the Senate appointed Cincinnatus dictator in the crisis. The messengers, bearing the commission across the Tiber, found him plowing on his small farm. Cincinnatus

listened to their message and, wiping the sweat and dust from his brow, took the command. In sixteen days he was back on his farm, a private citizen once more, but in the interval he had defeated the enemy, captured much booty and celebrated a triumph—a grand procession that moved along the Sacred Way through the Forum and up the Capitoline to the temple of Jupiter. Though the story is probably more fiction than fact, it does illustrate delightfully the simple life of the time, the devotion to duty and the triumph of a victorious general.

SIEGE OF VEII. For many years Rome carried on war with the Sabines and Aequi and other mountaineers, named Volsci, but the incorporation of the nearby Hernici (strategically situated between Aequi and Volsci) into the Latin League strengthened the alliance, and by the end of the fifth century Rome had little to fear from raiding bands. About 406 B.C., however, the Romans commenced a war of epic proportions, the ten-year siege of Veii, an important Etruscan city a dozen miles to the north. Veii had been a rich and civilized city for centuries, very powerful militarily, situated, as it was, on a steep and strongly fortified height. Its commercial competition and political influence were a threat to Roman ambition, until at last the great dictator Camillus destroyed the city, sold much of its population into slavery, and doubled the public land of Rome by annexing its territory.

THE GAULS SACK ROME (390 B.C.). Veii had received little help in its hour of trial from the other Etruscan cities, partly because of their own loose political organization, but chiefly, no doubt, because they were now faced, on their northern frontier, with a new enemy who had crossed the Alps. These were a Celtic people known as Gauls, brave, tall warriors with fair hair and flashing blue eyes, devoted alike to war and drink, and accustomed to fight in dense masses with long, two-edged iron swords; however, they lacked the discipline and machinery necessary to undertake sustained sieges. They drove the Etruscans from the fertile valley of the Po, occupied it themselves permanently—hence the entire area came to be known as Cisalpine Gaul—and then invaded Etruria proper. About eleven miles north of Rome, on a tributary of the Tiber above Fidenae called the Allia, they met a large force of Romans. The Romans had never hesitated to stand up against the wild tribes of the hills, but these fierce northern giants, whose “harsh music and discordant clamors filled all places with a horrible din,” were a new and terrifying experience, and the Romans fled in rout, some taking refuge in ravaged Veii, while others brought news of impending disaster to Rome. Nor were they mistaken. Panic gripped the city, many inhabitants had already fled, and only on the Capitoline were there signs of defiance. The citadel did, indeed, hold out, but the rest of the city was sacked and burned (ca. 390 B.C.). Ever restless and fickle, and worried by threats to their new homeland in the Po Valley, the Gauls ultimately ac-

cepted an indemnity and marched off. The Romans, too, returned, and with remarkable perseverance cleared away the debris and rebuilt their city, but this time they were careful to enclose it with a strong stone wall, which still stands in many places and was attributed by later generations to the king, Servius Tullius.

2. THE LATIN AND SAMNITE WARS

FIRST SAMNITE WAR (343–341 B.C.). The half century following the rebuilding of the city was a period of constant, albeit successful, warfare for the Romans, during which time they took the fateful and momentous decision to engage in extra-Latian affairs. Because of further danger from the Gauls, the Romans temporarily formed an alliance with Samnium, the most powerful nation in the interior of the peninsula. The Samnites were brave and free, but they were also poor and overpopulated, a race of mountaineers, without cities, wealth, king or aristocracy. The best solution of their problem, so thought many from time to time, was to raid the fertile plain of Campania to the west, around the Bay of Naples, but their threat to the wealthy city of Capua brought an appeal to Rome. Thus began the First Samnite War (343–341 B.C.). The Romans granted their citizenship to the people of Capua and nearby Cumae, and on the conclusion of the war gained control of nearly all Campania.

THE LATIN WAR (340–338 B.C.). The sudden, and apparently arbitrary, ending of hostilities offended the Latins, who had supported the Romans and endured the hazards of war in the belief that they were equal partners. The previous treaty with Samnium had raised questions in their minds, as had Rome's even earlier act of refusing them land confiscated from the Volsci, and therefore they now decided to put the matter of their relationship with Rome to a test: they demanded that they be given Roman citizenship and that one consul and half the senators be chosen from their number. The demand was rejected with scorn; as Livy later put it, "A foreign consul and foreign senators sitting in the temple of Jupiter would be an insult to the supreme god of the state, as though he were taken captive by the enemy!" In the Latin War that followed (340–338 B.C.), Rome enjoyed the advantage that comes to a single city in opposing a loose confederacy, and after one or two fierce battles and a series of sieges she dissolved the Latin League. Most of the Latin cities were incorporated in the Roman state, though Praeneste and Tibur retained their independence.

SECOND SAMNITE WAR (326–304 B.C.). Rome's consistent successes were due, in part at least, to her superior military organization and equipment. The army was a peasant militia, obedient, brave and hardy, ready for long marches and severe toils, rarely over elated by victory or cast down by misfortune. It seems to have been inspired, too, with the idea that its struggles were for

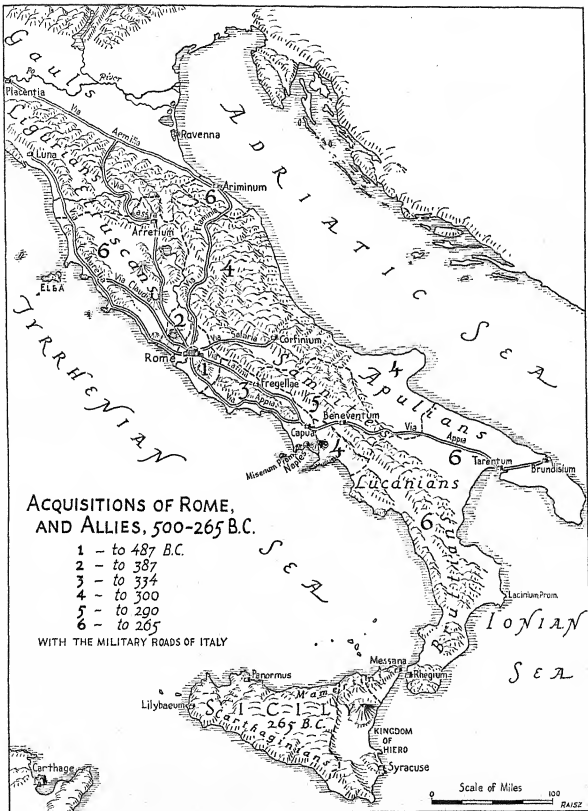
home and country, in defense of the wealth and civilization of the plain against encroaching barbarism. The buoyant and confident spirit of Rome was, however, matched by a growing fear on the part of others, and when she laid siege to Naples, a free Greek city of Campania, the Samnites reinforced the place. This led to the Second Samnite War (ca. 326–304 B.C.).

At first Rome was successful, and then the tide turned in favor of Samnium. In 321 B.C. Pontius, the Samnite leader, enticed the Roman consuls with 40,000 men into an ambush at the Caudine Forks, in a valley of the Apennines, and compelled them to surrender. The consuls, in the name of the state, swore to the enemy's terms of peace, and then the whole army, deprived of its arms, marched under a yoke of three spears in token of their complete and humiliating submission. All were allowed to return home, excepting 600 knights who were detained as hostages, but the Romans were so outraged by the disgrace that they soon found a pretext for breaking the treaty.

The war dragged on from year to year, but Rome's policy of settling and organizing conquered territory finally bore fruit. The fortress colonies which she established on the border of Samnium, for example, hemmed the enemy in his narrow, mountain valleys, and at the same time the Romans built a paved road, known as the Via Appia, from Rome to Capua which provided secure communications with Campania at all seasons of the year. Although the Samnites received help from the Etruscans and Umbrians, Rome now met with success in all her battles, the consuls ravaged Etruria and captured the strongholds of Samnium. In 304 B.C., after suffering great losses, the Samnites agreed to renew the former treaty which had left them free.

THIRD SAMNITE WAR (298–290 B.C.). It was hardly to be expected, however, that so inconclusive a result would long continue, and shortly thereafter the Third Samnite War (298–290 B.C.) broke in all its fury. Now all the Italic peoples, together with the Etruscans and a horde of Celtic invaders, set upon the city which was clearly trying to dominate the peninsula. Rome's strategic geographical position, however, made it possible for her to deal with one enemy at a time, and in a decisive battle at Sentinum in Umbria (295 B.C.) she broke the league of her enemies. Deserted by their allies, the Samnites held out resolutely for five more years, until Marius Curius Dentatus, the Roman consul, compelled them to sue for peace and accept the status of dependent allies.

The long conflict was now ended. It had begun, at the very opening of the republican period, with strife between the plains and mountains—in border warfare with the Aequi and Volsci—and it culminated in a long and fierce struggle with Samnium. Much of Italy, from Etruria to Lucania, had been overrun; many cities and villages were in ruin; pastures and wheatfields had been harmed, and famine was a threat, with so many men continually absent



on expeditions; thousands of warriors had fallen in battle, and many men, women and children once free were slaves of the Romans. Nevertheless, the really astounding thing about Rome is that the more wars she fought, the stronger, the more inexhaustible, she seemed to be. At the same time it was her great genius, whether by luck or design, to unite her defeated foes in her organization and to keep them remarkably loyal; this must also have meant that she brought them prosperity. Rome's organization and sense of justice brought to Italy, not a tyranny, but a union of all peoples under her rule. In this way the foundations of empire were laid.

3. THE CONQUEST OF SOUTHERN ITALY

TARENTUM. Magna Graecia was, as its name implies, the home of large numbers of Greeks, who lived in ancient and proud city-states. Much of their life, nevertheless, consisted of quarrels among themselves and with their Italian neighbors, but in addition the Sicilian Greeks and the founding cities of old Greece often interfered in their affairs. Of all these cities the richest and most powerful was Sparta's colony, Tarentum, famous for its harbor, its textiles, pottery, fisheries and far-flung trade. It was only natural, therefore, that the Tarentines should feel a certain primacy among the Greeks of southern Italy, and they even concluded a treaty with Rome which forbade Roman ships to sail within the great Gulf of Tarentum, north of the Lacinian promontory. Needless to say, Tarentum was resentful when the Greeks of Thurii appealed to the growing Roman power, rather than to herself, for help against the Lucanians and Bruttians, and the resentment turned into anger when Rome accepted Thurii, and Locri and Rhegium as well, as allies and placed garrisons in their cities. Not long afterward, a small Roman squadron, in open violation of the treaty, sailed beyond the Lacinian promontory, and the Tarentines immediately put to sea, sunk several Roman ships and massacred the crews of others. The Romans sent ambassadors to demand reparation for this and other alleged wrongs, but they were insolently dismissed (map, p. 255).

PYRRHUS. Thus it came about that Rome found herself at war with a state in the very instep of the peninsula. The Tarentines, on their side, appealed for aid to the king of Epirus, Pyrrhus, a brilliant but unstable military genius, who responded with an army of 25,000 men, trained in Macedonian fashion, and 20 elephants, newcomers in Italian warfare. His first victory was at Heraclea (280 B.C.), which brought him many allies. But his own losses were so great—thus giving rise to the expression, "Pyrrhic victory"—that, though he pushed on to within a few miles of Rome, he was anxious for peace. His ambassador, Cineas, spoke eloquently in the Senate, but the old and blind statesman, Appius Claudius Caecus, was carried on a litter into the Senate

house to cry, "Let Pyrrhus return home, and then we may make peace with him!" The principle, here enunciated, that the interests of Italy were a concern of Rome illustrates the Roman policy of making peace only with a defeated enemy and of tying him to Rome by a perpetual treaty. Whether the Romans planned it that way or not, this often produced new conflicts. Failing to win his cause by either eloquence or bribery, Cineas returned to Pyrrhus with the report that the Roman Senate was an assembly of kings. The next year, at Asculum, Pyrrhus won yet another victory, but at such a price that he remarked to his friends, "Another such victory will ruin us."

In these critical years Rome received help from Carthage, with whom she had had several treaties since early days, and who feared that Pyrrhus might turn his attention to Sicily. And this is precisely what Pyrrhus did, for in answer to a call for aid from Syracuse he crossed over to Sicily and spent four years in war, defeating the Carthaginians of the island and preparing for an invasion of their homeland, when his Greek allies tired of him and deserted. Pyrrhus then withdrew to Italy and after a defeat at Beneventum (275 B.C.) returned to Greece, where he died fighting three years later.

The force which Pyrrhus had left behind in Tarentum soon surrendered and in its place was stationed a Roman garrison. Tarentum and the other Greek cities of southern Italy became Roman allies. Thus by 265 B.C.—within two and a half centuries of the founding of the Republic—Rome was mistress of all Italy south of the Rubicon, a river of northern Italy on the east coast (see maps, pp. 436, 437, 457).

4. THE ORGANIZATION OF ROMAN RULE IN ITALY

THE ARMY. The steady and far-seeing guidance of the skilled men who formed the Roman Senate had produced this remarkable achievement, for, even though some of the conquests were accidental and others were the result of defensive wars (which Rome pursued nonetheless with great vigor), a pattern of deliberate imperialism becomes clearer with the years. The instrument of this policy was, of course, the army. At first the soldiers served without pay and equipped themselves according to their means, but during the siege of Veii payment for service was introduced, which made possible a thorough change in the military system, where experience rather than wealth counted. Henceforth, the citizens, who had been accustomed to short summer campaigns, could serve the entire year, if necessary, and could buy their own equipment—bronze breastplate and greaves, a leather shield, an iron sword, and a spear or javelin (*pilum*). These well-armed warriors were called "the classes"—others, not used regularly, were known as "below the class"—and numbered during the fifth century 4,000 men. The unit was the "century" (100 men); during this period the three old tribes of monarchical times were

abolished in favor of twenty new ones, and thus we have two centuries to a tribe as the basis of the levy for the infantry. The cavalry grew to six centuries and was drawn from the only section of the population rich enough to afford a horse, the patricians, though in time the Italian allies supplied most of the cavalry.

The war with Veii, and other wars to come, raised the size of the Roman army, and by the fourth century Rome had two legions in place of the solid phalanx that had been adapted from Macedonia. Each legion, now quite flexible, had 3,000 heavy-armed foot soldiers, divided into companies or maniples of sixty men each, and in battle the maniples were drawn up at intervals in such a way that the vacant spaces in a line were covered by the companies of the following line; each line was several ranks deep. To each legion were ordinarily attached 1,200 light-armed troops and 300 cavalry.

THE SECRET OF ROME'S SUCCESS. When we recall that many cities appealed to Rome for an alliance—how many ever made a similar appeal to Athens or Sparta?—and when we consider that these conquests of Rome produced a federation which held remarkably well during the terrible crisis of the war with Hannibal, we are challenged to discover, if we can, the secret of Rome's success. Somewhere, in the organization of Roman rule of Italy, lay the formula by which a republican city-state might build a world empire; somehow, and again in contrast to Athens and Sparta, Rome created a patriotic interest in a common national welfare. It is true that an alliance with Rome could never be broken without war and that, when once allied, degradation from independent to dependent status often followed, but it is also true that Rome was extraordinarily tolerant of local feeling, customs, and institutions, and that peace and trade frequently followed the end of civil strife. In the narrowest sense, part of Rome's success lay in her clever recognition that the local aristocracy would support the power that supported it, but the real secret of success, the whole central idea of Rome's empire building, may be summed up in the word "liberality." That is to say, those who enjoyed only partial Roman citizenship, or none at all, could look forward to the day when they would be elevated to full citizenship.

ROMAN CITIZENS. There were two classes of Roman citizens. The full citizens enjoyed all the privileges and lived, many of them, in Rome itself; still others, however, lived in cities or villages elsewhere in Italy. These communities had their own governments, with magistrates, council, and assembly, and the inhabitants usually had their law cases settled in their local courts and followed their vocations there. Since they were Roman citizens, they had the right to go to Rome and vote in the assemblies or present themselves as candidates for office. There were also Roman military colonies, twenty-seven in number, each of which usually consisted of 300 citizens with their families, who were placed

in a frontier town as a garrison. The full citizens, that is to say, consisted of the people of Rome; cities and villages both south and north, which were particularly favored by Rome, probably often because of their strategic position, such as Capua and Cumae; and the military colonies, placed in garrisons sometimes beyond the frontier of the actual Roman state.

The other class of Roman citizens was known as *cives sine suffragio* (citizens without the suffrage), for they did not have the right to vote or hold office in Rome, though they did have the private rights (those of *commercium* and *conubium*). These people lived in *municipia* (municipalities), were wholly free, and in strictly local affairs had self-government. The *municipia* were located in Latium, Etruria, and Campania, and represented early Rome's method of preparing for ultimate full citizenship people who either insisted on partial independence or who were not vitally important to her at the moment.

ROMAN ALLIES. Rome also had two classes of allies. The Latin allies were, of course, nearest to the Romans in blood, language, customs, and sympathy. They consisted of the few colonies that had been founded by the old Latin League; of certain towns in Latium itself, such as Tibur and Praeneste, which had not accepted Roman citizenship on the League's end; and of the thirty-five Latin colonies founded in all parts of Italy. Romans as well as Latins took part in these foundations, but they were called Latin colonies because all the members had the status of Latin allies. That is to say, they formed self-governing, almost sovereign states, each bound to Rome by an individual treaty which regulated the relations between the two states. These were the people of the "Latin name" (*nomen Latinum*); the Latin who left a son of military age behind and moved to Rome had an unrestricted right to trade, to buy property there, to intermarry with Romans, and could easily obtain citizenship if he wished. The Latin colonies were of a military nature and served as outposts at strategic points; at the same time they were a means of extending the Latin language and civilization to the natives, while relieving overpopulation and poverty at home.

Rome's other allies were called Italian (*socii Italici*), each of whom, as in the case of the Latins, had its own separate treaty with her. They enjoyed every gradation of privilege. Neither Latins nor Italians paid taxes or tribute to Rome, but all their communities furnished the number of troops fixed by treaty. These troops were not incorporated in the Roman legions, but served in separate detachments. Rome furnished subsistence and allowed them to share equally in the booty. The communities on the coast, especially the Greek cities, furnished ships and crews, and all the allies had to equip and pay their own troops. They had no voice, however, in the declaration of war, the general strategy or the conclusion of treaties.

In her conquest of the Italian peninsula, then, Rome created an imperial league of small states under her leadership. It was a strongly centralized federal system, directed by Rome and based upon a common Italian nationality, of which everyone became more and more aware.

5. THE MAGISTRACY, SENATE, AND ASSEMBLY

Although the Roman soldier rarely hesitated to conquer others and to win as much material profit as possible, he was determined to gain for himself political equality at home. The conflict between plebeians and patricians is known as the Struggle between the Orders, and it must have been clear, almost from the beginning of the Republic, that the coöperation of the masses, militarily speaking, was so indispensable that they would be able to enforce their demands upon the privileged nobility. The Roman respect for law and order was so great, however, that in spite of occasional open strife and much bitterness, the entire Struggle is punctuated, most conspicuously, by a series of laws which in the issue, overlong in coming perhaps, gave the Romans democracy. The various laws, together with developing custom, produced eventually a responsible magistracy, regular assemblies and political equality.

THE MAGISTRACY. When the monarchy gave way to the Republic in 509 B.C., two consuls with equal power were elected annually by the Assembly in place of the lifelong king. As each consul had the right to veto any public act of the other—a right subsequently enjoyed by other magistrates—the two colleagues by checking each other hindered their office from growing too powerful for the good of the state. In days of peace the consuls generally alternated their rule within the city monthly, but on the battlefield, though it sounds well-nigh incredible, the command of the army usually alternated daily. That the system worked is the best commentary that can be written on it, but it was probably due, in large part, to the fact that a consul had behind him the experience of at least ten military campaigns; during a critical war or dangerous sedition, however, one of the consuls might nominate to the Senate a dictator, who placed the state under martial law and ruled with absolute power. The dictator's term was limited to the period of the emergency, with a maximum of six months. So fearful were the Romans of supreme power in the hands of a single individual!

The consuls had the power of life and death over the soldiers in the field, but in ordinary capital cases they were compelled as judges to grant an appeal to the Assembly. The early consuls enjoyed most of the authority of the king, together with his trappings and attendants, such as the curule chair and lictors, but it was the development of other magistracies, occasioned by the growth of state business, that slowly robbed the office of its all-embracing power. As these magistracies came into being and grew—eventually settling themselves

into a regular succession, known as the *cursus honorum*—two features which we noticed at the outset in connection with the consuls remained, their annuality and their collegiality. Reëlection to the same office was forbidden, until after the lapse of ten years, and since there was an obvious advantage in permitting a consul to finish a campaign after his term of office had expired, the system of promagistracy was devised, whereby a consul was allowed to continue for an indefinite period “in the place of a consul” (*pro consule*), as it was called.

Not long after the middle of the fifth century the pressure of war apparently compelled the Romans from time to time to substitute increasingly large boards of military tribunes with consular power—or, more briefly, consular tribunes—for the consuls, but about 366 B.C. they reverted to the annual election of two consuls; henceforth the consular tribunes were exclusively military officers. But the necessity of having the highest officials continuously ready for the field remained, and a new magistracy, the praetorship, was created (in the usual form of a board or “college”) to relieve the consuls of acting as judges in civil cases.

The consuls lost still more of their pristine power, when the magistracy was further developed about 443 B.C. by the creation of the censorship. The two censors took over from the consuls the duty of making a register of the citizens and their property and of assigning each man to his tribe and class. They also let out to the highest bidders the privilege of collecting the taxes, and attended to the erection of public buildings. The censorship was unusual, for election took place every five years and the incumbents (ordinarily ex-consuls) held office for and completed their work in eighteen months. In financial matters, too, the consulship lost ground, for the two quaestors, who had originally been appointed by the consuls for the purpose of keeping the treasury, were annually elected by the people from about 450 B.C.; after 421 B.C. there were two additional quaestors who accompanied the army as quartermasters. The supervision of streets and public buildings, markets and public games, fell to the two plebeian aediles, who were also created about this time, and to the two curule aediles, who were originally patricians.

THE CURSUS HONORUM. Here, then, were the Roman magistracies, so arranged, excepting the censorship, that a man would ordinarily proceed from one to the other: quaestors (at the bottom of the *cursus honorum*), aediles, praetors, consuls, and censors. They all had *potestas* (authority), but only the praetors, consuls, and dictator had *imperium*, the right to command an army, preside over an assembly, and to try important cases. It was an extraordinary system, designed to bring able men of wide experience to the top, and in combination with the Senate gave Rome tremendous advantages denied the rest of the world.

THE SENATE. All important places of honor and trust during the early Republic—military, political, and religious—were filled by patricians, especially by senators. The Senate gained in prestige after the downfall of the monarchy, because as the permanent, advisory body of the state it could influence and dominate the consuls, who served but one year and could then be called upon to account to the Senate for their administration. By the third century B.C. the Senate consisted of 300 members, who were chosen by the consuls from among the leading families; it was also the custom for ex-consuls and ex-praetors to go on to the Senate, which meant that their experience was not lost to the state and that they themselves would probably, during their term of office, consult the interests of the body they were about to join. Since the members served for life (unless removed for misconduct), the Senate was strongly conservative and class conscious, and very powerful too, because for a long time the sanction of the patrician senators (the *patrum auctoritas*) was necessary before actions of the Assembly could become law. After much strife, as we shall see, plebeians gained membership in the Senate through the consulship; to distinguish them from the patrician senators (*patres*) they were known as “the enrolled” (*conscripti*)—hence the expression *patres conscripti* in addressing the Senate.

THE ASSEMBLIES. It will be recalled that the first Assembly of the Roman people was the *comitia curiata*, which the patricians easily dominated, but in the earliest days of the Republic it was resolved to create a new assembly, which would not be associated with birth. According to the principle of the Roman military system, the people had been divided into classes by property, each class furnishing a fixed number of centuries, and the idea was hit upon to carry this principle over into an assembly which would be exclusively political. The original motive seems to have been to make every citizen's voting power correspond to his worth as a soldier; or, as it might be described, to the completeness of his armor, so that the more property a man possessed, the greater was to be his political influence.

The new Assembly was called the *comitia centuriata*, because the citizens were grouped by centuries, 193 in all, and each century had a single vote. As in the army, they were divided into cavalry (knights) and infantry, and the latter were subdivided into five classes according to the amount of their property. Several centuries formed a class, but the centuries themselves varied in size and did not necessarily contain 100 men each; a century of juniors (those liable for military service) was larger than one composed of seniors (the reserves), while that of the landless was by far the largest of all.

Because of its military organization, which must not be confused with its political purpose and function, the Centuriate Assembly could not gather within the city; it held its meetings, accordingly, outside the *pomerium* in the

Campus Martius, and there it elected the magistrates, heard appeals in capital cases, and voted on proposals for laws and wars; its acts needed, for a brief period, the sanction of the patrician senators to gain the force of law. The knights voted first, then the first or wealthiest class, then the other classes in their order till a majority was reached. It will be seen from the following table that the knights and the first class formed a majority, so that, if they agreed, they decided the question, and the voting proceeded no further. It rarely happened that all the centuries were called upon to vote, and thus it is clear that the more property a man had, the more powerful became his vote.

ORGANIZATION OF THE COMITIA CENTURIATA

	Juniors (17-46 years)	Seniors (above 46 years)
I Class	40 centuries	40 centuries
II Class	10 centuries	10 centuries
III Class	10 centuries	10 centuries
IV Class	10 centuries	10 centuries
V Class	14 centuries	14 centuries
	<hr/> 84 centuries	<hr/> 84 centuries
		168 centuries
Cavalry (Knights)		18 centuries
Substitutes for the killed and wounded		2 centuries
Musicians and workmen		4 centuries
Landless proletarians		1 century
		<hr/> 193 centuries

The *comitia curiata*, shortly after the formation of the Republic, ceased to have real authority, although it continued to meet to sanction the *imperium* of magistrates after their election and to attend to religious formalities.

It has already been stated that the early Republic abolished the three old tribes of kingly days and substituted twenty new ones in their place. Of these, four consisted of the city population, and the remainder included the Roman population of Latium. As Roman territory expanded, other tribes were created, until there were thirty-three in 265 B.C. and thirty-five (the ultimate limit) in 241 B.C. On the tribal organization was based the registration of citizens and so both the system of taxation and of military service. It is possible, however, that the existence of the tribes may explain the origin of another assembly, the so-called Tribal Assembly or *comitia tributa*, because its

presiding officers, by their name (tribune) and number (four), suggest a link with the four city tribes.

In the beginning, the Tribal Assembly had no authority over the state, for it was simply a gathering for plebeian business, and as a consequence was often spoken of as "the council of the plebs" (*concilium plebis*). Measures passed by this body needed the approval of the Senate to be binding on all the citizens and were then called "resolutions of the plebs" (*plebi scita*) in contradistinction to the laws (*lex*, pl. *leges*) passed by an Assembly presided over by a magistrate with the *imperium*. The Tribal Assembly elected the plebeian aediles and tribunes, but the ease with which it could be brought together within the city and the simple method of a mere majority determining each tribe's vote meant its eventual development into a regular Assembly, the chief legislative body at Rome, while the Centuriate Assembly continued to function primarily for elections.

Here, then, were two sovereign bodies composed of the same people—the *comitia centuriata* and the *comitia tributa*—as impossible an arrangement, so it might seem, as the existence of two consuls on the field of battle with equal power; but the Roman respect for law and order, no less than the realization that democracy is a question of compromise—so that, for example, the custom developed of dividing the two assemblies into elective and legislative bodies—enabled the system to function. And withal, in the background, stood the Senate, something of an enigma and often exercising more power than it was entitled to.

6. THE GREAT LAWS

The Roman constitution—the magistracies and assemblies which we have just described and the laws which represent milestones along the way—was hammered out step by step, now more quickly because of the importance of the plebeians to the military effort, now slowly because of the absence of many men on expeditions or because of a crisis which pushed all else into the background. The length of time it took, however, helps to explain its complicated character as contrasted, for example, with the unified character of a written constitution. The specific aim of the plebeians was to win political equality with the patricians, though at the very beginning this must have been a vaguely formulated hope, the immediate business being the correction of obvious wrongs. The plebeians found their leaders from among the rich of their class, and as the Struggle between the Orders progressed, the issue was widened to include complete equality in every sphere of life.

In most respects the common people lost by the overthrow of the monarchy, for the later kings had shielded them from the oppression of the nobles. Now that the poor no longer had a champion, the patricians began to reduce their

clients to the condition of slaves. They exacted illegal rents, and if the tenant failed to pay his rent at the time agreed upon, the amount due was looked upon as a debt bearing heavy interest. The creditor had a right to seize the delinquent debtor and to hold him as a slave till he had worked off the debt.

THE TRIBUNES. The people revolted against such injustice, and according to tradition marched off across the Tiber to the Janiculum, where they threatened to found a new city (495 B.C.). Precisely how the problem was resolved is unknown, but it could not have been very satisfactory, for the next years witnessed various attempts, particularly by Spurius Cassius, the eminent consul of 493 B.C., to set up a tyranny, which the patricians harshly suppressed. In 471 B.C., however, the plebeians forced the patricians to assent to the creation of four annual officers of their own. These plebeian officers were known as tribunes (to be sharply differentiated from the consular tribunes), and they had the duty of protecting the plebeians and their interests. Their persons were sacred; any person, even a consul, who injured a tribune or hindered him in the exercise of his duties, might be slain by anyone as a man accursed. The law forbade the tribune to be absent from the city overnight and compelled him to leave his door open always, that the injured and oppressed might find refuge with him at any hour. The tribunes, being tribal officers, were elected by the four city tribes, and from these simple beginnings the great power of the *comitia tributa* was to grow.

CODIFICATION OF THE LAWS (449 B.C.). Up to this time the laws had been unwritten. The patricians, who were alone acquainted with them, handed them down orally from father to son, an exclusive knowledge they used for the oppression of the plebeians; the patrician judge decided cases in favor of men of his own class, and no plebeian could quote the law as proof of the injustice. The tribunes, therefore, began to urge the codification of the laws in the interest of the common people. The Senate yielded, and, according to tradition, a committee was sent to some of the Greek states of southern Italy to study their codes of law. On their return, ten men (*decemvirs*) were elected for one year in place of the consuls for the purpose of writing down the laws, and the task was completed the following year (449 B.C.) by the consuls, Valerius and Horatius. The new laws were set up in the Forum on twelve wooden tablets and hence became known as the Twelve Tables. They were simple and rigorous, but they did at least codify the law of the time. Intermarriage between patricians and plebeians was prohibited by one of these laws, as had already long been the custom; other laws regulated interest, gave the father the power of life and death over his son, forbade women to scratch their faces at a funeral, and so on.

TRIBAL ASSEMBLY AND TRIBUNES. It was also during the consulship of Valerius and Horatius (449 B.C.)—a period apparently of bitter civil dis-

cord—that it was agreed to give resolutions of the Tribal Assembly (*comitia tributa*) the force of law for the whole people, provided the Senate assented; thus the Tribal Assembly acquired true legislative power. About this time, too, the number of tribunes was raised to ten, and they, together with the plebeian aediles, were elected by the Tribal Assembly (there were now twenty tribes). The tribunes, moreover, won the right to place their bench at the door of the Senate, where they could listen to the proceedings within. If a measure under consideration displeased them, they could shout *Veto* (“I forbid”) through the door, and ordinarily the proposal would be dropped. Eventually the tribunes were allowed to sit within the Senate, and though, strictly speaking, they were not magistrates, they were officers with *potestas* who had the right to veto all acts of magistrates, Senate and Assemblies.

THE CANULEIAN MARRIAGE LAW (445 B.C.). The law of the Twelve Tables which forbade marriage between the classes was resented, as a social stigma, by wealthy plebeians. They also looked upon intermarriage as a stepping stone to office; and since the patricians themselves favored intermarriage, because of their dwindling numbers and wealth, the disability was removed about 445 B.C. by the tribune Canuleius (the *lex Canuleia*).

THE AGER PUBLICUS. When the Romans acquired land in war, they leased a small part of it or granted it forthwith to settlers. The larger part, however, was added to the public domain (*ager publicus*), and all who wished might “occupy” it, on condition of paying to the government a percentage of the animals grazed on the land or of the produce. This seemed sufficiently liberal, except that in actual practice the patricians and wealthy plebeians alone were able to exercise the privilege. They bought, sold, and bequeathed the land, till in time they came to look upon it as their own. The plebeians were determined to end this injustice and at the same time win for themselves admission to all the offices in the state, including the consulship. The whole Struggle between the Orders came to a head in 376 B.C. when two tribunes, Licinius and Sextius, proposed a series of laws which are associated with their names, although bitter patrician opposition prevented their adoption till 367 B.C.

THE LICINIAN-SEXTIAN LAWS (367 B.C.). In the political field the Licinian-Sextian laws provided that the recent custom of electing military officers, known as consular tribunes, instead of consuls should cease, and that in the future two consuls should regularly be elected, one of whom was to be a plebeian. Economic distress was lightened by the provision that interest already paid on a debt was to be deducted from the principal; slavery for debt was ended now or soon afterward. And, to solve the agricultural crisis, it was further stipulated that no individual might occupy more than 500 *iugera* (300 acres) of the *ager publicus* nor pasture on it more than 100 cattle or 500 sheep.

THE HORTENSIAN LAW (287 B.C.). The Licinian-Sextian laws made it in-

evitable that all the magistracies in the state, including both consulships, should be opened to the plebeians. In 300 B.C. the *lex Ogulnia* opened the colleges of pontiffs and augurs to plebeians; and in 287 B.C., which marks the end of the Struggle, the *lex Hortensia* provided that all measures passed by the Tribal Assembly were to be binding on the entire population, whether or not the Senate gave its approval. This great law, which made the Tribal Assembly a sovereign body, was forced through by the dictator Hortensius, at a time when debt and war with the Samnites had produced sufficient dissatisfaction to cause the plebeians to secede to the Janiculum in order to enforce their demands.

Constitutionally the Centuriate and Tribal Assemblies were now free from the Senate and were the sovereign power in the state. In form, therefore, the government was a democracy, but in fact it remained aristocratic, for the Senate exercised more actual power than ever, composed as it was of the ablest and most experienced men in the state, which made its moral influence irresistible. The senatorial class survived so strongly because it saw, before it was too late, the wisdom of admitting plebeians to its ranks through the consulship. Thus arose a new and powerful nobility (*nobilitas*), consisting of patricians and politically successful plebeians. The patricians and plebeians now ceased to be the political parties; henceforth the parties were the nobles, who were officeholders and their descendants, and the commons, who were the other citizens.

7. SOCIAL PROGRESS

While the Roman genius was creating a democratic constitution, the people themselves grew in the arts of civilization and in wealth, a development which successful conquest made more rapid. The institution of a regular system of coinage¹ was unusually slow, however, especially when one considers the economic importance of Rome and her wide commercial contacts, but this was probably due to the fact that trade was largely in the hands of foreigners; the basis of Roman economy was agriculture, and the interests of the patricians centered in land. The nobles reaped the profits of large tracts of conquered land and bought a great number of slaves; but it must be added that custom permitted many slaves to win their freedom, and as *liberti* (freedmen) they became clients of their former owners and were admitted to a modified citizenship, though not to office.

PUBLIC WORKS. The state, as we have seen, also acquired considerable property through conquest, and some of this wealth was used for public works.

¹ By 330 B.C. there was a real bronze coinage (*aes grave* and *as libralis*); by 269 B.C. there was silver coinage, which in 217 B.C. took the place of bronze as the basis of Roman coinage. Ten "asses" (the bronze *as* weighed two ounces) made up the standard silver *denarius*, which was roughly equivalent to twenty-two American cents; a smaller silver coin, the *sestertius*, was made up of two and one-half "asses," thus being equal to one-fourth of a *denarius*.

For example, Appius Claudius Caecus, during his censorship begun in 312 B.C., built an aqueduct, named after him the Appian Aqueduct, which brought the city plenty of fresh water from the hills about ten miles distant; through a great part of its course it ran underground. This was the first work of its kind at Rome, but as the city grew through the centuries, larger and longer aqueducts had to be built, and in some of them the water flowed high above the ground in a channel supported by a series of stone arches. We have already mentioned another great work of Appius, also the first of its kind, the Appian Way, which extended from Rome to Capua (map, p. 457). It was built as straight and level as possible, steep hills were cut through, and marshes and deep valleys were spanned by gigantic causeways of stone. The surface was paved with large, flat, durable stones, milestones were set up along the side, and at shorter intervals other stones as aids for mounting on horseback. The example of Appius was followed by other statesmen, till in the course of centuries a network of these roads covered the whole domain ruled by Rome. Their primary object was the rapid movement of armies and military supplies and official letters, but they were free also to the public for travel, commerce, and all other purposes. It was largely by means of such roads that Rome was able to protect the empire she was building up, to govern it efficiently, and to bind all parts of it together by the ties of commerce and a common civilization.

LITERATURE AND RELIGION. Business and diplomacy forced the more ambitious Romans even in this early time to learn the Greek language, but since there were probably no schools as yet, children had to get their whole education at home, from their parents or from Greek slaves. The importance of the Twelve Tables to the future development of Roman law must be stressed, but they were too simple to count as literature; and except for a few poems, proverbs, and orations composed by Appius Claudius, the Romans were really without books of their own. Only a few individuals studied Greek literature. From Greece the Romans adopted the god of healing, Aesculapius, for whom they built a shrine on the nearby island in the Tiber. It was customary for sick persons to pass the night in this temple, in the belief that the god would heal them while they slept. On the other side of the religious picture there were many festivals to brighten the life of the Romans, particularly the so-called Great Games of harvest time and the Saturnalia in December.

ROMAN CHARACTER. The early Romans were distinguished for their patience and energy, the fruit of a simple life. These qualities became stronger, owing to the care with which the republican government supervised the citizens, for the magistrates had power to punish, not only for crimes, but for every offense against order, and even for immorality, including lazy or luxurious habits. All officers enjoyed this authority, but it was the special duty of the censors to see that every citizen subjected himself to the severe discipline prescribed

by the state. The father retained his authority over the members of his family and continued to look after his household estate (*res familiaris*). The aim of education in the family and in public life was to repress the freedom of the individual in the interest of the state, and to make a nation of brave warriors and dutiful citizens. The highest results of this stern training were reached in the Samnite Wars, a period known thereafter as the golden age of virtue and heroism. A citizen of this time was, in the highest degree, obedient to authority, pious, frugal, and generally honest. But though he was willing to sacrifice his life for the good of the state, he was equally ready to enrich himself at the expense of his neighbors; and the wealthy did not hesitate to sell the poor into slavery for debt, till they were forbidden to do so by law. Severe toward the members of their family, cruel in the treatment of slaves, and in their business transactions shrewd and grasping, the Romans of the time, however admirable for their heroic virtues, were narrow, harsh, and unlovable.

As long as they remained poor and under strict discipline, the Romans were moral. In the following period they were to gain greater freedom from the control of their magistrates, and at the same time power and wealth. These new conditions were to put their virtue and even their government to the severest test.

XXV

ROME AND THE MEDITERRANEAN

(264-133 B.C.)

1. THE FIRST PUNIC WAR (264-241 B.C.)

CARTHAGE. About 825 B.C. the ancient Phoenician¹ city of Tyre founded Carthage on the northern coast of Africa (map, p. 144). The land was fertile, and the site itself well situated for trade with East and West, with Sicily and Italy. In the course of centuries Carthage became wealthy and, as she created an empire on the coasts and islands of the western Mediterranean, a strong political power as well. Her domain included most of the northern coast of Africa, a strip of the western coast beyond the Pillars of Hercules, parts of southern Spain and Corsica, all Sardinia, and nearly all Sicily, besides many small islands. In the third century before Christ Carthage was a world power. For the story of her conflict with Rome—the greatest conflict in antiquity—we fortunately possess adequate and reliable accounts from many writers, chiefly Livy, the great Roman historian of the Augustan Age, and Polybius, a distinguished Greek historian who came to Rome in 167 B.C. as a hostage from the Achaean League and became the intimate of many leading Romans.

The Carthaginians ruled a large native Libyan population, but their own government was republican, with an Assembly of qualified citizens which elected the two chief magistrates, known as suffetes, and the generals. Most of the actual conduct of affairs, however, was in the hands of the Senate and Council, composed of members of the leading wealthy families, which accounts for the strongly aristocratic color of their government. Carthage had a large and fine navy and an army of mercenaries, but her ambition was for commercial, rather than political, rule. To further this policy, as Rome gradually assumed a leading position in the western Mediterranean, she concluded several treaties with Rome to regulate their commercial relations. Against Pyrrhus a Roman-Carthaginian alliance was formed for common defense.

RESOURCES OF CARTHAGE AND ROME. The resources of these two nations were quite different. Carthage, with her magnificent navy, controlled the sea.

¹ "Punic" in Latin.

Her citizens were mostly merchants and artisans, wholly unfit for military duty except as officers, but her wealth enabled her to enlist armies of mercenaries, though these sometimes proved treacherous to the city they served. Italy, on the other hand, was an agricultural country with a dense population and more men fit for military service than any other state of the world at that time. Hardy, well-disciplined fighters, they were devoted to their country and to Rome, the acknowledged mistress in war, though each of the federated states managed its own local affairs. Their only weakness was their lack of ships and naval experience. Of the two great powers now coming into long and terrible battle, each was strong where the other was weak.

CAUSES OF THE WAR. The underlying cause of the war was simply the conflict of interests between Carthage and Rome. Carthage felt it to her advantage to gain possession of all Sicily and afterward of Italy if possible, whereas Rome, the leader of Italy and obligated to defend the peninsula, saw in a hostile Sicily a threat to her control. A few influential nobles, moreover, were not satisfied with what Rome had already acquired, but wished to annex some of Sicily. A secondary motive on Rome's part was therefore the glory and profit of conquest.

The immediate cause of war lay in the action of certain Campanian mercenaries, known as Mamertini ("Sons of Mars"), who, after they had deserted from the service of the Greek city of Syracuse, seized Messana, killed the men, and divided the women, children, and property among themselves. When both Greeks and Carthaginians threatened them, they appealed to Rome, where it was clearly understood that a Carthaginian occupation of Messana would be a serious threat to Italy. The Senate, nevertheless, passed the question to the Centuriate Assembly, which, heated as it was by nationalistic speeches, voted an alliance with Messana (264 B.C.; map, p. 457).

WAR IN SICILY. The army which the Romans sent to Sicily defeated Hiero, the extraordinarily able king of Syracuse, and the Carthaginians separately. Messana was saved. The next year (263 B.C.) the Romans attacked Hiero again and agreed to make peace upon payment of an indemnity and an alliance with Rome. The Romans and Hiero then turned on the Carthaginians. If, however, the Romans were to drive the Carthaginians from the coastal towns of Sicily, and protect their own shores from raids as well, they must have a fleet, and this they lacked. A Carthaginian quinquereme—a warship with five rowers to an oar and accommodating 300 rowers in all and 120 marines—had been stranded and was now used as a model. While the fleet of 120 ships was being built, the crews sat on benches along the shore and practiced rowing in the sand. Then they put to sea under the consul, Gaius Duilius, and engaged the enemy off Mylae (260 B.C.). The Roman ships were clumsy and the sailors awkward, but they successfully grappled the enemy's vessels to

their own, allowing Roman legionaries, as marines, to board the Carthaginian vessels. Thus they gained a decisive victory.

INVASION OF AFRICA. The Romans then built another great fleet and set sail for Libya. Off Ecnomus on the Sicilian coast they met and defeated a still larger fleet of the enemy (256 B.C.), after which they continued on their way to Africa. There, under the consul, Marcus Atilius Regulus, they gained victories and captured towns, until a Spartan adventurer, Xanthippus by name, taught the Carthaginians to offer battle in the plain, where they could use their elephants and numerous cavalry to advantage. The result was the destruction of the Roman army and the capture of Regulus.

CONTINUED WAR IN SICILY. Other misfortunes followed, but a great victory at Panormus gave the Romans nearly all Sicily. The Carthaginian government then sent Regulus, who was still a captive, to Rome to arrange for an exchange of prisoners, and promised him liberty if he should succeed. In the famous story told by Roman poets long after the event, Regulus refused to enter Rome as a senator or even as a citizen, saying that he had forfeited all his rights by allowing himself to be taken captive. When finally he was persuaded to address the Senate, he advised it not to make peace or to ransom the captives, but to let them die in the land where they had disgraced themselves by surrender. He then departed from Rome, keeping his eyes fixed on the ground that he might not see his wife or children.

At this time the Romans were besieging Lilybaeum on the west coast of Sicily. In 250 B.C. the consul, Publius Clodius, stole north to Drepana where he hoped to surprise a Carthaginian fleet, but he suffered an overwhelming defeat instead. Since the Romans still pressed the siege of Lilybaeum, Carthage sent out a general who was to prove, in himself and his sons, the most dangerous enemy Rome ever met, Hamilcar, surnamed Barca ("Lightning"), a man of extraordinary genius for war. He occupied Mount Ercte, above Panormus which was then held by a Roman army, and on its top he fed cattle and raised grain to support the handful of troops who performed wonders under the spell of his genius. From the little harbor beneath him his light ships harassed the Italian coasts, while from the eagle's perch above he swooped down, rapid as the lightning, upon the Romans in the neighborhood and as easily retired to the nest which no enemy dared explore. Three years later he suddenly abandoned this position for Mount Eryx, where he could cooperate with his friends at Drepana, but actually his forces were too small to accomplish much.

THE ROMAN VICTORY. Rome herself now lacked the resources necessary for sustained effort, but at this juncture the wealthier citizens offered to build 200 warships with their own money. With the new fleet the consul, Lutatius Catulus, met a Carthaginian fleet bringing supplies to Sicily and totally de-

feated it (242 B.C.). As the Carthaginians could carry on the war no longer, the following year they gave Hamilcar full power to make peace. The treaty stipulated that Carthage was to give up Sicily, pay the Romans 3,200 talents (ca. \$3,840,000)² within twenty years, and release all prisoners without ransom. Rome now controlled the western Mediterranean, but it had cost her at least 500 ships and 200,000 men.

SARDINIA AND CORSICA. As Carthage could not pay her mercenaries for their service in the war, they mutinied and were joined by the Libyans, who now revolted against their harsh taskmasters. While the whole strength of Carthage was engaged in putting down this rebellion (241–238 B.C.), the Romans treacherously seized Sardinia and Corsica, and when Carthage remonstrated, they imposed upon her a heavy fine. Utterly exhausted by the mercenary war, Carthage yielded. Rome's motive in seizing the islands was doubtless much the same as in the case of Sicily—the protection of the Italian coasts from Carthaginian attack—and together they became the second Roman province in the same year as Sicily (227 B.C.).

2. THE ILLYRIAN AND GALLIC WARS (229–219 B.C.)

For some time Italian merchants, trading with Greece, had been plundered by Illyrian pirates. Some had been murdered, others taken captive and held for ransom; after many complaints of these outrages had come before the Roman government, the Senate sent one of its familiar commissions across the Adriatic to Illyria to investigate. The members were mistreated, and thereupon the Romans declared war. In a brief naval campaign (229–228 B.C.) they chastised the piratical inhabitants and made them promise to pay tribute. Corcyra and one or two other Greek states became allies of Rome to secure protection from the Illyrians and perhaps, too, from Macedon, which was thus brought within Rome's orbit. At the same time Roman envoys journeyed to the Achaean and Aetolian Leagues, confederations of cities in southern and northern Greece, respectively (inset, p. 381). This was Rome's first diplomatic relation with Greece, and she found the Achaeans and Aetolians full of gratitude for the suppression of piracy. Ten years afterward there was a Second Illyrian War (219 B.C.), in which the Romans were likewise successful, but Illyria, though it became dependent on Rome, was not organized as a province until after 167 B.C.

Rome had recently acquired large tracts of land in northern Italy—known as the *ager Gallicus*—in Picenum and along the Umbrian coast, and there was considerable dissatisfaction that, instead of being distributed among the citizens, the land was "occupied" by the nobles. Against the wishes of the Senate Gaius Flaminius, the tribune of 232 B.C., carried through the Assem-

² For the sake of consistency, if not accuracy, the talent is taken as equivalent to \$1,200.

bly a law for distributing these public lands among the citizens. The Gauls of the Po Valley saw in the new settlements a menace to their own homes, and in 225 B.C., doubtless reinforced by fresh arrivals of Celts from across the Alps, began war on Rome. Two years later Flaminius, now consul, conducted a campaign which resulted in a complete Roman victory. In 222 B.C. the authority of Rome was extended to the foot of the Alps, and soon afterward to the peninsula of Histria at the head of the Adriatic (cf. map, p. 436).

3. THE SECOND PUNIC WAR (218-201 B.C.)

CAUSES OF THE WAR. Military defeat, the loss of Sicily, the treacherous seizure of Sardinia and Corsica, these were the chief reasons why the soul of Hamilcar Barca burned with hatred for Rome, and it may very well be that the primary motive of his son in letting loose upon Italy a terrible war was the desire for personal revenge. And yet, it may be more exact to say that this was the sustaining passion of Hannibal once war began, for the preceding actions of the Barcids do not prove a deep plot. Even if the story is true—that Hamilcar took his son Hannibal, then nine, to an altar and made him swear undying enmity to Rome—it does not follow that war was inevitable, and certainly Rome herself was fully occupied in other theaters, as has just been pointed out. The world was large enough for both Rome and Carthage, and it is possible that war resulted from their failure to recognize that, in an atmosphere which was undeniably electric, extreme care had to be exercised to avoid situations from which it would be impossible later on to withdraw.

CARTHAGE IN SPAIN. In any case, Hamilcar Barca probably went to Spain in 237 B.C. for the purpose of creating a new dominion for Carthage—one, perhaps, that might be used years later as a springboard for an invasion of Italy, but chiefly to make up for the loss of Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica. It was natural enough for him to think of going to Spain, because for centuries Carthage had traded with the Iberian peninsula, and Carthaginian trading posts and centers had been created which, moreover, served to exclude rivals to the enhancement of Carthaginian wealth. During nine years Hamilcar built up a Carthaginian province in Spain more by diplomacy than by war; he taught the native tribes to live together in peace under his rule and to develop the resources of their country. "Then," says Polybius, "he died in a manner worthy of his great achievements; for he lost his life in a battle in which he showed a conspicuous and even reckless bravery. As his successor, the Carthaginians appointed his son-in-law Hasdrubal."

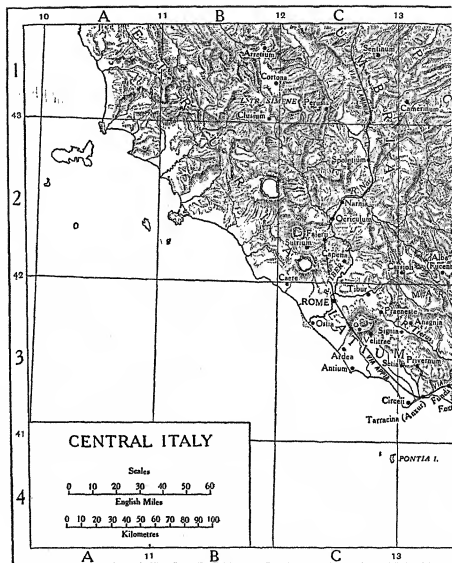
With wonderful skill Hasdrubal continued the wise policy of his predecessor in gaining over the tribes and adding them to his empire. When after eight years of such service he was murdered by a Celt, the soldiers with loud en-

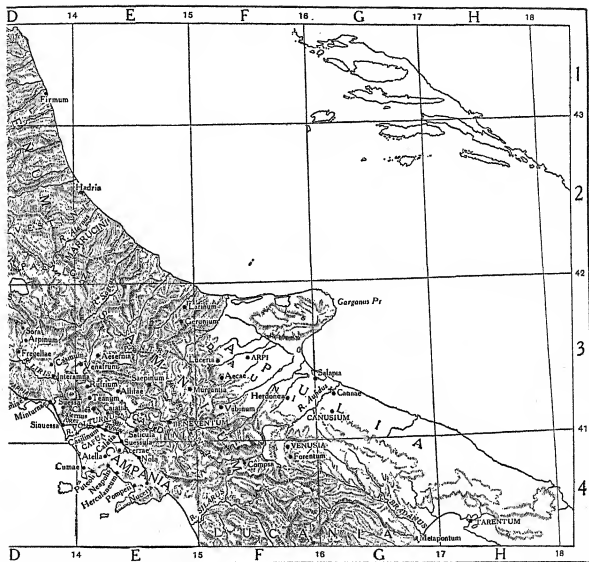
thusiasm carried Hannibal, then twenty-five years of age, to the general's tent and proclaimed him commander (221 B.C.). Livy says that as they looked upon this young man, "the veterans imagined that Hamilcar in his youth was restored to them; they noticed the same vigor in his frame, the same animation in his eyes, the same features and expression of the face. . . . His courage in meeting dangers and his prudence in the midst of them were extreme. Toil could neither exhaust his body nor subdue his mind, and he could endure hunger and cold alike. He ate and drank no more than nature demanded. Working day and night, he thought of sleep only when there was nothing else to do; then, wrapping himself in his military cloak, he would lie on the ground among the watchers and the outposts of the army. Although he dressed as a plain officer, his arms and horses were splendid."

SAGUNTUM. War, however, was to break in Spain, for Rome's alliances generally had a way of involving her with yet other states, and the ancient and valued treaty with the Greek city of Massilia in southern Gaul was no exception. In 226 B.C. Massilia sent messages to Rome protesting against Hasdrubal's activities in Spain, where Massilia also had interests, and accordingly Rome sent envoys to Spain to investigate. A treaty was drawn up which stipulated that Hasdrubal was not to go north of the river Ebro, though apparently Rome was allowed to continue her alliance with Saguntum, which lay south of that river. In 219 B.C., however, and despite a Roman protest, Hannibal in furtherance of his cause attacked Saguntum, which fell after a siege of eight months. Roman envoys again protested to Carthage, and finding no change of heart, declared war (218 B.C.; map, p. 490 and front endpaper).

THE GRAND STRATEGY. The grand strategy of Rome was to carry the war to Spain and Libya by land and sea, Hannibal's to invade Italy, where he counted on active help from the Gauls and on revolts among Rome's allies. Like Alexander the Great, Hannibal was a military genius, a leader of men, destined never to lose a battle during his expedition. Nevertheless, he lost the war, and his life had little influence on history except indirectly: Europeanism was saved, Rome emerged mistress of the western Mediterranean and sure of its strength, and southern Italy was irrevocably devastated. It is surprising, too, that neither before his departure nor after his arrival in Italy, a land of towns and cities, did Hannibal equip himself with siege machinery. Hannibal's failure to provide for adequate and regular reinforcements was probably his most serious mistake, for he had a powerful land base in Spain, which the Roman rule of the sea could not easily cancel. It must be emphasized, however, that Hannibal received but lukewarm support from his home government.

HANNIBAL'S INVASION OF ITALY. Hannibal left his brother, Hasdrubal, behind in Spain to follow later with reinforcements, and he himself, with 40,000





infantry, 9,000 cavalry, and a number of elephants, crossed the Pyrenees into Gaul. He launched his expedition so abruptly that the Roman consul in Sicily, Tiberius Sempronius Longus, dared not set sail for Africa, while the other consul, Publius Cornelius Scipio, had hardly reached Massilia when he heard that Hannibal was across the Rhone. Scipio sent his brother and an army on to Spain to do what damage they could and returned to Italy.

When Hannibal began the ascent of the Alps, the real difficulties of his journey became apparent, for the way was narrow and rough, and the mountaineers rolled stones upon his troops and the long train of pack animals. He reached Italy five months later (autumn, 218 B.C.), perhaps by way of the Mont Cenis pass, with his army cut in half by the losses. Against him stood a military federation of 700,000 infantry and 70,000 cavalry, but his own army was full of the spirit of its commander (cf. map, pp. 436, 437).

After a light cavalry engagement on the Ticinus River, Scipio withdrew to the south bank of the Po and sought the protection of the hills near the Trebia River. Here his colleague, Sempronius, joined him with another army and took chief command, for Scipio had been wounded in the previous encounter. One stormy morning in December, Hannibal, after giving his men a good breakfast and plenty of protective oil for their bodies, sent a cavalry detachment to tempt the enemy across the river. Sempronius, eager for battle and the glory of victory, readily led his army out before breakfast. Hungry and numbed with cold by the swollen Trebia, they were ambushed in the rear by Hannibal's brother, Mago, an impetuous fighter, while the Carthaginian cavalry routed their wings. After a long and desperate struggle, only 10,000 Romans fought their way out; the rest were killed or captured; and their camp was held by Hannibal.

This great success led the Gauls, who had wavered in their loyalty, to cast in their lot with the victor. Depression ruled Rome, where people spent the winter talking of evil omens. The government, however, took steps to resist the invader and so posted the consuls as to guard the two principal roads between the Po Valley and Rome: Flaminius was stationed at Arretium in Etruria, and Servilius at Ariminum (map, p. 457). But Hannibal, with amazing topographical knowledge, surprised them by taking an unusual route over the Apennines far to the west, across the marshes north of the Arno River, where for four days and three nights his men waded through mud and water. A recent inflammation had destroyed the sight of one of Hannibal's eyes, but as he rode his sole surviving elephant his spirit fired the enthusiasm of his men. After a rest, he laid a trap for the Romans. Knowing that Servilius was hurrying from the northeast to the aid of Flaminius, Hannibal coolly marched east past Flaminius. His army was now between the two Roman armies, a wonderful bait for Flaminius.

BATTLE OF LAKE TRASIMENE (217 B.C.). Hannibal's route led him through a narrow pass (Borghetto), along the north shore of Lake Trasimene, into a small plain ringed by mountains. At the far end he took up his position with his Spanish and African troops, while the semicircle of mountains, facing plain and lake, was held by the Gauls, cavalry, and other light-armed men. A mist hid these arrangements when Flaminius, early in the morning, marched his entire army of 25,000 men in column from Borghetto into the plain. Never has an army been more completely ambushed and annihilated (217 B.C.). Flaminius was killed, and not long afterward most of the cavalry with Servilius were destroyed. The road to Rome now lay open.

BATTLE OF CANNÆ (216 B.C.). In the crisis, the Romans elected Quintus Fabius Maximus dictator, who was to win by his tactics the sobriquet of *Cunctator* ("the Delayer"). Since Hannibal did not attack Rome, but crossed the peninsula to the Adriatic coast and gradually moved southward, gathering vast booty in his progress, Fabius dogged his steps and cut off foraging parties where he could, but refused open battle. This policy saved Rome from another defeat that year, but it brought much unpopularity to Fabius, for Hannibal seemed to march and plunder where he liked. Unusual efforts, therefore, were made to levy and train troops for the following summer (216 B.C.) and for what turned out to be the most terrible battle of antiquity. At Cannæ, on the Aufidus River in Apulia, 80,000 Romans and allies, under the new consuls Lucius Aemilius Paulus and Gaius Terentius Varro, faced 50,000 men under Hannibal. Varro, who held the chief command on the day of battle, massed his maniples in a heavy line, in the hope of winning by sheer weight. Hannibal cleverly posted a thin screen of Gauls and Spaniards in front of his center, and these troops slowly withdrew when Varro attacked. But as Varro penetrated farther and farther into the center, the veteran Libyan infantry on the flanks refused to move, and then Hannibal loosed upon the enemy a tempest of cavalry. The Romans, now surrounded on all sides, were too crowded to keep rank or even to use their weapons, and they fell like sheep; a bare 10,000 escaped with Varro, while the remainder, including Aemilius Paulus, eighty senators, and many other eminent men, perished. On the evening after the battle Maharbal, leader of the Punic horsemen, advised his commander to attack Rome, but Hannibal knew that he lacked the machinery to take the city; he hoped to encompass its ruin through the revolt of its allies.

DEFLECTIONS FROM ROME. At Rome, where every household mourned its dead and all feared for the city and their own lives, the Senate rose to the occasion, encouraged the people, and posted guards about the city. But the battle of Cannæ changed the character of the war. Nearly all the allies of Rome in southern Italy, even including the great cities of Capua and Tarentum, revolted, and on the death of Hiero, king of Syracuse, Sicily also forsook

Rome. Philip V, king of Macedon, who had watched jealously the interference of the Senate in the Greek peninsula, allied himself with Hannibal (p. 388). This compelled Rome to counter with friends and alliances of her own—with enemies of Philip, such as the Aetolian League, Sparta, and Pergamum in far-away Asia Minor—and thus once again her orbit was enlarged. The so-called First Macedonian War (215–206 B.C.) Rome fought chiefly through these friends and succeeded in forcing Philip, and his ally, the Achaean League, to agree to peace.

SYRACUSE, CAPUA, TARENTUM RECOVERED. Hannibal found that his greatest obstacle in Italy was the fortified Latin colonies, which remained true to Rome and proved impossible to take. At the same time he had to protect his Italian friends, even though this defensive policy gradually wasted his army and robbed him of the prestige of success, for the Romans followed the example of Fabius and would venture no more pitched battles. Instead, they concentrated on Sicily. After a long siege Marcellus took Syracuse, but much to the general's regret Archimedes, the famous mathematician whose engines had been used in the defense of the city, was killed in the final fighting (212 B.C.). Next the Romans surrounded Capua with three armies. In the hope of diverting part of this force, Hannibal suddenly marched on Rome and pitched his tent three miles from the city, but once again he could accomplish nothing without adequate siege machinery. And so Hannibal could not save Capua, which fell amid indescribable slaughter in 211 B.C., nor Tarentum, which the Romans took the following year.

WAR IN SPAIN. The fall of Capua released large numbers of troops for service in Spain, where affairs had recently taken a bad turn for Rome. By using the system of promagistracy, which proved more effective than annual commanders, Rome had kept Gnaeus Scipio and his brother Publius Cornelius Scipio, who had joined him, for years in Spain, but in 211 B.C. they were both killed in battle by Hasdrubal. It now looked as if Carthage might win back all Spain, and the Romans decided to dispatch thither as proconsul Publius Cornelius Scipio, the twenty-five-year-old son of the dead general of the same name. The only magistracy Scipio had held up to this time was the aedileship, and it took a special act of the Centuriate Assembly to confer the *imperium*, for the first time in history, upon a private citizen.

HASDRUBAL INVADES ITALY (208 B.C.). The young commander quickly showed real genius for warfare, and in 209 B.C. surprised and captured New Carthage, the chief city and arsenal of the enemy in Spain. Hasdrubal, however, skillfully eluded him, and with a large army and vast supplies set out by land for Italy to reinforce his brother. Hannibal desperately needed this help, and Rome as desperately needed to prevent its arrival. If these two great armies should unite, Rome could have little hope of victory; her country was drained

financially and was desolate from end to end; her faithful colonies, exhausted by the war, were beginning to refuse aid; and her last armies of devoted citizens were in the field. Fortunately for her, the messengers who bore Hannibal the news of his brother's coming were captured by the consul Gaius Claudius Nero, commander of the army in southern Italy opposed to Hannibal. Leaving a small force to cover Hannibal, Claudius stole north and united his army with that of his colleague, Marcus Livius Salinator. At the Metaurus River in 207 B.C. the two consuls surprised and destroyed Hasdrubal and his army. Claudius hurriedly returned southward with the Carthaginian's head, and directed that it be thrown into Hannibal's camp to inform him of his brother's fate and presage the doom of his own city.

For two more years Hannibal maintained himself in southern Italy, during which time Scipio reconquered Spain. The story of his campaigns abounds in the romantic adventures and chivalrous acts of a commander who is one of the first Romans to be enthusiastically admired both for the kindness and generosity of his character and the brilliance of his mind. Then Scipio returned to Rome and, after his election to the consulship, set out for Africa.

WAR IN AFRICA. In obedience to his country's call, Hannibal quit Italy. He left behind a ravaged land, from the effects of which southern Italy never recovered (400 towns, here alone, had been destroyed); he had not lost a battle in fifteen years, though he had failed to capture many important objectives; and he had maintained himself all the while in a hostile land, with inadequate reinforcements and little support from home. In 202 B.C. at Zama, south of Carthage, Hannibal and Scipio met. Scipio, through some happy inspiration, varied the usual Roman formation and placed the maniples of the second and third divisions directly behind those of the first, thus forming columns with open lanes between, through which the enemy's elephants could rush harmlessly; and at a critical moment the Carthaginian mercenaries deserted. Hannibal had suffered his first defeat in a pitched battle, but he was to live on, a potential threat to Rome, for several years, until events forced him to take his life by poison in Bithynia (182 B.C.).

PEACE (201 B.C.). By the terms of the treaty (201 B.C.) which followed the battle of Zama, Carthage agreed to surrender Spain, to pay Rome 10,000 talents (ca. \$12,000,000), to give up all her elephants and warships except ten triremes,³ and to wage no war outside of Libya, nor within it without the consent of Rome. This last clause left her helpless against Rome's ally, Masinissa, king of Numidia, who plundered Carthaginian territory as he liked. Meanwhile in Rome, the victorious capital of a mighty empire, Scipio celebrated a brilliant triumph and took the title of "Africanus."

³ A trireme, the regular warship, consisted of three *squads* (not banks) of 60 oarsmen each, seated in the bow, amidship, and stern; each man pulled one oar.

4. THE GREEK EAST (200-133 B.C.)

The defeat of Carthage left Rome free to devote her energy to the control of the remaining Mediterranean states in rapid succession. These were, chiefly, the Antigonid dynasty in Macedonia, the Ptolemaic Empire in Egypt, and the Seleucid Empire in Asia, which the Romans referred to as Syria; and there were, in addition, the Aetolian and Achaean Leagues in Greece, the proud mercantile island state of Rhodes, and the kingdom of Pergamum in Asia Minor (cf. map, pp. 380, 381). Rome did not plot the conquest of the Mediterranean from the beginning, but often found in victory an occasion for further war, which was welcomed, more and more openly with time, by that element within the senatorial class which loved the pomp of victory, and by the capitalist class that grew rich from expansion. At other times, however, Rome acted merely from fear of an invasion of Italy or in compliance with treaty obligations.

SECOND MACEDONIAN WAR (200-196 B.C.). Philip V of Macedon had used his peace with Rome mainly for recovering what he had lost in Greece, and this brought him into conflict with some of Rome's allies, who thereupon sent urgent appeals to the Senate for help. Certain senators wished to punish Philip for his alliance with Hannibal, but the general and genuine senatorial feeling was that a dangerous attack upon Italy was being planned. The people themselves, however, were war weary, and it was only with effort that the Senate forced through the Centuriate Assembly a declaration for the Second Macedonian War (200-196 B.C.). The issue was decided in 197 B.C. at Cynoscephalae ("Dogs' Heads"), a low range of hills in Thessaly, where the Roman consul, Titus Flamininus, and 25,000 men faced an army of approximately the same size under Philip. It was a test between legion and phalanx, and the flexible Roman formation, with the help of the excellent Aetolian cavalry, won.

Philip was forced to give up his possessions in Greece and to pay an indemnity. Since, however, it was clear that no power now existed in Greece which was strong enough to launch an attack upon Italy, and since the Roman people were anxious not to become more deeply involved outside of Italy, Greece was left free. At the Isthmian Festival at Corinth the following spring, proclamation was made by Flamininus of freedom to all the Greeks who had been ruled by Philip. Polybius says that "after the games were over, in the extravagance of their joy, they nearly killed Flamininus by the exhibition of their gratitude. Some wanted to look him in the face and call him their preserver, and others were eager to touch his hand. Most threw garlands and fillets upon him; and among them they nearly crushed him to death." Flamininus was one of an increasingly large number of Romans who had come to

respect Greek civilization. The gift of freedom was a fair delusion, however, for it meant essentially freedom to follow Rome's lead. The only guaranty of their freedom—peace among themselves—the Greeks could not keep, and, as their protector and peacemaker, Rome was constantly invited to settle their disputes. This interference was destined soon to destroy their liberty.

BATTLE OF MAGNESIA (190 B.C.). The confusion caused by the Second Macedonian War gave the able and aggressive king of the Seleucid Empire, Antiochus III, called "the Great," an opportunity to overrun Asia Minor and invade Thrace, which had once belonged to the Empire. The Aetolians, who were angry that Rome had not allowed them to profit territorially from Philip's defeat, now seized Demetrias (192 B.C.)—a fortress in Thessaly, known, with Chalcis and Corinth, as "the fetters of Greece"—and invited Antiochus to come into Greece and free it from Rome. The Romans, however, drove him from Europe, and then at Magnesia, in Asia Minor, Lucius Scipio, the brother of Africanus, inflicted an overwhelming defeat on him (190 B.C.). As a result, Antiochus had to pay an indemnity and give up all his possessions north of the Taurus mountains in southern Asia Minor. Rome left the states of Asia Minor independent, under her general protection (p. 411).

Rome now compelled the Aetolians, as punishment for their share in the conflict, to accept an alliance, but the various states of Greece continued to quarrel among themselves and constantly accused one another before the Roman Senate and as constantly invited that body to settle their differences. Accordingly we find one commission of the Senate after another going to Greece to arbitrate disputes, both in the interests of the Greeks and in the hope of preventing the formation of a dangerous coalition, for the Romans, at first their protectors, began after the second war with Philip to pose as their masters. Their respect for Greek culture did not prevent these "philhellenes" from encouraging everywhere the growth of political factions (generally among the aristocrats), who would be subservient to Rome.

THIRD MACEDONIAN WAR (171–167 B.C.). Such was the state of affairs when Philip died and was succeeded by his son Perseus, who cherished the ambition, perhaps in consort with the Achaean League, of championing Hellas against barbarian Rome. Eumenes III, who as successor of Attalus I was now king of Pergamum, kept Rome informed of Perseus' clever diplomacy which threatened to capitalize on the Greek love of independence. To prevent this dreaded union, Rome brought on the Third Macedonian War (171–167 B.C.). The principal commander on the Roman side was Lucius Aemilius Paulus, the son of the Aemilius who had died at Cannae, and a man of rare honesty and ability. He met and conquered Perseus at Pydna, a city of Macedonia, in 168 B.C. Polybius tells us that "Aemilius had never seen a phalanx till he saw it in the army of Perseus on this occasion; and he often admitted to his friends

at Rome afterward that he had never beheld anything more alarming and terrible; and yet he, as often as any man, had been not only a spectator, but an actor in many battles." Perseus escaped from Pydna, but was later captured, and after following with his young children in the triumphal procession of the conqueror died in a Roman prison, either by his own hand or by the cruelty of the jailer. The Romans divided Macedon into four autonomous republics, which were forbidden all intercourse of *commercium* and *conubium* with one another.

The Romans had been considerate of and kindly to the Greeks. Now they practiced another policy. Several scores of cities were sacked in Epirus alone, and tens of thousands of their inhabitants sold into slavery. At the same time the Romans began the habit of transporting to Rome vast quantities of loot. Shipload after shipload of furniture, precious metals and works of art were destined to adorn the homes of important Romans and their city. All this loot, together with other imperial income and the heavy tribute imposed on Macedon, relieved Roman citizens of direct taxation for a long period after 167 B.C.

To punish Rhodes for seeking to arbitrate the quarrel with Perseus, Rome created the free port of Delos, which ruined the trade of the island republic. Nor was there to be real freedom for Greece. Those who had sympathized with Perseus in the war were sent to Rome for trial, while from the Achaean League 1,000 hostages were taken, including Polybius. Far from being given a trial, however, they were detained sixteen years among the towns of Etruria, until the influence of Polybius secured the release of the 300 survivors.

When these exiles returned home, they excited all Greece against the city which had treated them so unjustly. The Achaean League became the rallying point of the patriot cause, which was embraced hotly by the poorer masses, many of whom, however, were doubtless motivated by nothing higher than a desire for social revolution and an improvement in their own economic condition. Accordingly, when Sparta seceded from the League and the Achaeans tried to force it back, Rome not only took the side of Sparta, but also decreed the separation of certain other states from the League. Thereupon the Achaeans prepared for war with Rome, just as Macedon revolted. The Roman praetor, Metellus, easily suppressed the revolt and united the four Macedonian republics in the province of Macedonia (148 B.C.). Soon afterward the Achaeans were irretrievably beaten in two battles.

DESTRUCTION OF CORINTH (146 B.C.). The Roman consul, Lucius Mummius, who had succeeded to the command, then entered Corinth, killed most of the men he found, and enslaved the remainder of the population (146 B.C.). After plundering the city, he burned it to the ground, while shiploads of movable goods, such as furniture, statues, and famous paintings, were transported to Rome. The destruction of Corinth was nominally intended to punish the

inhabitants for their violent outbreak against Rome, but a stronger motive seems to have been the desire of Roman capitalists to be rid of a commercial rival. Indeed, it was in this same year that another competitor, likewise strategically situated, Carthage, was also destroyed. A century later, however, when the mighty Roman Empire had no more enemies to fear and was trying, instead, to bring back prosperity to her provinces, both cities were refounded. In the modern excavations at Corinth by the American School of Classical Studies, the buildings of both the Roman and the Greek cities have been brought to light.

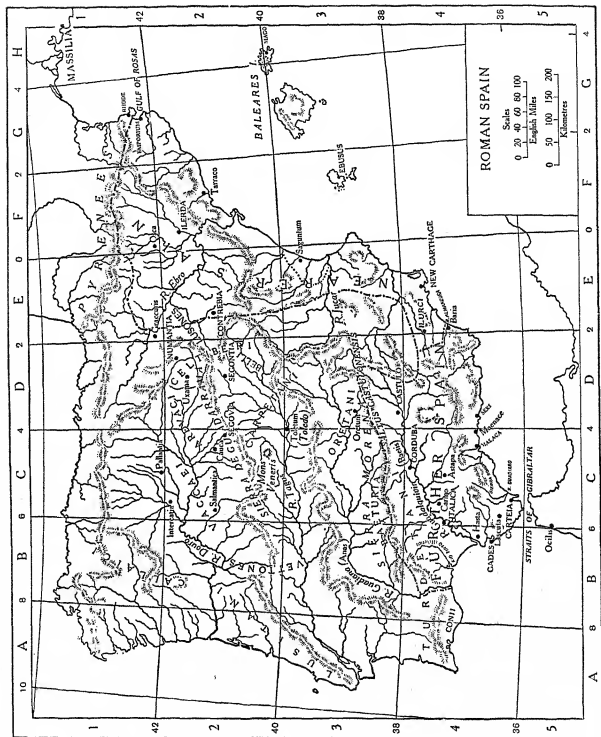
More than a century was to pass before all Greece south of Macedonia became a Roman province under the name Achaea. Meanwhile, all leagues were abolished, and the right to take part in local government was restricted to the wealthy. Those Greeks who had remained loyal to Rome, such as the Spartans, Athenians, and Aetolians, continued as independent allies, but the others lost their independence and were placed under the governor of Macedonia.

THE PROVINCE OF ASIA. During the period of the Macedonian and Achaeans wars, the protectorate which Rome had acquired over Asia Minor by treaty with Antiochus III continued. The most important state in Asia Minor was the great Greek kingdom of Pergamum, whose capital city of the same name was only less famous than Alexandria as a seat of art and culture. The kings were friends of Rome, and the last one, Attalus III, willed his kingdom to Rome on his death (133 B.C.). This extraordinary action may have been inspired by the hope of saving Pergamum from involvement in inevitable war and trouble; if so, it was doomed to disappointment. In any case, it led to the creation of the Roman province of Asia four years later.

5. THE WEST

GAULS AND LIGURIANS. The ability, if not the desire, of the Romans to carry on many different wars is an outstanding feature of the history of the second century B.C. The Gauls of northern Italy, for example, continued to fight desperately, long after the defeat of Hannibal, and in their struggle they were joined by the hardy Ligurians, who lived in the mountains to the west. Year after year the Roman consuls were baffled and their soldiers slaughtered in conflicts with these tribes, but before the middle of the century resistance was broken, the spirit of the people crushed, and thousands of Ligurians were transported to empty public lands in Samnium.

WAR IN SPAIN (154-133 B.C.). It was in Spain, however, that Rome was destined to wage a long and terrible war, which filled the people with so much fear that on more than one occasion it was almost impossible to raise the levies. After the defeat of Hannibal, Rome had wrested from Carthage her entire



Spanish dominion, and from this territory in 197 B.C. were carved two provinces—Hither and Farther Spain—which were governed by praetors. The Spaniards, however, resented this arrangement and brought on one of the bloodiest and most desperate wars Rome ever waged (154–133 B.C.). The mountaineers were almost unconquerable. Failing in arms, the Romans resorted to treachery; they violated treaties and massacred troops who had surrendered under agreement.

The resistance centered in the little town of Numantia, where for many years a few heroic Spaniards held out. The Roman camp was thronged with quacks and fortunetellers, who debased the soldiers, while the generals themselves were treacherous and incapable. Finally Scipio Aemilianus, the conqueror of Carthage (see below), was given the command, and after restoring strict discipline, took Numantia and its fifty survivors (133 B.C.). All Spain was now conquered, excepting a small mountainous district in the northwest. Rome planted few colonies in Spain, but during these years thousands of Italian soldiers either deserted or were discharged from the army at the end of campaigns and settled in the country. They took Spanish wives and mingled with the natives, with the result that the Latin language and civilization spread rapidly over the peninsula, and Spain became thoroughly Romanized.

DESTRUCTION OF CARTHAGE (146 B.C.). The war with Hannibal left Rome a legacy of hatred and strife in Africa, no less than in northern Italy and Spain. The treaty with Carthage, it will be recalled, had forbidden her to wage war in her own territory, without the consent of Rome, and this clause gave Rome's ally, Masinissa, the king of the Numidians, opportunity to plunder and seize Carthaginian lands. In answer to Carthage's complaints, Rome sent out various commissioners, who were always instructed to give secret encouragement to Masinissa. One of these commissioners was Marcus Porcius Cato, veteran of wars in Spain and a narrow-minded statesman, who convinced himself of the wealth and prosperity of Carthage and reported, on his return, that the city of Hannibal was still a menace to Rome. In fact, he is said to have ended every speech in the Senate, whatever the subject, with the words, "Carthage must be destroyed." His eloquence found a sympathetic hearing among the capitalists.

In 151 B.C. a Roman armada set sail for Utica, to punish the Carthaginians for their strife with Masinissa. The Carthaginians, in their terror, were ready for every concession. First they handed over 300 children as hostages and then their arms. Still not satisfied, the consuls told them to leave their city and settle ten miles from the coast. The people were overcome with grief, but finally they decided to defend their city to the last drop of blood, rather than acquiesce in an arrangement which would rob them forever of their commercial prosperity. Since they had to make new weapons, they converted even

the temples into workshops, and the women gave their hair for bowstrings. For three years they repulsed the attackers, and then the Romans, by a special act (since he was not yet eligible for the consulship), elected as consul a vigorous and able commander, Scipio Aemilianus, the son of Aemilius Paulus, who had been adopted into the family of Scipio. After a terrible siege, Carthage was taken (146 B.C.), the inhabitants were massacred or sold into slavery, the city was plundered and burned, the land cursed. The Roman plow was driven over the ruins to symbolize their return forever to open fields. The territory was made into the Roman province of Africa (inset, p. 144).

It was less than a century and a half since Rome had embarked on her policy of expansion beyond the borders of Italy, and in another period of equal length she was to round out her Empire so as to include all the countries of the Mediterranean. But the years brought with them momentous changes in the character of her government and in the condition of her citizens.

XXVI

ROMAN GOVERNMENT AND SOCIETY

(264-133 B.C.)

1. GOVERNMENT AT ROME

PROBLEMS FACING ROME. As long as a city-state, like Rome, remained so small that all the citizens could attend the Assembly and take part in public affairs, the government worked well. But the more territory Rome acquired, the more unjust and oppressive became her government, because, having outgrown manageable limits, the new territory was governed more in the private interest of the Roman officials and capitalists than the welfare of the state. In particular the acquisition of vast wealth outside Italy was producing a class of capitalists which threatened ruin to the Italian peasantry by the purchase of huge estates. There were some far-sighted statesmen—such as the consul Gaius Flaminius, who fell at Lake Trasimene—who worked on behalf of the small farmers, but such men were rare.

The immediate need was to adapt the government of a city-state to an empire, to protect the interests of citizen and noncitizen alike; in short to rule the whole for the benefit of all and not merely the leaders in Rome. The problems were many, complex, and pressing, and it was the progressive failure to solve them which ultimately produced Caesarism, or one-man rule. The government still consisted, as in early days, of Senate, magistrates, and Assemblies. The Senate, however, had gained power at the expense of both magistrates and other assemblies, for it was composed of trained executives, generals, and diplomatists—men who had filled offices at home, had commanded armies, and had served on embassies to foreign states. Having once been enrolled on the Senate list by the censors, the senators usually held their positions for life, and it was perhaps only natural that an experienced body such as this, which had guided Rome safely through the war with Hannibal and had carried on successful foreign conquest as well, should become supreme. With rare exceptions, the magistrates were obedient to its commands, for they were already senators or hoped soon to be; and as for the bold tribune who might interpose his veto, it was easy enough to persuade a friendly tribune to veto his colleague. Then, too, the Senate possessed a powerful weapon in its right to pro-

claim the "last decree" (*Senatus consultum ultimum*) or martial law. The new, tight aristocracy of wealth and office, made up of rich plebeians and the old nobility, might have its own quarrels, but to the outside world it presented a solid front which was rarely pierced by a "new man" (*novus homo*), as the Romans called a person, such as Cato, who was the first of his family to attain high office; in fact, 100 of the 108 consuls between 200 and 146 B.C. belonged to families who had previously held the office.

CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT. To win an election, and start one's career through the *cursus honorum* to ultimate honor and riches, was costly and often not free from bribery and corruption. In 180 B.C. the better element in the Senate passed the Villian law (*lex Villia annalis*), which unsuccessfully attempted to control abuses. In the future, two years were to intervene between magistracies, and the first office, the quaestorship, was not to be held before the age of twenty-eight. It was not necessary to go on to the aedileship, but an ambitious young man generally did, for here was the profitable opportunity to entertain the people with expensive religious festivals and shows, at his own expense or on borrowed money; in this way he gained their favor and their votes for the higher offices. Thence he went on to the praetorship. There were now four praetors, one of whom, the alien praetor (*praetor peregrinus*), attended to disputes involving foreigners, and the others took charge of civil jurisdiction and served as provincial governors, but it soon became customary for propraetors and proconsuls to act as governors. From the praetorship a successful politician advanced to the consulship, and then, after a term in the provinces, the people might show their appreciation by electing him censor, the crown and glory of the nobility.

Democracy at Rome now meant, however, the rule of a worthless, urban mob. The two principal Assemblies were the same as in the past, and consisted essentially of the same people. The Tribal Assembly elected the quaestors, aediles, and tribunes; it ratified treaties of peace; it received appeals from the judicial decisions of magistrates in cases involving fines; and it was the chief legislative power. The Centuriate Assembly elected the higher magistrates, ratified declarations of war, acted as the highest court of appeal in capital cases, and occasionally passed a law. These Assemblies, which now governed an Empire, were easily swayed by skillful politicians, and the introduction of the secret ballot did nothing to break their venality. Nor did success attend the effort to lessen the influence of wealth in the Centuriate Assembly by redistributing the centuries among the tribes and by choosing by lot the century which was to cast the first vote.

The historian Appian probably summed up the situation correctly when he said that at this period "the nobles became enormously rich, the slaves multiplied throughout the country, and the Italians dwindled in numbers and

strength, oppressed by penury, taxes and military service." The city mob, so famous in history, was in origin largely a farming population; but war and Hannibal's devastation, particularly in the South, together with the competition of imported Sicilian grain and the tens of thousands of captives who became slaves, drove them from their small farms. Their land was absorbed by rich neighbors, who gradually acquired great estates (*latifundia*); it was discovered that these could be worked most profitably as orchards, vineyards and grazing grounds on a vast scale. The small, free farmer, with restricted resources, abandoned his wheat fields and disappeared into the city, where he enjoyed bread and circuses. Rome may have been, and was, the capital of an Empire, a city steadily becoming more cosmopolitan and beautiful, but it was a parasitic city, which absorbed the luxury products of the East without manufacturing much in return.

POLITICAL PARTIES. The population of Rome (about half a million in 133 B.C.), accordingly, was largely idle, ever ready to support a popular demagogue, and yet entrusted, all the while, with the government of an Empire. One political party, the so-called people's party (*Populares*), found its leadership within the liberal element of the aristocracy; the opposing party, that of the *Optimates* ("best men"), was both clever and strong, for it consisted of that senatorial clique which had been strengthened by the admission of plebeians to its ranks. There was, moreover, a third political party, that of the knights or equestrians (*equites*), who as rich businessmen might be supposed to have been spiritually akin to the *Optimates*, but in fact found its interests opposed to the aristocrats in the provinces. The growth of the equestrian order had been facilitated not only by the relative unimportance of business in early Rome and the aristocrat's disdain of it, but more particularly by the Claudian Law of 218 B.C., which forbade senators to engage in foreign commerce and business. Its purpose was to keep the senators at home during the crisis of the Hannibalic War, but its effect was to direct their money-making activities and attention to the land, much to the detriment, as we have seen, of the small farmer.

2. PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION

THE PROVINCES. Just as the status of the Roman citizen, and of the free Italian who had fought so well for empire, gradually deteriorated, so too did Roman government lower the condition of the conquered. By 133 B.C. Rome ruled most of the territory from central Asia Minor to the Atlantic, a vast area whose conquest and organization as provinces may be recapitulated as follows: (1) Sicily, acquired in 241 B.C. and organized as a province in 227 B.C.; (2) Sardinia and Corsica, seized soon after the conquest of Sicily and organized in 227 B.C.; (3) (4) Hither and Farther Spain, acquired in

the Second Punic War and organized in 197 B.C.; (5) Cisalpine Gaul, reconquered early in the second century and organized as a province later; (6) Illyria, acquired in the Third Macedonian War (167 B.C.) and organized later; (7) Macedonia, organized in 146 B.C.; (8) Africa, acquired and organized in 146 B.C.; and (9) Asia, acquired in 133 B.C. and organized as a province four years later. In addition, there were in Asia and Africa various client states, so called because they stood toward Rome in some such relation as a client toward his patron (map, p. 488).

ADMINISTRATION. The plan of administering a province was, on the whole, fair, and if justly adhered to, would not have been oppressive. The status of each province was established by a special charter (*lex provinciae*), which was drawn up by the victorious general and a commission of ten senators, subject to the later approval of the Senate. Within a province there were generally a few communities which were free allies united to Rome by treaty; and there were still others, slightly more numerous, that were declared, not by treaty but by an act of the Roman government, "exempt from tribute and free"; they had substantially the same rights as the allied communities, but no guarantee of their continuance. By far the largest number of communities, however, were dependent, and provided the taxes of the province. This aggregate of communities formed the province and was subject to the governor. In his work the governor (a proconsul or propraetor) was assisted by a quaestor (his treasurer for receiving the taxes from the collectors), by three lieutenants or legates (*legati*), and by various young men (*comites*), who were glad to pay their own expenses for the experience. The duties of the governor were mainly military and judicial, for he commanded the army in the province and settled disputes at law between Romans, and the more serious ones between provincials. Each community had its own courts for the trial of its citizens; it retained its own laws and customs, its magistrates, council, and popular assembly, and was usually free from interference on the part of the governor. In fact, the Roman government did not have a sufficient number of officials for managing the affairs of the communities, even if it had wished, and the idea of taking charge of such local matters did not occur to Rome till long after the Republic had passed away. During the Republic the governor, on assuming office, usually issued an edict, based on those of his predecessors, explaining the legal principles he would follow during his term of office. The foreign affairs of a province were directed by Rome.

TAXATION. Theoretically, the advantages which came to a province were very great, for peace and prosperity seemed assured. Actually, however, a horde of greedy moneylenders (*negotiatores*), bankers, speculators, and traders poured from the capital all over the provinces, and while their Roman citizenship protected them, they unjustly acquired much of the property in

the provinces and reduced the people to debt and misery. Driving the peasants from their farms, these speculators built up vast estates worked by slaves. A still greater evil, however, lay in Rome's system of letting out ("farming") the collection of taxes to contractors. The taxes were in lieu of military service, and theoretically consisted of either a tithe (tenth, *decuma*) of all the produce of the fields, as in the case of Sicily, or a fixed annual sum, as was generally the case elsewhere. Since the equestrians already had in hand most of the commerce and industry of the Roman world, including the contracts for public works, it was natural that these capitalists should form societies—joint-stock companies, as we might call them—for the purpose of collecting provincial taxes. The evil lay in the fact that the sum they contracted to pay the Roman government bore no relation to what was actually collected, the difference, of course, going into their own pockets. The opportunity of raping the civilized world explains why the equestrians advocated an intensely imperialist policy, while their collectors (*publicani*) were universally hated.

THE CALPURNIAN LAW (149 B.C.). Nor did the evil end there, for the governor, who received no salary, expected not to lose but to profit by his command. Some found it wise to make not one but three fortunes during their short term. The first was to pay the debts he had incurred on his way through the *cursus honorum*, particularly as aedile, when he had probably borrowed large sums with which to entertain the masses and win their further votes. The second fortune was to satisfy his judges in case of prosecution on his return to Rome; and the third was to enable him to live in luxury for the remainder of his days. To prevent extortion, the Romans finally in 149 B.C. passed the *lex Calpurnia de repetundis*, which set up a court of fifty senators, presided over by a praetor; but it was a failure, since a group of senators (many of whom had been governors or hoped to be) could not be expected to convict another senator on his return from his province.

3. SOCIAL AND INTELLECTUAL DEVELOPMENT

GREEK INFLUENCE. It was contact with the Greeks, first in southern Italy and Sicily and then in the homeland, which produced a revolution in the development of Roman civilization. People such as Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus, the conqueror of Hannibal, and Titus Flamininus, who not much later gave the Greeks their freedom at the Isthmian Festival, were conspicuous philhellenes; and around Scipio Aemilianus there grew up the famous Scipionic Circle which took the lead in advancing Roman education and refinement.

CATO. The chief opponent of the new tendencies in Roman life was Marcus Porcius Cato, the narrow, unsympathetic, close-fisted model of the older Roman virtue. He was a farmer by birth and drew inspiration from the memories of Manius Curius Dentatus, the great farmer-statesman of the good old

days, whose modest cottage stood near his father's farm. Accordingly, says Plutarch, "Cato worked with his slaves, in winter wearing a coarse coat without sleeves, in summer nothing but his tunic; and he used to sit at meals with them, eating the same loaf and drinking the same wine. . . . When Cato was governor of Sardinia, where former governors had been in the habit of charging their tents, bedding and wearing apparel to the province, and likewise making it pay large sums for their entertainment and that of their friends, he introduced an unheard-of system of economy. He charged nothing to the province, and visited the various cities without a carriage, on foot and alone, attended by one public servant, who carried his robe of state and the vessel for making libations at a sacrifice. With all this, he showed himself so affable and simple to those under his rule, so severe and inexorable in the administration of justice, and so vigilant and careful in seeing that his orders were executed, that the government of Rome was never more feared or more loved in Sardinia than when he ruled that island."

At home Cato assailed with untiring energy the luxury, refinement and Greek culture represented by the Scipios, and it was chiefly his influence which broke the power of this great family. The nobles feared and hated the red-haired, gray-eyed, savage-tusked *novus homo*, who rebuked their follies and sins. During his censorship in 184 B.C., Cato expelled from the Senate a number of disreputable members, taxed luxuries unmercifully, administered the public works, and let out the public contracts without favoritism. But his attempts at sumptuary legislation, and the attempts of others in this period (such as the decree of 161 B.C. exiling teachers of rhetoric and philosophy from Rome), were doomed to failure. Cato himself in his old age learned Greek, thus giving added force to Horace's famous line, *Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit* ("Captive Greece took her barbarian conqueror captive").

ROMAN CHARACTER. Morals, already declining, were further corrupted by Eastern influence, for the Roman who was unimaginative saw little beauty in Greek mythology and art, but welcomed the baser pleasures of an advanced civilization. At the same time Greek skepticism unsettled his religious faith, which was the foundation of his moral conduct. The farmer who escaped economic ruin was still sound at heart, and from the aristocrats came the pure-minded Scipio Aemilianus and the noble, self-sacrificing spirit of the two Gracchi, who were to be the leaders of the coming age of revolution. Corruption, however, was rife in the city; crowds of beggar clients attended the greedy capitalist or the insolent noble, and voted for him in return for the loaves he doled out or for the shows of buffoons, beasts, and gladiators with which he amused them from time to time. This condition of affairs, aggravated by the periodic threat of famine, called loudly for reform, for the Republic was already showing symptoms of decay.

LATIN LITERATURE. Roman acquaintance with Greeks was not limited to contacts in Greek lands, for many Greeks had settled in the capital as traders, while among the thousands of captives were educated Greeks who became the tutors of Roman boys. Still other Greeks came to Rome as envoys, such as Carneades, who was celebrated as the founder of the New Academy in Athens, and Panaetius of Rhodes, whose Stoic philosophy with its emphasis on principles of valor appealed to the practical Roman. The distinguished historian Polybius, who was at once an ornament of the Scipionic Circle and an admirer of Roman government, came as a hostage from the Achaean League. It is hardly surprising, then, that a new and vigorous impetus should have been given the development of Latin literature, under Greek influence, at this time. About 220 B.C. Livius Andronicus translated the *Odyssey* into the Saturnian meter, while Gnaeus Naevius composed plays and an epic poem on the First Punic War. It was in Plautus (ca. 254–184 B.C.) and Terence (ca. 195–159 B.C.), however, that Roman comedy, based on the Greek New Comedy, reached popular heights.

Poetry, as always, developed more rapidly than prose, and the first great history of Rome from its earliest beginnings was the poetic *Annals* of Ennius (239–169 B.C.). About 200 B.C., however, a Roman senator, Fabius Pictor by name, wrote a history of Rome from early days to the end of the Second Punic War in prose, but he wrote it in Greek, so that the Greeks might better understand the Romans. Another prose history of Rome, covering the period from 264 to 150 B.C. was the *Origins* of Cato, and it is hardly necessary to add that he wrote it in Latin. Cato's *On Agriculture*, though not as valuable as a similar book by the Carthaginian Mago, which was later translated into Latin, was an attempt to aid scientific agriculture in Italy; it is the earliest book in Latin prose that has come down to us. Cato gives meticulous advice concerning the growing of vineyards, olive orchards, grain, and vegetables; and in accord with his narrow parsimonious spirit he explains in detail the harsh treatment to be accorded slaves; they are to be worked hard as long as they are able, and then turned out to live or die as best they could.

RELIGION. Informal discussions of various subjects in verse, the *Sermones*, were largely a Roman development. This form was given the name satire, because the variety of its subjects recalled the mixture of prose and verse in the original Italian *satira*. The founder of Roman legal writing, Paetus (ca. 200 B.C.), became famous for his study of the Twelve Tables. With time, the most momentous contributions to Roman law were the edicts of the various praetors, laying down the principles they would follow during their term. In the field of religion the Roman was unable to understand the true meaning of the Greek gods he had adopted, and turned, accordingly, to the strange mystical religions, such as the worship of Dionysus, whom the Romans

called Bacchus. The extravagances of the Bacchanalian societies were, however, so extreme that they were abolished in 186 B.C. Looked at askance also by conservative Romans was the worship of the Phrygian Cybele, Mother of the Gods, whom noisy processions honored in the streets with drums, trumpets, and cymbals. It had been introduced on the advice of the Sibylline books during the crisis of the Hannibalic War.

ROMAN GAMES AND ART. Roman taste also preferred exciting games to the more sedate ancestral festivals, although the Saturnalia in December, when freeman and slave exchanged gifts, remained popular. In the Circus Flaminius, for example, were held horse and chariot races, and exhibitions of wild animal hunts; from Etruria came the practice of gladiatorial combats at the funerals of the great. The streets of the city were now paved, shops and markets were built, sewers and new aqueducts erected, docks along the Tiber enlarged. Various shrines were dedicated, and with imported Greek marble was built the temple of Jupiter and Juno. Ordinarily, however, tufa, a light easily cut volcanic stone, and with more frequency, travertine, a fine-grained, strong, colored stone, were used in construction, both in the homes of the poor, some of which now resembled tenements, and in the houses of the rich, which occasionally had colonnaded courts. Great works of art, brought back from Greece by victorious generals, adorned public areas and influenced Roman taste, which more and more expressed itself in a wonderful naturalness and realism, both in painting and sculpture, notably in portrait busts and wax death masks.

ROMAN ROADS. From Rome itself radiated a network of roads (map, p. 457); not only the Via Appia, but also the Via Flaminia to Ariminum on the Adriatic (built by the censor Flaminius in 220 B.C.); the Via Aemilia, which continued this road to the Po Valley; the Via Aurelia, which ran up the west coast to the Apennines; and the Via Cassia, from Rome through Etruria to the Via Aemilia. Thus the imperial capital dominated its peninsula.

XXVII

THE BEGINNING OF THE ROMAN REVOLUTION (133-78 B.C.)

1. THE GRACCHI

THE NEED OF REFORM. The attempt to reform the evils of Republican Rome is spoken of as the Struggle between the Optimates, or aristocrats, and the Populares, or people's party. Roman government, though democratic in form, had actually been in large part aristocratic. If the present task was to give Roman citizens democracy, we may emphasize that the movement toward democracy had lost its impetus through lack of ordinary vigilance. During the war with Hannibal it had seemed wise to let the experienced Senate assume more and more control of affairs, and when this success was followed by a splendid expansion of frontiers there was a growing tendency on the part of the people not to exercise what had once been their political custom. The issue now was to enable the people to regain their ancient rights and at the same time take cognizance of their changed social and economic status. A few families possessed nearly all the wealth of the world, including the use of the state lands, whereas the masses, as opposed to the farmers and small businessmen, were homeless and, perhaps, unfit to govern an Empire. One distinguished Roman, Tiberius Gracchus, summed up the picture as follows in a speech: "The wild beasts of Italy have their dens and holes and hiding places, while the men who fight and die in defense of Italy enjoy indeed the air and light, but nothing more. Houseless and without a spot of ground to rest upon, they wander about with their wives and children, while their commanders with a lie in their mouths exhort the soldiers in battle to defend their tombs and temples against the enemy; for out of so many Romans no one has a family altar or ancestral tomb, but they fight to maintain the wealth and luxury of others, and they die with the title of lords of the earth without possessing a single clod to call their own."

Tiberius' words show that armies had recently come to include the poor and homeless, although, strictly speaking, men without property were forbidden military service. The new practice did not become common until the days of Marius and then it is the personal commander, with his devoted followers,

who usurps the civilian democratic machinery. In other words, the failure of the Romans to achieve a real democracy was complete, irrevocable, and tragic, and in the final issue involved the entire ancient world. The failure was due primarily to the senatorial class, which knew how to divide and use its opponents and was determined to maintain its privileges even at the cost of violence within the city.

The leaders of reform were two brothers, Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus, sons of Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, who had held the consulship, and of Cornelia, daughter of Scipio Africanus. Thanks to their mother's insistence, Greek tutors instructed them in rhetoric and in the philosophy and political ideas of Hellas, at the very time when their fellow countrymen fancied the less refined aspects of the more ancient civilization. Both brothers married into noble families, and when as young men they served in military and provincial offices, the allies and even the enemies of Rome respected them for their character and their obvious sympathy for peasants, provincials, and slaves.

TIBERIUS GRACCHUS. In 133 B.C., at the age of thirty, and after he had already been quaestor in Spain, Tiberius Gracchus became tribune. His modest aim was to improve the condition of the poor, which, as he saw it, involved rescuing as many families as possible from the idleness of the city and filling the country with thrifty farmers in place of slaves. By giving them an opportunity to earn a living, he hoped to make them honest, useful citizens and at the same time strengthen the army by increasing the number of citizens legally qualified to serve. Accordingly, with the approval of the consul Mucius Scaevola, the most eminent jurist of the age, he proposed to reenact the Licinian Law which as long ago as 367 B.C. had forbidden anyone to use more than 500 *iugera* of the public land. A liberal clause of the Gracchan proposal permitted the sons—perhaps not exceeding two—of the present occupiers to hold 250 additional *iugera* of their own. All such land was in the future to belong to the occupiers, while the surplus was to be divided among the needy by a commission of three men elected by the Tribal Assembly.

But the rich, who for generations had bought, sold, and bequeathed the *ager publicus* like private property, declared Tiberius' bill a scheme of robbery. When accordingly he brought it before the Assembly, they induced Octavius, a tribune, to veto it, and thus they prevented it from passing. With the advice of Tiberius, the Assembly then deposed the obstinate tribune, and his Sempronian Law came into being. Three commissioners—Tiberius, his brother Gaius, and his father-in-law, Appius Claudius—were elected to supervise its operation. It was so well carried out that the census of Roman citizens in 125 B.C. stood at 394,736, an increase (largely attributable to the work of the Gracchi) of about 75,000 over that of five years earlier.

The recall of Octavius was a sweeping departure from custom and suggested to thoughtful people at Rome the danger of a fickle, sovereign, popular Assembly which might be dominated by one demagogue without any brake whatsoever. Still, constitutionally the government was a democracy and the Assembly was supreme; therefore there was every right to introduce the custom of deposing magistrates.

Ever since the days of Gaius Flaminius, the tribune of 232 B.C., the Senate had hotly resisted attempts to apportion the public land fairly, and indeed had been allowed to take the lead in everything, so that now its alarm was especially great. When the land law was passed, however, the Senate ceased direct opposition; rather, it tried to embarrass the commissioners by refusing them sufficient funds. It was just at this moment that Attalus III of Pergamum died, leaving his kingdom to Rome, whereupon Tiberius declared his intention of appropriating from the new province of Asia whatever money he needed, even though the conduct of financial and foreign affairs had long been prerogatives of the Senate. Soon afterward Tiberius offered himself for reelection to the tribunate, another departure from custom. Who was this man, and at what was he aiming? Did he plan to bend the Assembly forever to his way, to give it control over finances, to make it supreme in foreign as well as domestic matters, to depose those who differed with him and to be constantly reelected himself? Was he in effect a Greek tyrant? The latter question answered itself, for unlike the Greek tyrant he was dependent on annual election; as for the rest, problems which long ago could have been solved more normally were now acute, and Tiberius saw the necessity of drastic, albeit in every case legal, action.

It had seemed necessary to Tiberius Gracchus and his friends that he should continue in office in order to secure the enforcement of the land law and the institution of other reforms. The Optimates thought differently. On election day they and their clients and slaves dispersed the Assembly, murdered Tiberius and three hundred of his followers, and threw their bodies into the Tiber. Many times during the previous history of the Republic the Assembly had committed acts of which the Senate had heartily disapproved, but the Senate's policy had been to resist by all constitutional means the adoption of such a measure, to yield when legal means of opposition failed, and then, when the excitement of the moment had passed away, to annul the measure quietly. In the present case this course was advised by the consul Scaevola, who as a jurist was most competent to point out the constitutional procedure, but his moderation did not satisfy the senators. The men who had voted the destruction of Corinth and Carthage, and had followed a policy of treachery and cruelty in the treatment of foreign enemies, now turned to mob violence at home for putting down a political foe. This was the first, but not the last

time that blood was shed in a political struggle at Rome, and the leaders of the mob were senators. Added to all the other causes of popular discontent, it provoked a revolution which was to last a hundred years. The aim of the Populares, or revolutionary party, was to substitute the Assembly for the Senate, democracy for oligarchy, in fact as well as in theory. Contrary to expectations, the revolution first reëstablished the old position of the Senate, at the expense of tribunate and Assembly, and ended in the overthrow of the Republic.

THE LATIN AND ITALIAN ALLIES. The work of the land commission did not cease with the death of Tiberius Gracchus, for vacancies were filled as they occurred, but a crisis was precipitated when the commissioners challenged the right of certain Italian allies to lands adjoining the *ager publicus*. The Italians appealed to Scipio Aemilianus, the destroyer of Carthage, who intervened on their behalf with the Senate. When, however, one of the commissioners, Fulvius Flaccus, proposed that Roman citizenship be given the Latin and Italian allies, there was a storm of protest, not only among the senators, who resisted the growth of democracy, but among the city masses as well, for they had no intention of sharing their benefits with others. The proposal was dropped, to the bitter disappointment of the allies, nor was their pressing problem to be solved by Gaius Gracchus.

GAIUS GRACCHUS. Gaius Gracchus was nine years younger than his brother and had served with him on the land commission. Later on he was quaestor in Sardinia. He was a magnificent orator and in 124 B.C. stood successfully for the tribunate, to which he was reëlected the following year. Gaius turned with vigor to the pressing questions of state, chief of which, as in his brother's day, was the condition of the Roman masses, whom the ruin of agriculture throughout Italy had driven by the thousand into the city. The problem of living was difficult for these people, even in times of prosperity, since Rome had few industries and depended on imports from the provinces. Recently, however, the grain supply had so diminished that relief from the government seemed the only resource against impending famine. Gaius accordingly caused a law to be passed (the *lex frumentaria*) which provided for the monthly distribution of public grain among the citizens at half the market price. No new principle was involved, for it had long been known to the Greek East, and in fact the Senate had often supplied the populace with cheap or free grain, and each noble supported a throng of clients. Although his grain law had much to recommend it, superficially at least, there can be little doubt that Gaius was also motivated by the hope of detaching the people from their patrons and enlisting them in support of himself. Thus, unwittingly, he organized the army of the revolution, which even the strongest emperors could not disband. His law was mischievous in that it drained the treasury and encouraged idleness, but

probably he thought that the completion of his other reforms would correct the evil.

Gaius Gracchus may have felt that the problem of the public lands in Italy had been solved by his brother as well as humanly possible; in any case, he devoted little attention to the matter as such, and within a decade of his death the commission was abolished, the allotments already made were declared private property, and further encroachment upon the public lands was forbidden. The overpopulation of Rome, however, still faced Gaius, as it had his brother, and this he planned to relieve by the establishment of commercial and manufacturing colonies at Tarentum, Capua, and elsewhere along the Italian coasts. He also founded a colony, called Junonia, on the old site of Carthage, which represented an entirely new idea of colonizing the provinces with Roman citizens.

The policy of Gaius, apparently, was to restore the well-being of the Empire no less than that of Italy, and he did not hesitate to go to the core of the problem and attack senatorial prerogatives. To accomplish this, however, was a mighty task, in which he would need more help than the urban plebs could provide, although he could hardly have foreseen that his successful combination of plebeians and equestrians against the Senate would be used by unscrupulous men in the future. Gaius, nevertheless, welded the equestrians into a distinct class, conscious of its power, when he changed the law concerning provincial extortion. The old law had failed to protect the provinces, for the governors on their return to Rome were tried by a jury of senators, who were unlikely to convict men of their own class for crimes which they themselves had once committed. To put an end to this abuse, Gaius caused a law to be passed which required that the jurors should be equestrians. Its effect, unfortunately, was to give the businessmen of Rome free rein in the provinces, where they could threaten an honest governor with trial on his return to the city if he did not coöperate fully with the rapacious *publicani*, and it was not long before the equestrians were even more corrupt than the senators had been. The interest of the equestrian class was further arrayed on the side of Gaius by his law which provided that the censors should farm out in Rome the tax of 10 percent on the agricultural produce of Asia; the tribute to be collected was so large that only the biggest corporations could afford to bid, and thus they enjoyed a virtual monopoly in Rome's new and rich province. A further blow was struck at senatorial prestige by the law stipulating that the consular provinces were to be designated before the elections, rather than after. The old custom had made it possible for the Senate to favor its own candidates, by rewarding them with particularly rich plums, but now this was lost.

These and other matters—for example, the passage of a law condemning the murderers of his brother, the construction of roads in Italy, and the erection

of granaries in which to store the public grain for sale to the people at a reduced rate—were attended to personally by Gaius. Plutarch tells us that “the people looked with amazement at the man himself, seeing him attended by crowds of building contractors, artisans, ambassadors, magistrates, soldiers, and learned men, to all of whom he was of easy access. While he maintained his dignity, he was affable to all, and in general adapted his behavior to every individual.”

The strategy of the Senate in dealing with such a man was to enlist the aid of another tribune, Livius Drusus, and suggest to him that he make ever-wilder promises to the people, which in time could be quietly forgotten. The Senate also waited for the opportunity to divide its enemies, and this arrived when Gaius revived the idea of granting Roman citizenship to the Latins and Latin rights to the Italian allies. Again the masses were unwilling to share their privileges, and the proposal was lost. Gaius' leadership was struck a further blow during his absence at Carthage, where he had gone to supervise the founding of Junonia, for it gave his enemies the chance to circulate unfavorable stories about him. On his return to Rome, he stood for a third term as tribune (122 B.C.), but failed to be reelected. Fearing for his life, Gaius seized the Aventine hill. The Senate ordered the consul, Opimius, to “see that the state suffer no harm”—this form of martial law or “last decree” (the *senatus consultum ultimum*) had, since the Second Punic War, been preferred to the dictatorship. When Opimius attacked the Gracchans, Gaius commanded a slave to stab him to death, and three thousand of his followers were killed.

ESTIMATE OF THE GRACCHI. Tiberius Gracchus had proposed and carried through one great measure of reform, the control of the public lands. Gaius wished to equalize the Italians as nearly as possible with the Romans, to found agricultural colonies in Italy and the provinces in order to provide the needy with homes and the means of earning an honest living, and by founding commercial colonies to reestablish the sources of economic life which Rome had destroyed. These reforms, which aimed at the regeneration of society, would on completion have drawn the poor away from Rome, made the grain laws unnecessary, limited slavery, and rendered Italy prosperous. But the means which the Gracchi chose alarmed the Senate; in effect they proposed to make of the tribunate a ministry, like the office of general in Periclean Athens, and to give the tribunes vast power, which was to continue from year to year so long as the people in their Tribal Assembly willed. Their proposals, radical and yet constitutional, did in fact go to the heart of the problems of their day, but they made a great mistake in supposing that the urban Roman Assembly could govern an empire. The citizens on whom they relied for support were too ignorant and selfish to uphold a broad, statesmanlike policy; ready to vote cheap grain and other advantages to themselves, they turned against Gaius

when they found him attempting also to benefit others. In death, however, the two brothers became the saints and martyrs of the popular party.

2. GAIUS MARIUS

THE JUGURTHINE WAR. The death of Gaius Gracchus restored the misrule of the Senate, whose incapacity and corruption were soon to be revealed in North Africa. There the grandson of Rome's former ally Masinissa, Jugurtha by name, after killing the rightful heirs, had himself usurped the throne of the client state of Numidia. Though the Senate intervened, he bought off its embassies one after another, until finally his excesses forced the Senate to acquiesce in war (111 B.C.), a step heartily favored by the equestrian class. Jugurtha bribed the first commander to withdraw from Africa. When Jugurtha was summoned to Rome to explain matters, he boldly brought about the murder of a man who might have contested his right to the Numidian throne. This made it impossible for him to remain longer in Rome, but as he left he remarked, "Here is a city for sale and doomed to speedy ruin, if only a purchaser appears!" The war continued, but by corrupting the officers of the second commander sent against him, Jugurtha compelled the surrender of the army and sent it under the yoke.

Such was the state of affairs, with its implied threat to the neighboring Roman province of Africa, when the energetic consul, Quintus Caecilius Metellus, took command (109 B.C.). Gaius Marius went with him to Africa as one of his officers. Marius had been born at Arpinum, among the hills of Latium, of an equestrian family, and at an early age had entered the army. Honest, able, and ambitious, he had acquitted himself well as tribune, praetor, and proprætor in Spain. On his return to Rome, he had married Julia, a member of the patrician family of the Caesars, but as a "new man" he disliked the nobility. With his help, Metellus reduced the dissolute soldiers in Africa to order, which was the first and greatest need, and then spent an entire year in a vain attempt to conquer Jugurtha by force or treachery. Another year similarly passed, during which Marius plotted successfully to win the consulship, and in 107 B.C., despite the Senate's wishes, superseded Metellus in the command. Marius, who was a military genius, rapidly besieged and captured one stronghold of the enemy after another and defeated Jugurtha twice in battle, until finally Lucius Cornelius Sulla, a young aristocrat who was quaestor under him, captured Jugurtha by treachery. Marius returned to Rome in 105 B.C., where the African king, after gracing the triumph of his conqueror, was put to death in prison. Numidia was allowed to continue as a client kingdom, with slightly diminished territory, but the war had shown all too clearly the incompetence and moral degradation of the Senate. It also broke the alliance between senators and equestrians, which had been so effective in defeat-

ing Gaius Gracchus' attempt to widen Roman citizenship, for when the Senate had refused to designate Africa as a consular province, the party of the equestrians united with the *Populares* to force Marius' appointment through the Tribal Assembly.

INVASION OF CIMBRI AND TEUTONS. An even greater innovation, however, was the reelection of Marius to the consulship for five years more (104–100 B.C.), when the terrible threat of invasion from the north caused the Romans to turn to their new hero. Celtic and Germanic tribes, particularly the Cimbri and Teutons, had recently crossed the Rhine and threatened the strip of territory along the southern coast of Gaul. In 121 B.C. Rome had turned this area into the province of *Gallia Narbonensis* and had further strengthened her communications, on the one hand with Spain, by seizing the Balearic Islands, and on the other hand with Transalpine Gaul, by fortifying *Aquae Sextiae*. The Cimbri and Teutons overwhelmed various Roman armies sent against them, and in 105 B.C. at *Arausio* (Orange) inflicted the greatest defeat suffered by Rome since *Cannae*, the destruction of two armies comprising 60,000 men. The road to Italy was open, but fortunately for the Romans their enemies spent the next three years in raiding Spain and the interior of Gaul. This interval gave Marius, who seemed to be a savior of the ancient type, time to reorganize and train the army, which he equipped with a better throwing spear (*pilum*). Reelected consul year after year, Marius met the Teutons, as they were preparing to cross the Alps into Italy, at *Aquae Sextiae* in southern Gaul and annihilated the great host (102 B.C.). The following year he joined his colleague, *Quintus Lutatius Catulus*, who had not fared well, and slaughtered the Cimbri at *Vercellae*, in northern Italy, after they had succeeded in crossing the Alps (map, front endpaper).

THE ROMAN ARMY. The army which gained these great victories had a new character. Before the time of Marius it was a militia, formed of men who had lands and families at home and thought of themselves as loyal citizens of the Republic. But this middle class of citizens had died out in the economic decline of Italy, and the attempt of the Gracchi to restore it had been thwarted by the aristocrats. To save the state from invasion, therefore, Marius found it necessary to make up his army chiefly of men who owned no property, and he thus converted into a custom what had formerly been illegal and exceptional. By keeping his men long in the service and under careful training, he made them professional soldiers who placed all their hopes in their commander and were ready to follow him in every undertaking, even against the government; at the end of their term, moreover, the veterans expected to be rewarded with bonuses and lands. Marius himself was loyal, but later generals used the army to overthrow the Republic. In its actual structure, too, Marius changed and improved the army. He increased the size of the legion to 6,000

men, divided into ten cohorts of 600 men each, which were further subdivided into centuries of sixty men, the new tactical unit. Over each century stood a noncommissioned officer, called a centurion, who took great pride in making his company the best in the legion. The legion itself, with its silver eagle as a standard, had a wonderful *esprit de corps*.

POLITICAL STRIFE. Rome had been spared disaster in Africa and an invasion from the north at the very time when a rebellion of slaves in Sicily and the activities of Cilician pirates in the eastern Mediterranean had to be suppressed; the latter achievement ended in the creation of the province of Cilicia (101 B.C.). The Senate could claim little credit for these victories, the greatest of which had been won by a man from the common people after the miserable failure of corrupt and worthless nobles. During his sixth consulship (100 B.C.), however, Marius, in seeking lands as a reward for his veterans, allied himself with two violent demagogues, Saturninus, a tribune, and Glaucia, a praetor. These two men had aimed to carry out some of the less desirable aspects of the Gracchan reforms, such as the distribution of cheap grain, but when they now suggested the planting of colonies abroad, with citizenship for those enrolled, the city rabble joined the Senate in opposition. With their armed followers Saturninus and Glaucia forced the measure through the Tribal Assembly. Riot, violence, and murder continued, until the Senate and equestrians called upon Marius to restore public order. Reluctantly he armed some of his forces to defend the constitution against Saturninus and Glaucia, his former associates, and after their surrender, says Appian, "he placed them and their followers in the Senate house with the intention of treating them in a legal manner. But the mob tore the tiles off the roof and stoned them to death."

Used by the Senate against his partisans, Marius missed his destiny, and the fate of Rome passed into other hands. But if the Senate had once again skillfully divided the party of the *Populares*, it could hardly hope that its alliance with the equestrians against demagogic terrorism would long continue. This was made impossible by the law on extortion, which gave the equestrian juries control over provincial governors. The break came in 92 B.C. when a charge of extortion was laid against Rutilius Rufus, an upright noble who had restrained the *publicani* during his term in Asia. Convicted though he was, Rutilius actually spent the rest of his life in the province he was supposed to have robbed.

3. THE SOCIAL WAR (90-88 B.C.)

LIVIVS DRUSUS. The Senate was now surrounded by hostile equestrians and masses, and at the same time was faced with the possibility of rebellion by the oppressed Italians. A few liberal Optimates gave thought to the need of reform. The leader of this movement was Marcus Livius Drusus, son of Gaius

Gracchus' opponent and a young man of wealth and illustrious family. When he became tribune in 91 B.C., however, he discovered, as all others had, that the absence of a public debt—the necessity, that is to say, of financing this year's expenses out of this year's income—embarrassed his efforts to found colonies and distribute cheap grain. Nor did he win popularity by suggesting that the number of the Senate be increased to 600 by the enrollment of 300 equestrians, and that future cases of extortion be tried before juries drawn partly from the new Senate and partly from the equestrian order. Finally, Drusus met united opposition when he advocated the enfranchisement of the Latin and Italian allies. The Senate declared his entire work as tribune unconstitutional, perhaps because he had violated a recent law against enacting a measure which contained several different items. This was the so-called "omnibus" law, which was aimed at demagogues and provided further that three market days must intervene between the proposal of a bill and the vote on it. Toward the end of his year of office, the last of Rome's civilian reformers was murdered.

The death of Drusus deprived the Italians of their last hope of obtaining their rights by peaceable means. It was not that they wished primarily to vote at Rome, for most of them lived too far away to exercise that privilege, but they did need the protection which citizenship gave. Their soldiers, who had fought so well for Rome, desired humane treatment at the hands of their commanders, and immunity from insults and scourging. In the affairs of peace they themselves sought the same rights of property and trade which the Romans had always enjoyed.

THE ITALIAN REVOLT. Accordingly, in 90 B.C., the Italian allies of central Italy, chiefly the Marsi and Samnites, revolted and founded a new state, which they called Italia. They selected Corfinium as their capital and, in the main, patterned their government after that of Rome, with two consuls and a Senate; their aim was to annex the whole of Italy, and they gave citizenship to all who joined them in the war for freedom. The struggle which now began between Rome and her allies (*socii*) is called the Social War. Rome's control of the sea allowed her to obtain reinforcements and supplies at will, but the Italians, who were both numerous and veterans of many a war, fought so successfully that toward the end of the first year Rome felt compelled to grant citizenship to all those who had not revolted. In the next year another law conferred citizenship on those who registered with a Roman praetor within sixty days. These concessions not only prevented the revolt from spreading, but so weakened it that, in another year, Rome broke the strength of the allies.

The Italians were now granted Roman citizenship and local municipal government, and the whole Italian nation was organized in one great state, with a common Latin language, culture, and law. But the new citizens were dis-

satisfied because their influence was limited by their enrollment in only eight of the thirty-five tribes, and they continued, therefore, to look upon the Senate and the city rabble as their oppressors. Hence the idea of monarchy grew apace, for the Italians stood ready to welcome the strong man who would master their enemies.

THE RISE OF SULLA. The political questions of the future were, who was to be this new man of power, and how much authority was he to snatch from the Senate? The first conflict came between Marius, who had served as general also during the crisis of the Social War, and Sulla, who had been his quaestor during the war with Jugurtha. Sulla, patrician though poor, was endowed with a remarkable talent for war, diplomacy and politics. In the words of Plutarch, "His eyes were an uncommonly pure and piercing blue, which the color of his face rendered still more terrible, as it was spotted with rough, red blotches interspersed with white, a mulberry besprinkled with meal." Success as a general in the Social War brought Sulla the consulship in 88 B.C.

4. THE FIRST MITHRADATIC WAR (89-85 B.C.)

MITHRADATES OF PONTUS. Ever since the close of the Asiatic War with Antiochus III in 189 B.C. Rome had enjoyed a protectorate over Asia Minor, but at the time of the war with Jugurtha the throne of one of the client kingdoms—that of Pontus along the southern shore of the Black Sea—came to be filled by a young man who was to prove a dangerous enemy to Rome. This was Mithradates VI Eupator, often styled the Great, a person of gigantic strength, attractive personality, and brilliant genius. A genuine Oriental polished by Greek education, he remained, in spite of many heroic traits, cunning, unscrupulous, and brutal. Taking advantage of Rome's troubles with Jugurtha, and afterward with her allies, Mithradates rapidly extended his power through conquests and alliances, until he had brought under control nearly all the southern coast of the Black Sea. He constantly tried to interfere in the affairs of Asia Minor, but Rome always succeeded in causing him to desist. Toward the end of 89 B.C., however, Mithradates boldly decided upon war.

So hated were the Roman *publicani* that the inhabitants of the province of Asia welcomed Mithradates as a deliverer, and on an appointed day in 88 B.C., at his order, they massacred all the Italian residents, men, women, and children, to the number of 80,000. Then his fleet crossed the Aegean to Delos, murdering the Italian commercial colony on the island, and continued to Athens, where revolt had broken out. Rome was threatened with the loss of all her possessions east of the Adriatic, but it was the massacre of Italians in Asia Minor that roused the whole body of citizens to the necessity of immediate action.

STRIFE IN ROME. The Senate ordered Sulla, as consul, to proceed to the seat of war, but after his departure from the city the equestrians, who knew him as a partisan of the Senate, contrived to have the command transferred to Marius. This was accomplished by an alliance with the tribune Sulpicius, who was proposing to register the new citizens and freedmen in all thirty-five tribes and stopped at no violence to win his ends. When Sulla learned of the Assembly's action depriving him of his command, he led his army to Rome and settled the question with the sword. Sulpicius and many of his adherents were slain, but Marius escaped to Africa. This was a critical moment in the history of the Republic, for it was the first time that the army had appeared in politics; the revolution begun so long ago by the Gracchi now found its leaders, however, in generals rather than tribunes. After restoring the authority of the Senate and decreeing that nothing could be submitted to the Assemblies without its consent, Sulla proceeded with his army to the war against Mithradates.

SULLA IN THE EAST. With five legions Sulla arrived in Greece, which he robbed of many of its treasures and so ravaged that it never recovered in antiquity. Athens itself was taken (86 B.C.) after a long siege, during which some of its temples were destroyed. Victories at Chaeronea and Orchomenus ended the last resistance of Mithradates' forces in Greece; then, with the aid of his quaestor Lucius Lucullus, who had a fleet, Sulla invaded Asia Minor, which now fretted under Mithradates' stern rule. Since he was anxious to return to Rome, where his political enemies were again in power, Sulla patched up a peace with Mithradates, though no one doubted that the king would break it at the first opportunity. Mithradates was compelled to pay an indemnity and to give up all the conquests he had made at the expense of Rome and her allies, including the province of Asia and the kingdoms of Bithynia and Cappadocia (85 B.C.). Such heavy fines were levied against the Asiatic cities which had aided Mithradates that they were compelled to borrow from Roman capitalists; these in turn charged an enormous rate of interest and it was not long before the cities owed six times the amount of the loan.

5. THE DICTATORSHIP OF SULLA

CINNA AND THE POPULARES. No sooner had Sulla left Rome for the war with Mithradates than an armed conflict broke out between the Senate and the Marians. The new leader of the popular party was the consul Lucius Cornelius Cinna, who proposed to enroll the Italians equally among the thirty-five tribes, but his colleague, Gnaeus Octavius, championed the cause of the Senate and drove him from the city. Cinna quickly gathered an army of Italians, recalled Marius from banishment, and following the example of Sulla, marched against Rome. The greatness of Marius' character had changed in

his old age to rabid fury against the aristocrats. "Filthy and long-haired," says Appian, "he marched through the towns, presenting a pitiable appearance, descanting on his battles, on his victories over the Cimbri, and his six consulships." With grim determination he promised the Italians their rights. When they finally entered Rome with their bands of Italians, foreigners, and runaway slaves, Marius and Cinna killed Octavius and many other eminent aristocrats; for five days they hunted down their opponents, massacred them, and plundered their property. The Italians won their rights, but this revolution had taken ten thousand lives. Soon afterward Marius, now consul for the seventh time, died (86 B.C.).

SULLA'S RETURN. The revolution had again overthrown the Senate and placed the *Populares* at the head of the government. Cinna was reelected to the consulship year after year, but he attempted no reforms and showed himself as incompetent as the nobles before him. Finally, in 84 B.C., he was murdered by his troops as he was preparing to set out for Macedonia against Sulla. The following year Sulla, full of fury, landed at Brundisium, where he found Gnaeus Pompeius (Pompey) and other young aristocrats eagerly awaiting him. There then began a terrible civil war. The consuls, Carbo and Marius, son of the famous general, had large bodies of troops, particularly from among the new citizens of Samnium and Etruria, but they were not skillful leaders, and at the Colline Gate in Rome they were crushed (82 B.C.). Thousands of prisoners taken in this battle were massacred in cold blood, Carbo fled to Africa, and Marius, who was besieged at Praeneste, committed suicide. Soon all Italy lay prostrate at the feet of the conqueror; and the Marians who had escaped to Sicily and Africa were put down by Pompey. The Social and Civil Wars, with their debasement of moral values, depreciation of the coinage, and the wholesale destruction of life and property, nearly completed the ruin of Italy, which had long been declining in wealth and population.

Now master of the government, Sulla proceeded with reckless butchery to destroy the opponents of his party. Day by day he posted in the Forum a list of his victims ("the proscribed"), whom anyone might slay and receive therefor a reward; kindness and affection were branded as criminal, while a premium was placed upon malice, greed, and murder. The goods of the proscribed were confiscated, and their children disfranchised. The number of persons thus murdered at Rome amounted to nearly five thousand, including many senators and equestrians; no one dared shelter a victim, not even children their parents. Many were the victims of private hatred, and many more were killed for the sake of their wealth. At the same time, murder and confiscation were carried on all over Italy; in this way Sulla was able to settle 150,000 of his veterans on the land.

SULLA DICTATOR. In this same terrible year of 82 B.C., Sulla assumed the

office of dictator, which had long been disused, in order that he might bring about a stable government with the Senate in control. He enacted that no measure should be brought before any Assembly without the consent of the Senate, thus giving the Senate the complete power over legislation which it had enjoyed in the days before the *lex Hortensia* (287 B.C.). Seven courts were established, each under a praetor and each charged with jurisdiction over a particular class of crimes, but the jurors were to be senators, as they had been before the time of Gaius Gracchus. Since these juries were very large, Sulla raised the number of the Senate from 300 to 600 by adding equestrians who had been his partisans. In order to prevent able men from seeking the tribunate, Sulla ruled that tribunes would be ineligible for higher office. He increased the number of quaestors to twenty and made this office a regular stepping stone to the Senate. Sulla did not disturb the order of offices in the *cursus honorum*, but the minimum age for the quaestorship was set at thirty, for the praetorship at thirty-nine, for the consulship at forty-two; moreover, he decreed that ten years were to elapse before a man might be reelected to the same office. The censorship, which had often been troublesome to senators, was abolished. The number of praetors was raised to eight, and on the expiration of their year of office these men and the two ex-consuls became promagistrates; that is to say, they went out as governors to the provinces, which now numbered ten with the admission of Cisalpine Gaul as a province. Sulla thus laid the foundation for an imperial civil service, just as his organization of the courts became the framework for the development of criminal law at Rome. The power of provincial governors, it should be emphasized, was limited to their provinces, the consuls were ordinarily restricted to Italy, and the Senate was handed the privilege of appointing the commanders for military expeditions abroad. These laws, with the exception of those touching on the Assemblies and the tribunate, which set the clock back two centuries, became a regular part of the constitution.

Sulla's aim was to set up a state dominated by the Senate and protected at once against demagogues, ambitious generals, and civil war, since the Roman people, whether as a whole or through its individual parties, had failed to govern. The crisis of this generation demanded imagination rather than a rigid conservatism which appealed to a half-real past and left in its wake a passionate desire for revenge. Above all, even if Sulla's constitution had been proof, legally, against one-man rule, the inability to satisfy man's longing for peace and prosperity pointed to monarchy as the only apparent solution. With the conviction, however, that his work would be permanent, Sulla laid down his dictatorship in 79 B.C. and retired to Campania, where he died the following year. He was buried with pomp and splendor, but he was hardly in his grave before his government began to totter.

XXVIII

THE END OF THE REPUBLIC

(78-27 B.C.)

1. THE RISE OF POMPEY

Sulla was the first person in Roman history to enforce his will upon the state by means of the army, but after his time the political power fell more and more to the holders of "extraordinary commands," to those individuals, that is to say, who were especially designated to deal with a specific crisis. Among the rising officers of the army, Pompey was most fitted to be the heir of Sulla's policy. Vain, pompous, and honorable, Pompey, after his defeat of the Marians in Sicily and Africa, had wrested from Sulla the right to the title of Magnus ("the Great") and the privilege of a triumph upon his return to Rome (79 B.C.; p. 548).

SERTORIUS AND POMPEY IN SPAIN. In the year of Sulla's death (78 B.C.) the consul Marcus Lepidus led an armed attempt to annul much of the dictator's work. The revolt was put down by the other consul, Catulus, but the Senate was obliged to call on Pompey for aid. The remnants of Lepidus' troops, under Marcus Perperna, then fled to Spain, where the Marians still held out. The leader of these democratic forces was Quintus Sertorius, who had regarded Sulla as a usurper. Sertorius claimed to represent the true government of Rome and became the hope of the Populares. He was one of the first Romans to sympathize thoroughly with the governed, to make their interests his chief care, and to give them the genuine benefits of Latin civilization. In both Hither and Farther Spain he routed the Roman armies sent against him, including that of the consul, Quintus Caecilius Metellus. A good general was obviously needed in Spain, and the Senate, according to Sulla's arrangements, should have sent thither as proconsul a man who had already been consul. But since it could find no able person with this qualification, it gave the proconsulship to Pompey, who had not even filled the office of quaestor. No easy conquest awaited Pompey, but Spanish resistance was undermined first by the exactions of Perperna and subsequently by the latter's murder of Sertorius. Finally, after five years (76-71 B.C.), Pompey ended the rebellion.

SPARTACUS. Pompey returned to Italy just in time to add further laurels

to his crown. In 73 B.C. a terrible danger had reared its head in the form of a slave revolt. The leader was Spartacus, a gladiator. Gladiatorial exhibitions had originated in Etruria in connection with funeral festivals, and Rome had introduced them from that country; the custom gradually developed for the magistrates to entertain the voters with this brutal sport, and there was a school at Capua in which slaves were trained as gladiators. A Thracian by birth, and a brave, intelligent soldier, Spartacus had been taken prisoner, sold as a slave, and sent to this school. Now, with a few comrades, he struck down the guards and escaped to Mt. Vesuvius. Slaves, criminals, and discontented persons of every class flocked to his side till he had an army of more than 70,000 men. For two years he defeated Roman armies led by praetors and consuls. Then the praetor Marcus Licinius Crassus defeated and killed him and dispersed his army. Crassus was robbed of full credit, however, for the remnants of Spartacus' forces were met and overwhelmed in northern Italy by Pompey on his return.

SULLA'S CONSTITUTION UNDONE. Crassus, a former legate of Sulla's and a financier grown rich during the proscriptions, now demanded a triumph and the consulship. So did Pompey, even though he was too young for the office and had never held the quaestorship or praetorship. When the Senate hesitated, the two men, who were quite dissimilar, joined forces, appealed to the people, and achieved their double ends. As consuls (70 B.C.), they undid the work of Sulla: the censorship was restored, which made possible a revision of the Senate; the juries henceforth were to be drawn equally from the Senate, the equestrians, and a slightly less prosperous business class known as the tribunes of the treasury (*tribuni aerarii*); and the tribunate was returned to its former glory. This represented, however, a victory not so much of the Populares as of the army, for the tribunes in the future attached themselves ordinarily to the service of the great military leaders.

THE TRIAL OF VERRES. In their determination to reform the juries Pompey and Crassus received ammunition, if any were needed, from the prosecution of Verres, who had been propraetor of Sicily in 73, 72, and 71 B.C. Verres had robbed the provincials unmercifully of money and works of art, and stated frankly that the three years' income was intended for himself, his debtors, and the jurors. He had sold justice to the highest bidder, framed charges against innocent people in order to obtain their property and had even laid taxes which were greater than the entire value of an estate. The Sicilians hardly expected that a jury of senators would give them more justice than the equestrians in former days had done, but in their desperation they turned to Cicero, who had been an honest quaestor in their island during 75 B.C. Marcus Tullius Cicero of Arpinum had been educated in Athens and, now thirty-six years of age, enjoyed a considerable reputation as a pleader. He had just been elected

aedile, while his opponent, the defender of Verres, had won the consulship. This was Quintus Hortensius Hortalus, who was the greatest orator of the moment. With remarkable speed and against overwhelming odds, Cicero collected his evidence, brought Verres to trial and then, instead of making a speech, simply presented the facts. The result was the condemnation of Verres. Cicero later published the full story in his *Orations against Verres*, which gave in detail the dark picture of provincial corruption, but the trial itself had sufficed to reform the membership of the juries.

THE CILICIAN PIRATES. Upon the expiration of his year of office Pompey decided not to go out as governor to a province, which seemed to promise little in the way of personal advancement, but to wait in Rome for some unusual opportunity. This was not long in coming. Ever since the collapse of the Rhodian sea power during the Third Macedonian War, pirates had swarmed over the whole Mediterranean Sea; they seized cities, attacked Ostia, captured Roman nobles, whom they held for ransom, and sold free citizens into slavery. The hives of these pirates were in Cilicia and Crete. By 67 B.C. Metellus conquered Crete and made it a province, but, even so, the evil continued. The Senate seemed powerless to cope with the situation, for it was too jealous of Pompey to call upon him. When, however, the piratical raids cut off Rome's grain supply and threatened the city with famine, the tribune Aulus Gabinius proposed in the Tribal Assembly (67 B.C.) the creation of a single command, with the *imperium* for three years, over the entire Mediterranean together with a strip of coast fifty miles deep, as far as Rome's dominion extended. Gabinius, of course, had acted in collusion with Pompey, and the Senate was compelled to acquiesce in the creation of the extraordinary command and Pompey's appointment to it. He was given a fleet of five hundred ships, twenty-four legates, and a large sum of money. Within three months Pompey cleared the sea of pirates, destroyed their nests in Cilicia, and settled many of the survivors as colonists.

THE SECOND MITHRADATIC WAR (74–63 B.C.). Two years and nine months of his *imperium* remained, and Pompey, ambitious as ever, intended to capitalize on other troubles Rome was having in the East. Ever since Sulla had imposed terms of peace upon Mithradates, the king of Pontus had been preparing for a new war with Rome. The Second Mithradatic War (74–63 B.C.), as it is called, broke out when Nicomedes III, the king of Bithynia, bequeathed his state to Rome. Rome promptly organized it as a province, but Mithradates, who had a powerful fleet and army, also coveted the territory. After several indecisive encounters the Roman consul, Lucius Lucullus, a remarkably skillful general, drove Mithradates from Bithynia and even from Pontus. Mithradates took refuge with his son-in-law Tigranes, the king of Armenia. Lucullus followed and captured the Armenian capital, Tigranocerta, but was prevented

from conquering the kingdom by a mutiny of his troops. The tide then began to turn in favor of Mithradates. The equestrian corporations at Rome now saw their chance of replacing Lucullus, whom they hated for having eased the terrible tax burden which Sulla had laid on the province of Asia.

THE MANILIAN LAW (66 B.C.). It was at this juncture, in 66 B.C., that the tribune Gaius Manilius, in furtherance of the wishes of Pompey and the equestrians, carried a law which gave the command in the East to Pompey in addition to the tremendous power he already had. Cicero, who was then a praetor and hoped for the great Pompey's support in his bid for the consulship, delivered a memorable speech, *For the Manilian Law*, which helped to override senatorial opposition. Pompey, needless to say, was equal to his task. He drove Mithradates from Pontus to Armenia and finally to the Crimea.

Most of Pontus was now added to the province of Bithynia, while various sections were attached to allied states. The system of small allied states, which were in reality vassals, was characteristic of Rome. Pompey gave much attention to the political organization of the East. He formed a treaty of friendship with the dread Parthian Empire beyond the Euphrates, and as an added check on Parthia he made Armenia a client kingdom. Tigranes had recently conquered Syria, but Pompey forced him to withdraw (64 B.C.) and made it a Roman province. Thus ended the last shadow of the Seleucid Empire. Pompey then entered Judaea and, after a siege of three months, took Jerusalem. Some of Judaea was added to Syria, but Jerusalem retained its self-government under a High Priest who was dependent on Rome. Except for Egypt and a small part of Palestine, Rome now occupied the entire circuit of the Mediterranean with her dependent allies and provinces (map, p. 488).

Pompey's arrangements in the Near East were admirable and promised to bring stability and prosperity to that part of the world, for he avoided the exactions of Sulla. Conscious of his power and laden with booty, Pompey now started on his return to Rome.

2. ROME DURING POMPEY'S ABSENCE

CRASSUS AND CAESAR. During Pompey's absence in the East a coalition had been forming against him at Rome between the wealthy Crassus and Gaius Julius Caesar. Born in 100 B.C., Caesar was a patrician of the Julian *gens*, which traced its ancestry back to gods and heroes, but since his own economic fortunes were not happy and, more particularly perhaps, because his wife was Cornelia, the daughter of Cinna, and his aunt, Julia, was the wife of Marius, he naturally associated himself in politics with the Populares. Moreover, he barely escaped the Sullan proscriptions by withdrawing to Rhodes. Later on he returned to Rome and served as quaestor in Farther Spain. In the year 65 B.C. Caesar was aedile, and the subsequent working arrangement between

him and Crassus suggests that the financier had underwritten the enormous debts which Caesar incurred in entertaining the people (p. 548).

Another individual beholden to Crassus was Catiline, a man of high birth and splendid talents, but vicious and depraved. He drew to himself the most desperate men in Italy, including all who wished a renewal of civil war and massacres, as well as debtors, gamblers, and assassins. Some of these people planned with Catiline to murder the consuls of 65 B.C., but the plot failed, and Catiline was saved only through the help of Crassus. In the consular elections of July, 64 B.C., in which Cicero was a candidate, Crassus and Caesar backed Catiline and Gaius Antonius, a kindred spirit, but Cicero, who had the support of the Optimates in spite of their dislike for him, won, together with Antonius. Crassus and Caesar then schemed to increase their own power by curtailing Pompey's. This they did with the aid of the tribune Servilius Rullus, although the attempt was disguised as an agrarian bill. On his first day of office, January 1, 63 B.C., Cicero successfully blocked the bill and henceforth devoted himself to bringing about a "concord of the orders"—a union, that is to say, of senators and equestrians in governing the state. Caesar, for his part, had to content himself with election to the office of Pontifex Maximus, though no one could have described him as a religious man.

THE CONSPIRACY OF CATILINE (63 B.C.). Later that year Catiline again failed to be elected consul and in his disappointment plotted his revenge. The plan of the anarchists was to cancel debts, murder the consuls, fire the city and overthrow the government. Cicero, learning of the conspiracy, persuaded the Senate to pass the "last decree," whereupon Catiline fled to the army he had been preparing in Etruria. The whole sordid tale was unfolded by Cicero, now Rome's greatest orator, in a series of brilliant orations, which electrified Senate and people. Catiline was killed in battle, and those of his followers who had remained in Rome were arrested. Cicero urged the Senate to condemn them to death, but Caesar advocated a lighter penalty. Marcus Porcius Cato the Younger, a Stoic philosopher and as conservative as his great-grandfather, the famous censor, supported Cicero and the sentence was carried out. The Populares denied the right of the Senate to act as a court in such a case and asserted, accordingly, that Cicero had put these men to death without a trial.

CICERO. Cicero's success in saving the state made him for a time the most eminent man in Rome. The people saluted him as "the father of his country"; and though he was a *novus homo*, the Optimates recognized him as their leader. He was strongly attached to the republican form of government, but the forces opposed to him were overwhelming. Such in fact had become the condition of public affairs that the statesman, however grand, appears strangely dwarfed and out of place, for the age of generals had come; they were the strong men and managed the politicians as their puppets. It was vain, there-

fore, for Cicero to hope that he might make Pompey a defender of the republican constitution—a “concord of the orders” at this date was an idle dream (p. 547).

POMPEY'S RETURN TO ITALY. Pompey's arrival at Brundisium in 62 B.C. was anxiously watched by everyone at Rome. While both Optimates and Populares claimed him, some feared he might overthrow the government and make himself dictator by means of the army, as Sulla had done. But believing that his influence sufficed to bring him all the power and honor he needed, Pompey disbanded his army and came to Rome as a private citizen. Although he celebrated a magnificent triumph and distributed large sums of money to his men, he was in other ways bitterly disappointed. The Senate, which had always distrusted him, hesitated to sanction his arrangements in the East and to grant lands to his 40,000 veterans.

It happened, however, that two eminent politicians needed his aid. One was Crassus, who was angered by the Senate's refusal, at the behest of Cato, to lower the amount of money which the *publicani* had contracted to pay the treasury from the taxes of the province of Asia, for a poor harvest had rendered their position precarious. The other was Caesar, who in 60 B.C. returned from the propraetorship in Spain to find that the Senate refused him a triumph and the consulship. The three men—Pompey, Crassus, and Caesar—though they had little in common, decided to act together for their interests as opposed to the Senate. This unofficial union is called the First Triumvirate. Pompey contributed to it his military fame, Crassus the influence of his wealth, and Caesar his popularity with the masses and his commanding intelligence.

3. THE FIRST TRIUMVIRATE

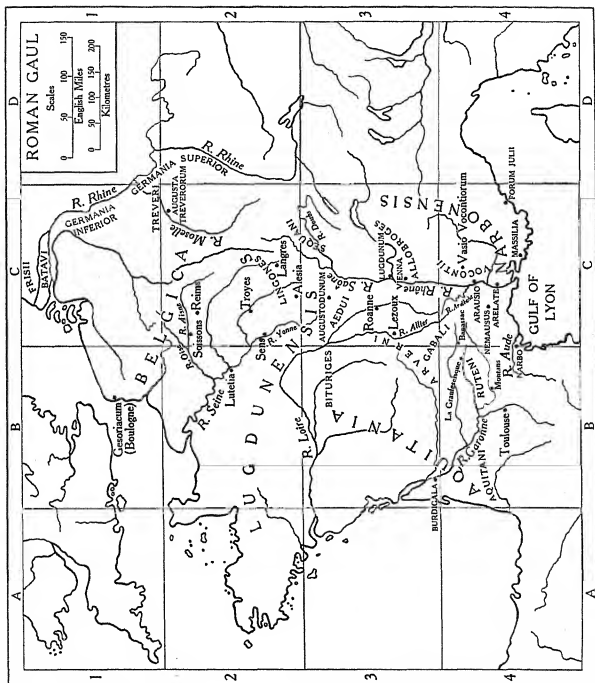
CAESAR CONSUL (59 B.C.). According to the agreement reached among the three men, Caesar was elected consul for 59 B.C. He had little difficulty in rewarding Crassus by the remission of one-third of the taxes contracted for the province of Asia, but stiff criticism met his proposals on Pompey's behalf. Caesar's colleague in the consulship was Calpurnius Bibulus, a member of the senatorial faction, who, failing to match the tactics of Caesar's rough-and-ready political clubs, shut himself up in his house and announced that public business could not be transacted because he was watching the skies for omens. Cato was outspoken in his opposition, and so was Cicero, who several times refused offers to join forces with the triumvirs. Caesar, nevertheless, secured ratification of Pompey's arrangements in the East and obtained lands for his veterans in Campania. Through their tool, Clodius, an unscrupulous patrician who had managed adoption into a plebeian family in order to become tribune, the triumvirs brought about the exile of Cicero on the ground that at the time of Catiline's conspiracy he had put citizens to death without a trial. Cato was

removed from the scene by appointing him to a commission to organize the province of Cyprus.

CAESAR'S GALLIC COMMAND. The fate of Rome was firmly in the hands of the triumvirs, and further to strengthen his own position Caesar gave his daughter Julia in marriage to Pompey, who remained, outwardly at least, the most powerful of the three. But with amazing foresight Caesar secured for himself the proconsulship in Illyria, Cisalpine Gaul, and Transalpine Gaul (or Gallia Narbonensis, as it was called) for a period of five years. Since he was appointed to this extraordinary command while he was still consul, he was able legally to raise troops in Italy, and these no doubt were a counterpoise to the potential influence of Pompey's veterans. There may have been those who wondered at Caesar's willingness to seek a far-off command which promised trouble, but this was exactly the kind of position for which he had long been striving. If successful, he would surely have a veteran army devoted to himself, he would add territory and riches to Rome's dominion, as well as wealth and reputation for himself. During his long absence he proposed to write frequent accounts of his activities: these became the famous *Commentaries on the Gallic War*, which thrilled the Roman populace and are a monument to Caesar's skill as an historian and reveal another facet of his many-sided nature. (Cf. map, front endpaper.)

GAUL. All Gaul, as Caesar said, is divided into three parts; by this he meant non-Roman Gaul or *Gallia comata* (long-haired Gaul), for Gallia Narbonensis, from Lake Geneva along the Mediterranean coast to Spain, was already a Roman province. Free Gaul was a huge fertile country, with a dense and varied population, which won its living chiefly by agriculture, though trade, metallurgy, pottery, and textile factories formed part of the economy; there were, too, many strongly fortified towns. Broadly speaking, the Aquitanians, who were an Iberian people with a mixture of Celts, occupied the south; the purer Celts were in the center; and in the north, along the lower Rhine, were the Belgian Gauls, who were Celts mixed with Germans. Each of these three groups comprised several independent tribes. The Aquitanians were the most civilized, thanks to the influences radiating from the Greek city of Massilia on the coast and to the swarms of Italian merchants in their midst; the Belgians were the most barbarous and warlike. East of the Rhine were the half-nomadic Germans.

DEFEAT OF THE HELVETIANS (58 B.C.). Several years before Caesar's proconsulship a powerful German tribe, the Suevi, had crossed the Rhine under their chieftain Ariovistus and, having helped the Sequani to defeat the Aedui, who were allies of Rome, seized some Gallic lands for themselves. This movement was the beginning of a Germanic migration, which if unchecked would have thrown Gaul into commotion and might have brought both German and



Celtic hordes into Narbonensis and even, perhaps, into Italy. A more direct menace to Rome came from the Helvetians, a great Celtic tribe of Switzerland, who in 58 B.C. abandoned their home in the Alps for the broader and more fertile lands of southern Gaul. Caesar, who at this time had had little experience in command, thus found himself confronted by enormous difficulties and dangers, but the ease with which he overcame everything in his way marked him at once as a great master of the art of war. With wonderful rapidity he gathered his widely scattered forces, enrolled new legions, and inspired his raw recruits with the courage and devotion of veterans. He overtook the Helvetians as they were about to enter Gallia Narbonensis, defeated them with great slaughter and drove the remnant of their host back to their former home. During this same summer Ariovistus, whom the Senate had half-heartedly recognized as a "friend of the Roman people"—in the hope of forestalling trouble—showed further signs of aggression. Caesar, accordingly, attacked him and compelled him to recross the Rhine. Caesar, quite obviously, did not intend to remain within his provincial confines.

In the following year, 57 B.C., Caesar resolved to subdue the Belgians. While he was approaching their country, the Nervii, who were the most warlike and powerful of the Belgic tribes, fell upon him so fiercely that he could neither form his line nor give orders. Each soldier was left to his own judgment, but the cool courage of the men and the heroism of their commander won the desperate fight. All northern Gaul now submitted.

THE CONFERENCE AT LUCA (56 B.C.). By this time, however, the situation in Rome had become serious, for Pompey and Crassus were no longer friendly, and each viewed Caesar with jealousy. The armed gangs of Clodius, Caesar's tool, fought in the streets with those of the tribune Titus Annius Milo, Pompey's man. In 57 B.C. Cicero was recalled from exile at Pompey's insistence, for he needed the aid of the orator. Cicero received an ovation on his return and soon repaid Pompey by securing his appointment as curator of the grain supply (*curator annonae*) for five years, together with proconsular *imperium* in the Mediterranean. The Senate, however, still refused to give Pompey its complete confidence and support, and each of the triumvirs could see an advantage in reconciling their differences. They accordingly came together, on Caesar's invitation, for a conference in the spring of 56 B.C. at Luca in Cisalpine Gaul. It was there agreed that Pompey and Crassus should be consuls in 55 B.C. and were then to receive five-year provincial commands, Pompey in Hither and Farther Spain and Africa, Crassus in Syria, while Caesar was to have his Gallic command renewed. These arrangements were carried through, over the objections of Cato and those Optimates who were most strongly devoted to the republican cause. Cicero, aware of his debt to Pompey and de-

lighted that his brother should be one of Caesar's legates, gave his support to the triumvirs.

CAESAR CROSSES THE RHINE AND INVADES BRITAIN (55-54 B.C.). In the summer of 56 B.C., on his return to Gaul, Caesar hastened to Normandy and Brittany where the Veneti, who occupied a strip of the Atlantic coast, threatened trouble. A maritime people, they built their towns on headlands protected by shallow tidewaters, and themselves put to sea in clumsy flat-bottomed boats with leather sails. Caesar built a small, light fleet and defeated them. Since the Aquitanians had also submitted, practically all Gaul now owed allegiance to Rome. But it was an uncertain allegiance, made the more so by incursions of Germans from across the Rhine. To strike terror into these people, Caesar crossed the Rhine on his famous bridge (55 B.C.) and later that summer ventured across the English Channel. The Britons, who were largely Celtic, had been aiding their kinsmen in Gaul, and Caesar hoped to stop this. But he had only a small force with him and accomplished little. The next year, however, he landed with 30,000 men, marched across the Thames and received the submission of several tribes. The Britons gave hostages and promised tribute, whereupon Caesar, who was aware of the fame and popularity his expeditions had won him in Rome, quit the island; a century was to pass before its real conquest (map. p. 587).

VERCINGETORIX. The comparative speed with which Caesar had overrun their country convinced the Gallic chieftains of the necessity of burying their individual rivalries and uniting under a leader. This turned out to be Vercingetorix, a young noble, who raised all Gaul in a terrible rebellion, that was to tax Caesar's genius to the utmost. Caesar, however, succeeded in cornering Vercingetorix in the fortress of Alesia (near Dijon) and starved him into submission (52 B.C.). By 50 B.C. all Gaul was pacified; it was not immediately organized as a province, but was placed under the jurisdiction of the governor of Gallia Narbonensis and was subject to tribute and levies of men.

Caesar's conquest of Gaul spread desolation and death over the entire country, but he doubtless had saved it from a similar fate at the hands of the Germans, who at the end would have had nothing to offer except barbarism. Because Caesar was just and mild and humane in his settlement, the Gauls became loyally attached to him. They retained a large degree of self-government and many of their national institutions. The more warlike spirits enlisted in the Roman armies, while the rest of the population devoted itself to cattle breeding and agriculture. Gold and silver mines were opened, which further helped the economic development of the country. Few Roman colonies were planted among them, but swarms of Italians went there for trade and brought with them ideas from the south. The Gauls opened schools in which the Latin

language and literature were studied with such zeal and success that ultimately better Latin came to be spoken in Gaul than in Rome. The process of Romanization was aided by the chain of military settlements established along the Rhine for the defense of the frontier against the Germans, and naturally civilization took its deepest hold along this line and in the south of the country. Gaul was a great source of strength to Rome in soldiers, food supplies, and taxes, and helped protect the Rhine frontier from the Germans. Its conquest opened up for the first time northwestern and central Europe to Roman civilization. The immediate significance of the Gallic conquest, however, was that it enabled Caesar to make himself master of the world.

4. THE END OF THE FIRST TRIUMVIRATE

CRASSUS' DEATH IN SYRIA (53 B.C.). Caesar had been quick to carry out the agreements reached during the conference at Luca in 56 B.C., as far as they touched himself, and so had Crassus. In the year after his consulship Crassus, an old man thirsting for the military glory which his colleagues enjoyed, journeyed to his province of Syria, where he needlessly provoked a war with the Parthians (54 B.C.). The Parthian Empire, which had been formed from the Seleucid provinces east of the Euphrates, had received from Pompey a nominal treaty of friendship, but it lay astride rich trade routes and otherwise appealed to Crassus' military ambitions. With an army of 40,000 men Crassus sallied forth into the Mesopotamian desert, but the 10,000 Parthian mounted archers, using the tactics of riding round and round their foe, completely crushed the Roman legions near Carrhae (53 B.C.). Crassus himself was murdered at a parley, a treacherous act which, together with the humiliation of the defeat and the capture of the eagles belonging to the legions, stirred the Romans deeply. Rome was able to save Syria, but for the next three hundred years she was rarely free from anxiety along her eastern frontier.

POMPEY'S ACTIVITIES. Crassus' death brought into the forefront the rivalries of the two remaining triumvirs. In spite of the agreement reached at Luca, Pompey had not gone out to his provinces after his consulship—to the two Spains and Africa—but was allowed to govern them through legates. He remained in Italy, instead, to meet the requirements of his appointment to the curatorship of the grain supply. In 54 B.C., moreover, he lost his wife Julia, the daughter of Caesar, and this freed him from any constraint he may have felt toward his colleague. With great cunning he backed the gangsters used by Clodius in his street fights with Milo, who was now in the service of the Optimates. No consuls could be elected in 54 B.C.; two years later Clodius was slain on the Appian Way by Milo's men; the Senate house was burned, there were riots in the city, and once again legislation and elections were impossible. In this way Pompey planned to gain further power from the Senate,

for order could be restored in the city only by the use of his troops, not all of whom had been dispatched to his provinces. Despite their differences in the past, both Pompey and the Senate could see the advantage of a rapprochement, since there was no doubting the dangerous strength of Caesar and his popularity with the people. Accordingly, in 52 B.C., Pompey was made sole consul. He now possessed enormous power, with an army in the provinces and Italy; he also had a fleet and was in charge of the grain supply. He was looked upon, indeed, as the first citizen in the state, or *Princeps*.

One of Pompey's first acts was to extend the term of his proconsulship in Spain for five years. His position now seemed unassailable. Caesar, on the other hand, had every reason to fear that on the expiration of his Gallic command—the precise date of which is uncertain—he would be prosecuted for his acts as consul in 59 B.C. and as proconsul, for, among other things, he had waged unauthorized warfare in Gaul. Cato loudly insisted in the Senate that he would prosecute Caesar for his illegal actions. The task before Caesar, therefore, was to enter upon another consulship while he was still proconsul and immune from prosecution. Pompey made this impossible by passing a law which forbade an individual to seek a magistracy *in absentia*, but then, fearing that he had gone too far, exempted Caesar from its provisions. This led Caesar to feel that he could keep his proconsular *imperium* until the end of 49 B.C. and then, as consul in 48 B.C., secure the ratification of all his acts. In one way or another, however, the Senate and Pompey persisted in their efforts to deprive Caesar of his favorable position, and it was only through his henchman, the tribune Curio, that Caesar was able to protect himself. Acting on his master's orders, Curio proposed that both Caesar and Pompey should lay down their powers at the same time; Caesar, of course, accepted the idea, but when Pompey refused, his enemies declared that his only thought was to maintain his own power. Finally, on January 7, 49 B.C., the Senate was persuaded to declare Caesar a public enemy and to pass the "last decree." Pompey was ordered to defend the state. The Caesarian tribunes, Marcus Antonius (Mark Antony) and Quintus Cassius, having interposed their vetoes, fled for their lives to Caesar. The threatened mistreatment of the tribunes gave Caesar, who was spending the winter in Cisalpine Gaul with his army, the pretext of protecting the sacred office.

CIVIL WAR. Caesar knew that to bring an army into Italy was a violation of the law and equivalent to a declaration of war upon the Republic, whereas Pompey enjoyed the moral advantage of occupying a legal position. Still, it was only in appearance that Pompey championed the Senate and republican government, for the real question at issue was which of the two men should rule the Roman world. Unless he was to choose surrender and extinction, the only course now open to Caesar was to strike immediately. He discussed the

subject with his friends and then, on January 10, 49 B.C., with the exclamation, *Alea jacta est*,¹ he crossed the Rubicon, the small river which separated his province from Italy.

CAESAR IN ITALY AND SPAIN (49 B.C.). At the head of an army of veterans personally devoted to him and disciplined by the long campaigns in Gaul, Caesar marched south with amazing rapidity. The great popularity which he already enjoyed led various municipalities to welcome him, while his mildness to opponents and his moderation in relieving distressed debtors and in protecting property won him many adherents and even made some of Pompey's followers suspect that they had taken the wrong side. Pompey himself barely escaped being trapped in Italy, and with the consuls and many senators, who were to embarrass him by their advice, crossed the Adriatic to Epirus; he was confident that he would rally in the East, where he had long campaigned, the legions and other resources of war sufficient to his needs. Caesar did not pursue, for it was necessary first to attach the West firmly to his cause. In Rome he seized the treasury and set up a temporary government; and then, while Curio was attacking the Pompeians in Africa, he departed for Spain. The successful campaign in the Iberian peninsula, which was notable for the capture of Ilerda, brought many Pompeian troops over to his side; and during his return to Italy Massilia, which had sympathized with Pompey, was taken. Back in Rome, Caesar held the dictatorship long enough to insure his election as consul for 48 B.C. and then, resigning the dictatorship, turned his thoughts to Pompey. (Cf. map, front endpaper.)

CAESAR'S VICTORIES (48-47 B.C.). Although Pompey's fleet commanded the sea, Caesar was able to transport some of his troops across the Adriatic early in the winter; the rest followed under Mark Antony in March (48 B.C.). Caesar invested the strong and important port of Dyrrachium, but, failing in its capture, marched off to Thessaly, where he hoped to find necessary supplies. Pompey followed closely; he had more than nine legions, a force twice as large as Caesar's, and, urged on by his senatorial advisers, decided to attack Caesar at Pharsalus. This proved to be the decisive battle of the civil war. Caesar's skill and tactics, no less than the discipline and bravery of his men, won the day, and Pompey fled to Egypt. Before Caesar could catch up with him in Alexandria, Pompey was murdered, but Caesar found still other problems awaiting him in Egypt. The two rulers of the land—the twenty-year-old Cleopatra and her younger brother, Ptolemy XIV Dionysus, who was also her husband—were engaged in a dynastic quarrel. Caesar sided with Cleopatra and established her as monarch, but he was forced to endure a dangerous siege in Alexandria throughout the winter. Finally, in June of 47 B.C., Caesar left

¹ The regular phrase in the Latin games when the dice were thrown. It was too late then to change one's mind; as we might express it, "The die is cast."

the charming queen and Egypt for the West. He marched by way of Syria and Asia Minor, settling the affairs of the provinces as he passed through. A brief campaign of five days was required to put down the threat of Pharnaces, the son and successor of Mithradates Eupator. After defeating him at Zela in Pontus, Caesar sent to Rome his famous dispatch, *Veni, vidi, vici* ("I came, I saw, I conquered").

CAESAR'S RETURN TO THE WEST. In the autumn of 47 B.C., Caesar reached Italy, where he had again been elected dictator. It was first necessary to quell rioting in Rome, which Antony, as his master of the horse, had been unable to handle, and then to put down a mutiny of his veterans, who were impatient to enjoy the fruits of victory. Some republicans, including Cicero, had accepted the verdict of Pharsalus, but Cato and many others had gathered in Africa, where with the aid of the Numidian king, Juba, they hoped to uphold the Pompeian cause. Since they presented a grave danger and had slain his legate, Curio, Caesar crossed to Africa. He received reinforcements from the king of Mauretania and annihilated the Pompeians at Thapsus (46 B.C.). In despair of the Republic, Cato killed himself at Utica. Caesar then returned to Rome, where he celebrated a monumental triumph in honor of his victories over Gaul, Egypt, Pontus, and Africa. He was now master of the state, with the exception of Spain, where Gnaeus and Sextus Pompey, Pompey's sons, still held out, but in the next year Caesar overwhelmed their forces at Munda.

5. THE DICTATORSHIP OF CAESAR

The Empire over which Caesar had won the mastery extended from the Euphrates River to the Atlantic Ocean and included all the countries which bordered on the Mediterranean Sea. It consisted of a multitude of states, whose status ranged from complete subjection upward through every grade of dependent alliance, while its inhabitants represented many nationalities and languages no less than varied civilizations. It was a loose group of states, held together by the superior power of Rome rather than by common interests or sympathies. The governing state of this Empire was in theory a Republic, and the chief elements of the government were the Senate and the Roman people. In fact, however, the partisan senatorial class and the idle city mob no longer represented the Roman citizen body and, having failed to rule and protect the Empire, had forfeited the right to leadership. Democracy had disappeared at Rome, and despite the good intentions of many senators, provincial rule had degenerated into robbery and oppression. It would be idle, therefore, to charge Caesar with having destroyed the freedom of the ancient Republic. Nor was it possible to go back. The problem before Caesar, rather, was to give the Roman world a better organization, to protect it from foreign and

domestic enemies, to redress wrongs, and to create institutions through which all the inhabitants could take part in the central government as well as in that of their own communities. As in the case of Alexander the Great, Caesar's early death prevented a full unfolding of his plans, but ever since his time Roman Caesars and modern czars and kaisers have been proud to bear his name. (See the map, p. 488.)

CAESAR'S POWERS. To carry through his reforms it was necessary for Caesar to have autocratic powers, and these he wanted for his own sake as well. In the last analysis his authority rested upon his veterans, but it could be given a shadow of legality through appointment to various offices at one and the same time. In 46 B.C., for example, he was appointed dictator for ten years, and in the following year he received the post for life. He was consul several times; as tribune his person was sacrosanct; as Pontifex Maximus he was head of the state religion; and as censor he could revise the list of the Senate. The month in which he was born was renamed Julius (July); he was called "father of his country" and took the title of Imperator (General). His portrait was stamped on coins, his statue was placed with the kings of Rome and in the temple of Romulus-Quirinus; this association with the gods was in keeping with Hellenistic practice and gave an added prestige to his position. His future acts were ratified in advance. He had the right to appoint half the officials annually, of making peace and war, and of expressing his opinion first in the Senate; he also had charge of the treasury and the sole command of the legions. Caesar, quite clearly, aimed at a permanent monarchy based on the army, and since he wished to make it hereditary and had no heirs, he adopted as a son his grandnephew Gaius Octavius (Octavian), a youth of remarkable talent. But he did not dare take the title *rex*, for Roman sentiment was still too strong against kings, and at the feast of the Lupercalia in February he brushed aside the crown which Antony offered him.

CAESAR'S REFORMS. Caesar allowed the Assemblies little power, and made the Senate a mere advisory council. He increased its number from six hundred to nine hundred by admitting equestrians, veterans, and Gauls; probably he wished in time to make it represent the whole Empire. In order to maintain the enlarged membership of the Senate, and to fill the many new posts of government, he increased the number of quaestors from twenty to forty, of praetors from eight to sixteen. Caesar also attacked the evils of provincial administration. By abolishing the system of farming out the taxes, and substituting in its place a fixed annual payment, he prevented the capitalists from plundering the Roman world, and he followed this up by appointing able, honest provincial governors and holding them strictly to account. The officers whom he appointed to command the legions, under the governor, and the revenue officials, who like most of the secretariat were slaves and freedmen, saw that his will

was everywhere enforced. The "estates of the Roman people," as the provinces had been called, were to be cultivated and improved, no longer pillaged. The legions, which were still largely recruited in Italy, were stationed on the frontiers. Caesar gave Roman citizenship to provincials, especially to Spaniards and Gauls, and extended Latin rights to many provincial towns; doubtless it was his wish that as rapidly as possible all the provincials should become Romans. At the same time he prepared a great municipal charter, known as the *Lex Julia Municipalis*, which granted local autonomy to the towns of Italy.

These governmental reforms were imaginative and far-reaching and helped not only to bind the Empire more closely together but to promote its stability and prosperity. Always fair and mild in his acts, Caesar neither engaged in Sullan proscriptions nor liquidated the assets of creditors through some legal fiction, but he did ease the burdens of debtors. To lessen the possibility of a revolt by slaves, he decreed that one-third of the herdsmen and shepherds on Italian ranches should be free men. The number of those receiving the grain dole was reduced from 320,000 to 150,000; many of his veterans were settled in Italy; colonies were founded along the coast of the Black Sea, at Corinth and Carthage, and in Spain. Another far-reaching change instituted by the facile mind of Caesar touched the calendar. The Romans had kept their lunar year of 355 days in step with the seasons by adding an intercalary month periodically, but now Caesar adopted a calendar which had been devised by the Alexandrian astronomer Sosigenes; it began on January 1 and consisted of three years of 365 days each, with an extra day every fourth year. The Julian calendar, as it is called, was used by the civilized world until 1582, when Pope Gregory XIII made the slight changes which we now have.

When one considers the multitude and variety of Caesar's reforms, it is difficult to believe that he was in Rome only sixteen months from the crossing of the Rubicon to his assassination. But with it all he had time also to lay far-reaching plans, which his successors brought to fruition. He planned, for example, a codification of the many laws which had been passed by the growing Republic in the previous centuries, and, in the interest of a general tax revision, he proposed an imperial census. Important steps were taken to make Rome a beautiful, imperial capital, with Fora, libraries, and temples; the Tiber was to be dredged, and Ostia, the port, enlarged; the Pomptine marshes were to be drained; roads were to be built; a canal was to be dug at Corinth.

CAESAR'S MURDER (44 B.C.). The nobles, however, were envious of Caesar and longed to regain the privilege of misruling the world; or, as they put it, they hoped to restore the liberties of the ancient Republic. A conspiracy of sixty senators, accordingly, was formed against Caesar; among them were the "lean and hungry" Cassius and Marcus Junius Brutus, an impractical scholar

and strong republican, whose ancestor had driven the Tarquins from early Rome. Caesar himself was preparing to set out against the troublesome Dacians, in the lower Danubian region, and the Parthians, who had humbled Rome a decade earlier, but when he entered the Senate house on the Ides of March (March 15, 44 B.C.) the conspirators gathered around him at the foot of Pompey's statue and, pretending to urge a petition of one of their number, stabbed him to death. Suetonius tells us that "Caesar died in the fifty-sixth year of his age and was ranked among the gods, not only by formal decree, but in the belief of the people. For during the first games which Augustus, his heir, consecrated to his memory, a comet blazed for seven days together, rising always about eleven o'clock; and it was supposed to be the soul of Caesar now received into heaven."

With the possible exception of Alexander the Great and Hannibal, Caesar was the most brilliant military genius the world had thus far produced. He was, too, a master of simple prose, an orator of great clearness and force, and an incessant builder of useful public works. His character was many sided, his capacity boundless, his personality so warm that it won the passionate devotion of his followers. He was mild to the conquered; and when political enemies laid down their arms, they found him a friend and benefactor. Beginning as an unscrupulous politician, Caesar grew into a great statesman. He righted the most grievous wrongs; and by taking measures to secure the responsibility of the provincial governors, he held out to the inhabitants of the whole Empire a picture of a happier, more stable and more prosperous life. The continuance of his policy, however, required a strong executive perpetually in office. Had his plan of establishing an absolute monarchy succeeded, it would have been but a partial solution of the problem of reform, for the evils of absolute rule had been illustrated long ago among the Oriental nations and continued to manifest themselves in the Roman Empire itself for centuries after Caesar's death. Neither Caesar nor any other Roman statesman created institutions by means of which the people of the Empire, dispensing with paternal despotism, could safeguard their own interests. The grant of citizenship to the provincials and the admission of representatives of the provinces to the Senate would have been a great benefit, and yet even measures of this kind might not have prevented the ultimate decline of the Empire.

What Caesar would have accomplished, had he lived, cannot be known, but his murder was a world tragedy and plunged the Empire again into desolating war. In the new struggle the question at issue was not as to the form of government to be adopted; rather, it was what general would succeed to the power of Caesar. It was impossible to hope for a peaceable settlement: as one of Caesar's friends remarked to Cicero, "If Caesar, with all his genius, could not find a way out, who will now?"

6. THE SECOND TRIUMVIRATE

Caesar's death left the consul, Mark Antony, at the head of the government. He delivered the funeral oration and read the will, enlarging upon and amplifying Caesar's benefits to the people. Its generosity to the citizens stirred them against the murderers and in their grief they seized Caesar's body and burned it in the Forum itself. The provincials who chanced to be in Rome wept over the ashes of their mighty benefactor. The chief conspirators, or Liberators as they called themselves, hurried away to their provinces in the East. A struggle to the death between them and the adherents of Caesar was inevitable.

OCTAVIAN. The news of his great uncle's death reached Octavian while he was tarrying at Apollonia in Illyria in readiness for the Parthian war. He was a youth of eighteen, and though his mother and friends warned him against connecting himself with Caesar, he started at once for Italy. As the adopted son and heir of Caesar he took the name Gaius Julius Caesar Octavianus, a name which worked like a charm. Caesar's old soldiers flocked to him, offering him their swords to avenge the murder, but he declined their proposals for the time being. In Rome Octavian promised the people all that Caesar had bequeathed them—chiefly public parks and a sum of money for each citizen—but gave the appearance that he sided politically with the Senate. This show of frank simplicity deceived Cicero, who approved Caesar's assassination though he had no hand in it; he now declared that the youth stood on the side of the Republic. Actually Octavian had no enthusiasm for the cause of the Senate, but coolly outmatched even the political veterans of the capital. In the next months Cicero, as the leader of the Senate in its conflict with Antony, delivered against the new would-be tyrant a series of powerful orations, known as *Philippics*, from their resemblance to the speeches of Demosthenes against Philip of Macedon.

OCTAVIAN, ANTONY, AND LEPIDUS. At this time Antony was in Cisalpine Gaul, a province that he had assigned to himself, in spite of the fact that one of the conspirators, Decimus Brutus, had received it from the Senate as his own. When Decimus Brutus refused to surrender the command, Antony besieged him in Mutina (43 B.C.). The Senate sent the two consuls, Hirtius and Pansa, together with Octavian, to the aid of Decimus Brutus, and in the ensuing battle Antony was defeated, though both consuls were killed; Brutus himself died not much later. After this victory over Antony the Senate felt that it could now do without Octavian, who was a mere boy, but he marched upon Rome and forced his election as consul. Thus the Senate lost the support of Octavian at the very moment when Antony, having met Lepidus, master of the horse when Caesar died, was marching south. Octavian joined

them near Bononia, and the three men, with an eye eastward toward Marcus Brutus and Cassius, decided to bury their differences. They had at their disposal more than forty-three legions and agreed to make of themselves "triumvirs with consular power for reestablishing the state." The Assembly ratified this arrangement, which was to stand for five years; the triumvirs had power to dispose of all magistracies at will and to issue decrees which should have the force of law. In this way the Second Triumvirate came officially into being; Antony was the dominant partner, Lepidus hardly more than a name. Partly to avenge Caesar's death, but more particularly because they were in desperate need of funds, the triumvirs filled Rome with their troops and renewed the hideous proscriptions of Sulla. Antony, who hated Cicero, insisted on the great orator's death. Though he was vain and wavering, though the rule of the Senate which he championed was no longer fit for the responsibility of Empire, in his heart Cicero was a patriot and a friend of liberty and the Republic.

BATTLE OF PHILIPPI (42 B.C.). The following summer (42 B.C.) Antony and Octavian crossed the Adriatic and led their armies into Macedonia, where Marcus Brutus and Cassius had collected a republican army of 80,000 men. Two battles were fought near Philippi. After the first, which was indecisive, Cassius killed himself in despair; then Brutus, thoroughly beaten in the second engagement, followed his example (map, front endpaper).

DIVISION OF THE EMPIRE. Antony and Octavian now agreed to divide the Roman Empire into eastern and western spheres, where each would enjoy a preponderant influence. Octavian, accordingly, returned to Italy. A pressing duty was to find lands for 170,000 veterans, and the many confiscations which were necessary to achieve this damaged the Italian economy. He was also obstructed by Antony's wife and brother, Fulvia and Lucius, until he defeated them at the Etruscan town of Perugia (40 B.C.). During this same year Antony returned to Italy. After Philippi Antony had gone to the East, and at Tarsus in Cilicia met Cleopatra for the first time. He was more attracted by her charms than even Caesar had been and spent the winter with her at Alexandria. But since the Parthians threatened to overwhelm Syria, Antony proceeded to Italy in search of troops, a lack from which he was always to suffer. He and Octavian met in an atmosphere of mutual suspicion at Brundisium, where it was agreed, nevertheless, that Octavian should have Gaul (Cisalpine Gaul had recently been joined to Italy), Spain, Sardinia, Sicily, and Dalmatia; Antony was to have the lands eastward; Lepidus was given Africa; and each was to enjoy equal power in Italy. The arrangements were formalized by the marriage of Octavian's sister, Octavia, to Antony, whose wife was now dead.

SEXTUS POMPEY. Unfortunately for Antony and Octavian, Pompey's son, Sextus, controlled Sicily and the sea and even threatened Italy with famine,

until in 39 B.C. at Misenum Sextus' position was recognized on condition that he provision Rome. It was merely a temporary adjustment of affairs, and in 37 B.C. Antony returned from a hurried trip to the East for a conference with his colleague at Tarentum. There it was agreed to extend the triumvirate, which had actually expired the previous year, to 33 B.C.; Antony gave Octavian 120 warships for his renewed conflict with Sextus Pompey, and in return Octavian promised Antony four legions for the Parthian war, which he cunningly failed to send. Not much later Sextus Pompey was defeated at sea and died. When Lepidus, moreover, disputed Octavian's claim to Sicily, his troops deserted him, and he was deprived of his command. Octavian was now supreme in the West, and by his mildness and his attention to affairs of state grew in popularity.

ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA. Antony, on the other hand, disturbed Romans by his apparent desire to become an Oriental despot. From Tarentum Antony went to Syria, where he married Cleopatra at Antioch, and the following year (36 B.C.) invaded Parthia. He lost 20,000 men and was forced to retreat, but he did succeed in overrunning Armenia. This gave him the excuse to celebrate in 34 B.C. a triumph in Alexandria and to present—in the "Donations of Alexandria," as they were called—Rome's eastern possessions to Cleopatra, to the children she had had by Antony, and to Caesarion, her son reputedly by Caesar. Perhaps with the same perception of Attalus of Pergamum a century earlier, Cleopatra saw that the only way to save her country and her position was through some kind of surrender to Rome. There is little doubt, in any case, of Antony's passion for the Egyptian queen, or of his partiality for the East, under her influence, as opposed to Rome. He now divorced Octavia and began to circulate stories concerning Octavian. Octavian, too, engaged in propaganda and read to the Romans what purported to be Antony's will, in which the East was bequeathed to Cleopatra and her children. Then, since the term of the triumvirate had come to an end the previous year, Octavian bound the West to himself by an oath and declared war on Cleopatra (32 B.C.).

BATTLE OF ACTIUM (31 B.C.). Antony and Cleopatra, thereupon, gathered their forces and proceeded west with a fleet of 500 ships and an army of perhaps 90,000 men. In 31 B.C., Octavian and his extraordinarily able general, Agrippa, having an army of approximately the same size and 400 warships, succeeded in blockading their enemies within the Ambracian Gulf, at Actium off the west coast of Greece. In the famous battle that followed, one of the great turning points in history, Antony and Cleopatra found it impossible to break the blockade with the mass of their fleet. Cleopatra did manage to slip through the blockade with a small number of ships and her wealth; Antony himself soon followed, but the fleet and army had no alternative except sur-

render to Octavian. When Octavian reached Alexandria the next year, first Antony and then Cleopatra, realizing that the end had come, committed suicide. They had lacked the ability, if not the desire, to secure world power for themselves. Egypt, with its vast riches, was annexed; and since Greece was to be organized as the province of Achaea, the administrative arrangement of the eastern Mediterranean was now complete. In 29 B.C., Octavian held a magnificent triumph at Rome to celebrate his victories in Europe, Asia and Africa; and two years later he put aside his extraordinary powers in favor of a new form of government.

The Roman Republic—the rule of “the Senate and the Roman people”—had come to an end. The battle of Actium saved European civilization from undue Oriental influence and placed the destiny of the Empire in the hands of an able statesman. The century of revolution which Tiberius Gracchus had inaugurated brought death, suffering, and devastation to a world which yearned for peace. Sulla and Pompey had wielded absolute power, but they lacked the wisdom necessary for creating new and useful institutions. In failing to make the Republic a part of his system, Julius Caesar had fallen short of the needs of his time. It remained for his successor, Octavian, to develop a new political organization under which the famous Roman Peace (*Pax Romana*) might flourish through the coming centuries. During forty long years, as Augustus, he rebuilt the Roman world; his reign came to be known as a Golden Age (pp. 572, 575). This also was true: the Roman Republic, which had risen from an insignificant town of Latium to a position of world empire, had destroyed the civil liberty of the Romans in the hour of their triumph.

XXIX

THE SOCIETY AND CIVILIZATION OF THE LATE REPUBLIC

1. THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC BACKGROUND

ECONOMIC DETERIORATION. Warfare, particularly the Roman struggle with Mithradates and that between contending Roman generals, the exactions of Sulla, the tribute laid on the provinces, the activities of the capitalists and their *publicani*, the enormous debt of individual cities, all contributed to the economic ruin of the eastern provinces during the late Republic. Warfare also took its toll in the West, but the ensuing rapid Romanization of Gaul and Spain mitigated its effect. The growth of vast estates and the cultivation of grain gave to Africa a somnolent prosperity. The terrible proscriptions and confiscations destroyed life and wealth in Rome itself. The war with Hannibal had begun the economic deterioration of southern Italy, and the subsequent growth of huge estates (*latifundia*) forced the small farmer from his land. The Gracchi had failed to solve this problem; the city mob remained; and the allotments of land to tens of thousands of veterans further unsettled Italian agriculture and instilled a fear of the future among those who were still untouched.

ITALIAN RECOVERY. There were several reasons, however, why Italy was not irrevocably ruined. In the first place, the tribute and lucrative campaigns¹ brought an enormous amount of money to Italy. Much of this money was invested in banking and the slave trade, but a good deal found its way into commerce and industry, so that in actual fact Italy gradually became an industrial center. As a result, Puteoli, because of its location in industrial Campania, supplanted Ostia as Italy's chief port. Bronzes from Capua and Etruria now found a wider market and so did the fine pottery of Arretium (Arretine ware). Varro tells us that Italy, at the end of the Republic, again resembled a garden, from which we must conclude that years of grazing had allowed the soil to recover from its former exhaustion. Even though many of the farms and ranches belonged to the wealthy, whose workers were either slaves or tenant farmers (*coloni*), and though much land had been confiscated

¹ As an example of strictly personal profit, Marcus Brutus charged 48 percent interest on his loans to eastern cities, about four times the normal rate.

for veterans, there were still large numbers of small but prosperous farms, particularly in northern Italy. Their products—grain, wine, olive oil, and woollens—formed the real basis of the Italian economy. The economy was also aided by the fact that Italy was tax free.

The destruction of eastern prosperity, moreover, sent many of the ablest men West in search of a new career, and thus the western provinces, and more particularly Italy, received an influx not only of capable individuals but of various races. There were those who feared that the ancient Italian stock would be swamped by this cosmopolitan population. Many of the newcomers settled in Rome, which as the political capital of the Empire afforded unusual opportunities for advancement, but we know little of their life. No ancient writer saw fit to describe their social conditions in detail. Living conditions were certainly not of the best, if we may judge from the archaeological remains such as the gloomy tenement houses. These were the people who were ever ready to riot in the streets. They supported their patrons, joined political clubs and insisted on cheap grain and expensive shows. The lot of the free poor was not as happy as that of the freedmen (*liberti*), for the Roman conquests had brought tens of thousands of slaves quite indiscriminately to Italy, and among them were many people of ability. Since manumission was relatively easy—Sulla freed ten thousand of his slaves, who henceforth were known as Corneli after his *gens*—the able freedmen worked their way up in the governmental bureaucracy or, as in the case of Cicero's Tiro, became secretaries and managers of estates.

The chief fruits of imperial rule during the late Republic went, on the one hand, to the members of the senatorial class, who satisfied their pride and ambition in government service and lined their pockets in the provinces; and, on the other hand, to the equestrians, who made their fortunes from provincial taxes and dues. The sources of wealth, which led Rome along the path of imperialism, were ultimately destroyed, however, and the failure to revive provincial prosperity formed part of that larger collapse of Roman government as a whole which gave rise to generals and their personal armies. It was the military commanders who, in the last analysis, were the real masters of the state. Accordingly, the idea of monarchy gradually replaced that earlier Roman ideal of democracy which had built an Italian federation.

EDUCATION. It was conquest, the increase of slavery, provincial exploitation and the rapid accumulation of wealth which revolutionized the Roman character. The greatness of Rome in the best days of the Republic was largely due to the peculiar nature of the Roman family, to its cohesion and traditions. A Roman house (plan, p. 564) of any pretensions, for example, had an alcove, known as the *tablinum*, which contained the family archives, and on each side of this was a recess, or *ala*, where the nobles kept wax masks and other

portraits of their ancestors: what son could look at these day after day and not hope to achieve comparable *gloria* for himself? During the early period of the Republic it was the task of parents to train their children at home in the stern, simple virtues which made good soldiers and great citizens, and if the increase of wealth brought with it a decline in family traditions, the parents still had the responsibility of planning their children's education. During the late Republic a boy first attended an elementary school, in which he learned the rudiments of reading, writing, and arithmetic, and then entered a higher school kept by a *grammaticus*, who taught him Greek and Latin literature. The boy read the poems of Naevius and Ennius, the comedies of Plautus and Terence, Homer, history, oratory, and the Laws of the Twelve Tables; there were schools, too, for girls, though less is known of them. Greek slaves and tutors might provide further education at home, until finally the boy of means was ready to go to Naples, Athens, Rhodes, or some other Hellenic center of culture to study under the greatest instructors of the day. The youth who wished to enter public life—and who did not?—attached himself to an older friend who had work to do in the Forum, and with this practical experience in law and oratory he combined the further study of theory under a rhetorician. Philosophy, which included ethics and science, was also studied, but we find a tendency, as in the present day, to neglect the study of cause and effect and the deeper truths of science and history for the more practical and immediately rewarding knowledge. Thus, in the pursuit of the useful, which so appealed to the Roman, the higher faculties of the mind were neglected.

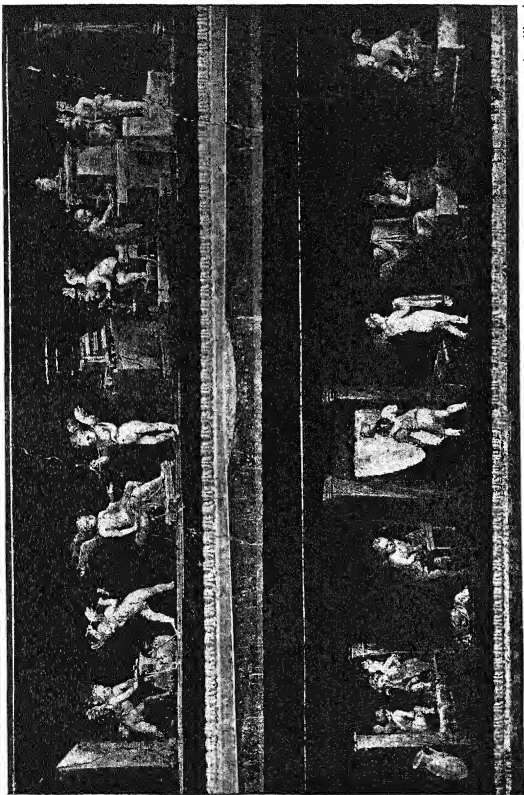
MARRIAGE. When he had completed his studies and had reached the age of twenty-five or thirty, it was the duty of the young man to marry. He arranged the betrothal with the lady's father, since she was probably too young to be consulted in the matter, and was in any case under parental guardianship. The marriage ceremonies began with a feast and sacrifices in the house of the bride's father and ended in the evening with a procession of youths, torch-bearers, musicians and guests who escorted the bride to her future home, where the groom carefully lifted her over the threshold, as it was an ill omen for her to touch the sill with her foot. The newly married pair then ate a sacred cake in the presence of ten witnesses and, if the occasion was important enough, before the chief pontiff and priest of Jupiter. The ceremonies of the evening concluded with a bridal song by the guests, and on the following day the husband gave a marriage feast to his friends.

Though early custom placed the wife in the power of her husband, she went freely into society, attended the theater and public games, taught her children, and sometimes aided her husband in his political career. Her position as mistress of the household commanded respect from the government as well as from society. But if the mother of the Gracchi serves as an excellent example

of the older virtues, we may contrast with her, as typical of later sophistication, Clodia, the sister of the political gang leader Clodius, who was noted for her fast pace in society and her vices. Before the end of the Republic, indeed, the sacred forms of marriage were giving way to civil contracts made and dissolved at pleasure. Such agreements left the wife in charge of her property and free from her husband's power, but whatever improvement this may have wrought in the condition of women, it was clear proof that the old society centering in the family had come to an end. Divorce grew alarmingly frequent, and it was said that there were women who reckoned their years by the number of their husbands. With the decline of the family, the gay society of the capital became corrupt and turned to extravagant luxuries and vices.

PALACES AND VILLAS. Fashionable people had their palaces and villas on the Palatine in Rome (plan, p. 571), in the nearby Campagna, in the Sabine hills, and at Baiae and other seaside resorts of Campania (inset, p. 145). The care of such a residence required the service of a multitude of slaves, and we hear of a man who in the country and city together employed more than four thousand. They were organized, somewhat like an army, in divisions and companies under their several overseers. Each slave had as his special duty some minute part of the household work. Many were needed for the ceremonies attending the admission of guests, many for the care of the baths, bedrooms, kitchen, and dining rooms, as well as for the wardrobes, toilet, and personal service of the various members of the family. On going out the master or mistress was accompanied by a throng of servants, whose number and splendid livery advertised the rank and wealth of their owner. Other companies of slaves spun wool, made clothes, kept the house in repair, and cared for the sick. We could hardly believe (though Indians and Chinese would understand) that so many persons in a single household could find employment or that the processes of labor could be so minutely portioned out, did we not take into account the genius of the Romans for organization. On the country estates were ploughmen, herdsmen, vinedressers, gardeners, keepers of bees, poultry, and fish, and many other classes of laborers.

SLAVES. Slaves not born in the household were obtained by purchase from markets filled by prisoners of war or sometimes by unfortunates caught and sold by pirates or kidnappers. On a single estate might be seen representatives of all the nationalities of the known world, particularly the eastern. The master had complete power and sometimes treated his slaves with extreme harshness and cruelty and encouraged quarrels among them that they might not join in plotting against his own life. For the slightest offenses he could scourge, torture, or crucify them. In the country the slaves often worked in gangs chained together, and slept in crowded, filthy dungeons. Those who were too old or too sickly to work or to put on the market, the master could expose at the shrine of



Photograph by Alinari

The brothers Vettii, from whose house at Pompeii these pictures are taken, had extensive estates and interests, which they did not hesitate to illustrate romantically on their walls. At the top, we see goldsmiths at work; a fine lady has come to purchase a jewel. At the bottom, fullers are making garments

Aesculapius on an island in the Tiber, or kill outright. It was this inhumane treatment which provoked Sicilian slave revolts and the insurrection under Spartacus the gladiator.

FREEDMEN. From early times it often happened that a slave won his freedom by faithful service or purchased it with his savings. He then became a client of his former master, whose business it was customary for him to help manage. As the number of freedmen increased, the gift of full citizenship was withdrawn and they were confined to the Latin rights, which meant that they could neither vote nor hold office; their sons received the franchise. The freedmen formed a large intelligent class, socially inferior to freemen, but very enterprising and influential; some of them, after accumulating riches, as usual among the *nouveaux riches*, became intolerably overbearing. The tendency of emancipation, however, was to break down class feeling and privileges in favor of the social and legal equality of mankind.

FASHIONABLE LIFE. It was the habit of the aristocrat to receive his clients in the early morning, and the larger the number the more his pride was gratified. Since the ordinary unskilled laborer received a daily wage equivalent to approximately 20 American cents, most of which went for food and lodging, many of the visitors had some favor to ask; others, who were candidates for office, sought the rich man's influence. The latter part of the morning might be spent in the Senate, the afternoon at exercise. In the early evening the master of a house entertained his friends at dinner, or perhaps accepted an invitation to dine out. Whereas in early times the Romans ate sparingly and drank little wine, we find them in the late republican and early imperial periods taxing to the utmost the resources of professional cooks in the preparation of dainty dishes, or ransacking the world for rarities with which to please their guests. Their dinners consisted of many and varied courses; they drank costly wines, and prolonged their revels till morning, being entertained with music, pantomimes, and dancing girls. Sensible persons—and there were many—seeing the life of society demanding so large a share of their time, were glad to quit Rome for a period of quiet life at Tibur, Laurentum, or some other country retreat.

DEATH. When, eventually, the upper-class Roman died, kinsmen and friends took part in the funeral procession. The dancers, the music, the acting of the mimes, whose leader mimicked the deceased, the wax masks worn by persons dressed to represent the ancestors, the wailing of hired mourners—all combined to make the ceremony at once solemn and grotesque. A near kinsman pronounced a eulogy on the deceased; the corpse was burned on the funeral pyre, and an urn containing the ashes was deposited in the family tomb.

CHARACTER. The world has not known citizens superior to those in the era before the Punic Wars. In that age duty and discipline were the great com-

mandments to which the family and society, citizens and soldiers, yielded conscientious obedience. It was the heroic qualities of those men which made Rome great; and after the society of the capital had declined, the tens of thousands of Italian farmers and provincials kept alive for centuries the virtues of the early Republic. Mommsen has aptly remarked that "there was in the world as Caesar found it much of the noble heritage of past centuries and an infinite abundance of pomp and glory, but little spirit, still less taste, and least of all true delight in life. It was indeed an old world; and even the richly gifted patriotism of Caesar could not make it young again." The task of statesmen now was to determine what elements of life and virtue still remained in the Roman world and to organize them for the future.

2. PHILOSOPHY AND LAW

RULES OF CONDUCT. The puritanical character of the educated Roman found greater satisfaction in philosophies which provided him with rules of conduct than in the imaginative Olympian religion of the Greeks. The common man, with the desperate hope of a happier hereafter, might prefer the mysticism of the emotional Oriental religions, which hordes of eastern slaves and traders and returning soldiers brought with them to Italy, but all classes lost active interest in the transplanted Greek religion which, too often, was used as a mere political tool. The tendency of philosophy to skim the surface of knowledge, instead of digging down into a study of cause and effect, prevented the growth of healthy experimentation and led to mysticism. When it was discovered, however, that the unaided imagination cannot explain the great truths of life, men turned to things more practical, especially to those systems of thought which pointed the way to right conduct. Cynicism performed a service in its criticism of society, but it was Stoicism which took hold of some of the finest minds of Rome. This philosophy had originally been introduced to Rome by Panaetius, and was further developed by a Syrian Greek, Posidonius by name, who possessed one of the most encyclopedic brains of antiquity. Stoicism taught that virtue alone is sufficient for happiness and that a man should rise above all passions and follow his reason. The appeal to self-discipline, with its emphasis on the duty of a public career, pleased the orderly Roman. Epicureanism, on the other hand, offered happiness to the man not interested in politics. It, too, was concerned with ethics and reason, and sought the origin of all nature in the movement and combination of atoms, but its emphasis on intellectual pleasure degenerated, under some of its followers, into pure hedonism.²

Rules of right conduct, such as these philosophic systems represented, were eagerly studied by the honest Roman. His ideal was fair play, and with little

² For a fuller discussion of Stoicism and Epicureanism, see p. 422 ff.

fear of contradiction he could point to the methods by which his ancestors had built the Italian federation. It was inevitable that this sense of fairness should also manifest itself in the creation of a body of law, which in the issue became one of Rome's greatest achievements.

LAW. Julius Caesar did not live to undertake the codification of Roman law, as he had planned; this was done at periodic stages after his death. The need for it was acute, not only because of conflicting laws passed by the Assemblies through the centuries, but also because it was necessary to bring order to the great principles involved, which had developed with the growth of the Roman frontier and the intellectual horizon of the citizen. Even in monarchical days there had been a distinction between civil and religious law (*ius* and *fas*, p. 451), but it was during the early Republic that the Civil Law, or *ius civile*, received its first great impetus. This was the adoption of the Twelve Tables (p. 467) in the consulship of Valerius and Horatius (449 B.C.). With the exception of forbidding intermarriage between patricians and plebeians, the Twelve Tables equalized the private rights of all. They continued to be the fountain of justice for centuries; as part of their education Roman boys committed them to memory, and in late republican times the jurist, Servius Sulpicius Rufus, wrote a great commentary on them.

Roman Civil Law, to which Quintus Mucius Scaevola, the contemporary of Tiberius Gracchus, gave so much attention, applied to Roman citizens. Its development was due in large part to the praetorship, for it was customary each year for the praetor, on assuming office, to issue an Edict which announced the principles he would follow while magistrate; by and large, he adopted the principles of his predecessor, with such changes as seemed advisable. During the late Republic Aulus Ofilius systematized the Praetor's Edicts. Rome, however, ruled many foreign peoples who did not have the citizenship and it was necessary, therefore, to settle fairly the disputes which noncitizens had with one another and with citizens. This task fell in Italy to the praetor for aliens (*praetor peregrinus*) and in the provinces to the governor. Inevitably, Rome had to acquaint herself with the customs and laws of the Hellenistic world, and it was discovered that many of these were worth adopting for her own citizens. Within the body of the Civil Law, accordingly, there were general principles which applied to noncitizens as well as citizens, and these were known as the Law of the Nations (*ius gentium*). The organization of professional law schools under Augustus provided a great stimulus to the development of Roman law. Though the creative period of Roman law ended long before Justinian, it was the crowning glory of his reign to codify a law which required only a few adjustments to serve the needs of mediaeval and modern Europe.³

³ For a fuller discussion of Roman law, see p. 576 ff.

3. LITERATURE AND ART

Hellenic influences had first reached Rome, as mentioned above, from the Greeks of southern Italy and Sicily, and they grew ever stronger as the custom developed for the sons of Roman nobles to have Greeks as tutors and to follow this with further study in Athens and Rhodes. Naturally, therefore, Hellenic ideas controlled the intellectual life of the Graeco-Roman world. The Roman genius was for political organization, for the temperament of the Romans was realistic and practical. Throughout the years, then, when the political pulse beat high and men spoke their minds freely and assailed one another in Senate, Assembly, Forum and courts, Latin prose, especially oratory, reached its peak.

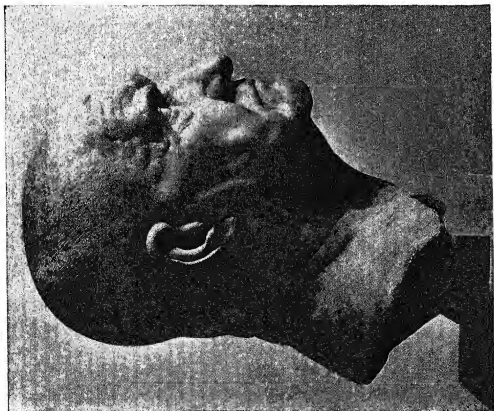
CICERO. The late Republic, intellectually speaking, is often referred to as the Age of Cicero. Cicero (106–43 B.C.) was the foremost orator of his day and one of the most famous of all time. His birthplace was Arpinum, a municipality among the hills of southern Latium, but he failed to obtain a taste of severe country discipline, for while he was still young his parents changed their residence to Rome, to give their children the best possible education. Receiving his early instruction at home and in private schools, the youth then studied law, listened eagerly to the eminent orators of the time, took lessons in Greek and Latin rhetoric, and finally went to Athens and Rhodes to complete his preparation as an orator under the greatest instructors of the age. When he returned to Rome, he gradually entered public life and by ability forced his way up through the career of offices. The exclusive circle of nobles had to admit this *novus homo* to an equality with themselves. Through his writings—numerous philosophical works, some poems, fifty-eight orations and almost nine hundred letters have survived—we know Cicero's character more intimately than that of any other Roman. His own words tell us that he was vain, and in politics often wavering, but in these respects he was probably no worse than any of his contemporaries. His tastes were literary and intellectual, and in spite of weaknesses he could always be found, in great issues, on the side he believed to be right.

Cicero's *Orations* unfold an extraordinarily vivid picture of Roman political life. His letters to his friends, especially to Atticus, and to others such as his freedman-secretary, Tiro, in which he speaks candidly of passing events, give a remarkably full and intimate knowledge of the social, moral and political conditions of the time. When Caesar drove him from politics, Cicero turned to the composition of philosophical works. The soundness of Cicero's character and his desire to raise the moral standard of the reading public are evinced by his constant choice of the nobler ideas of philosophy in preference to the merely useful and material. In his *Republic* he suggested the idea that a state,

when distracted by internal strife, like the Roman world of his time, needed the paternal care of its leading citizen, or *princeps*, a title which Pompey had enjoyed. The task of the *princeps* would be to hold the various offices and powers of the state in harmony with one another and to require all to perform effectively their several duties. The government of Augustus later reflected this idea. But the greatness of Cicero lies chiefly in the fact that he was a literary artist of surpassing genius; his sonorous periods, his incomparable language, vocabulary and style became the model of later centuries.

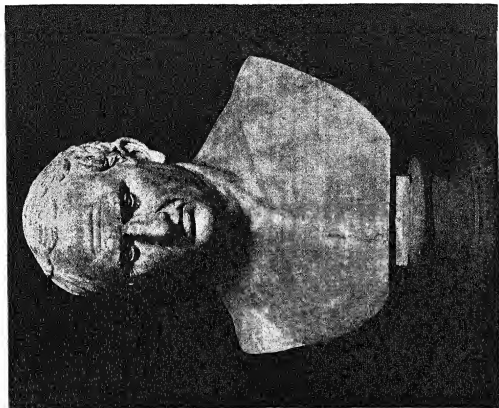
HISTORY. In an age of action historical writing was bound to rank with oratory, particularly since it gave its author the opportunity to press his own personal bias. Noble families recorded the deeds of illustrious ancestors, and to give their narratives a brilliant coloring they filled them with lively stories and startling incidents, however exaggerated and false. One of these romancers was Valerius Antias, who about the time of the Social War composed his *Annals* of Rome from a strongly aristocratic point of view. A striking contrast with the diffuse rhetoric of Antias is the historical narrative of Caesar, a model of its kind, plain and direct, with a mastery of expression but no pretention to ornament. His *Commentaries* on the Gallic War and the Civil War tell the story of his campaigns, and were written, in part at least, to explain, justify, and further his cause among the Roman people. Factually accurate, Caesar speaks with modesty of his own achievements and generously excuses the mistakes or praises the merits of others. Sallust (86-36 B.C.), on the other hand, wrote with a frankly democratic bias, and yet his *History*, most of which is unfortunately lost, gave a valuable description of the events following Sulla's death. His *War with Jugurtha* and *Conspiracy of Catiline* analyze the character of society and the motives of conduct. When the great men of Rome began to attract all eyes, a widespread interest developed in biography, but the most famous of these biographers cannot be acquitted of inferior and untrustworthy work. This was Cornelius Nepos (ca. 100-25 B.C.), a Gaul from the Po Valley, whose *Eminent Men* treated distinguished Romans and foreigners in parallel biographies; most of his *Lives* which we still possess are of Greek generals.

CATULLUS AND LUCRETIVS. Within certain fashionable circles of the late Republic there lived two of the great poets of all time. One was Catullus (ca. 87-54 B.C.), from Verona in Cisalpine Gaul, who in his verses hurled some bitter lampoons at Caesar. His particular circle was dominated by Clodia, the brilliant sister of Clodius, the unscrupulous political leader. Catullus fell madly in love with her and, addressing her as Lesbia, composed some of the most beautiful and intensely passionate lyric poetry the world has ever known. He was much interested in meter and in his later poems was particularly influenced by the Alexandrian style. The other poet, distinguished for his intensity of pur-



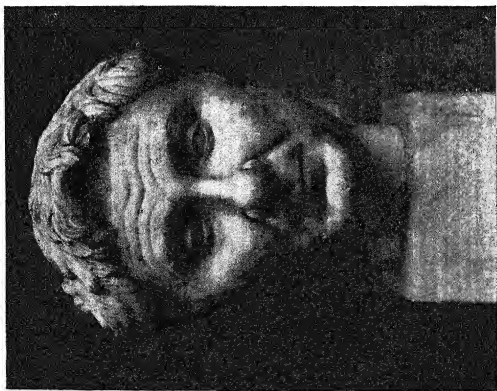
Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

Executed by an unknown artist of an unknown citizen of the Republic, this bust illustrates the widespread skill of the Romans in portraiture. 1st century B.C. In the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York



Photograph by Anderson

Cicero, the greatest Roman orator. This portrait suggests the incisive mind of the friend of liberty and the Republic. In the Vatican Museum, Rome



Pompey the Great, vain, honorable, and pompous. With Caesar and Crassus he formed the First Triumvirate and helped bring the Republic to an end. In the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen

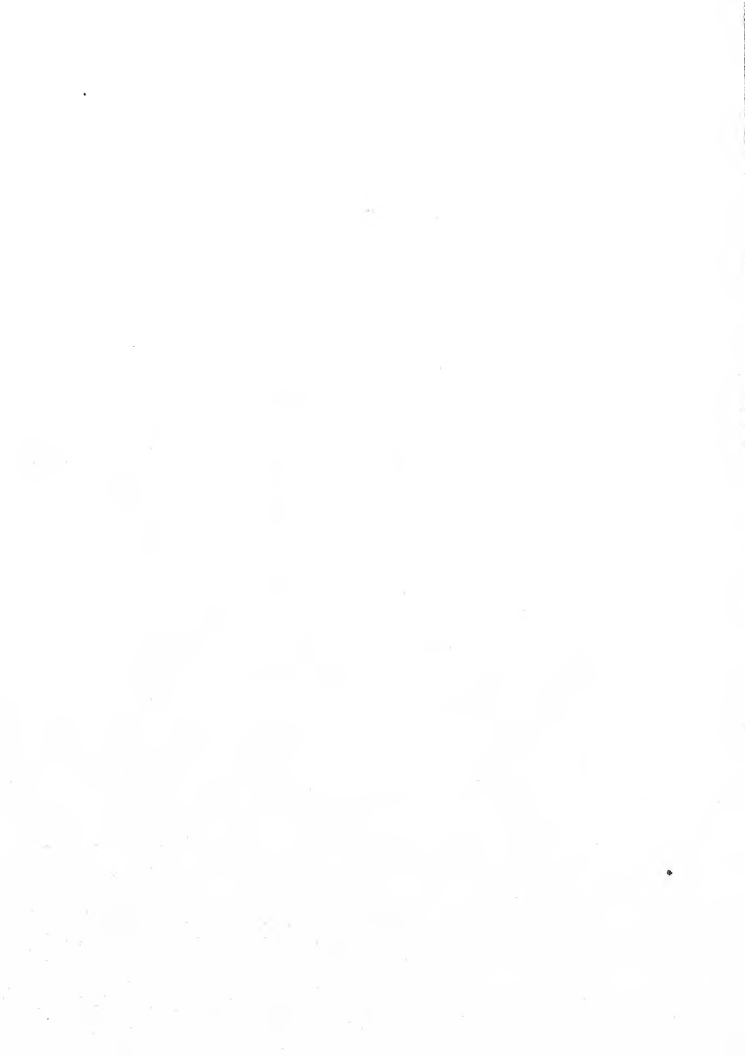


Julius Caesar, the greatest of the Romans, versatile and hard-headed, steeped in the Roman tradition of reasonable, but inflexible domination. Bust of a statue in the Palazzo dei Conservatori, Rome

pose, was Lucretius (ca. 99–55 B.C.), whose *On the Nature of Things* (*De Rerum Natura*) is one of the world's greatest poems. It was composed in hexameter verse and sought to explain evolution through the movement of atoms, one of the chief tenets of Epicureanism. Though the poem is materialistic and preaches the mortality of the soul, it reaches great heights of spiritual and religious feeling. By scientific means Lucretius sought to free men from superstition and to dispel from their minds all fear of death and the gods.

VARRO. Roman authors were eager, of course, to bring their works before the public, and publishers employed slaves in making copies, which were then placed on sale. Cultivated men had private libraries, but it fell to Caesar to plan a large collection of works in Greek and Latin for the use of the general public. He assigned the task of collecting and arranging them to Marcus Terentius Varro (116–27 B.C.), the most learned of the Romans. We know something of Varro's books on the Latin language and on agriculture. Altogether he was the author of seventy-four works, a true encyclopedia, which included all departments of knowledge affecting his own country and race.

ART. In Roman art, as in literature, Hellenic influences were strong. Greek artists, in their search for commissions, left their homes in the East and migrated to Italy, where they were readily employed on private and public work. They brought portrait sculpture to new heights of realism and decorated with colorful paintings the homes of the wealthy. Victorious generals, moreover, brought back to Rome shiploads of art from Greek lands and sometimes added impressive buildings to the city of Rome. Sulla, for example, rebuilt the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. In 78 B.C. the Tabularium (Public Record Office) was erected. In the Campus Martius Pompey built a theater, where comedies portraying ordinary life were produced; tragedy had long since ceased to be popular. Caesar repaved the Forum Romanum, where after his death a temple to the deified Julius was dedicated. Within the Forum he built the rostra and a law court known as the Basilica Julia, and began a new Forum nearby (p. 574 and plan, p. 571). In buildings, as in the aqueducts and sewers (for instance, the enlarged *Cloaca Maxima*) which were constructed at this time, it was customary to use the round arch. Concrete was often employed; generally it was faced with marble or travertine, a limestone that was displacing the volcanic tufa of earlier days. When the facing consisted of irregular pieces it was known as *opus incertum*, though in the late Republic a pattern (*opus reticulatum*) was preferred. The city of Rome, despite its population of almost a million, could not yet be called beautiful. The poor lived in their crowded tenements (*insulae*), seventy feet high, along narrow alleys. Traffic was congested, fires and street riots, because of the lack of proper supervision and equipment, were frequent. Rome was still essentially a city of brick; its transformation into a city of marble was to be the work of Augustus.



PART SIX

THE ROMAN EMPIRE

XXX

THE PRINCIPATE OF AUGUSTUS

(27 B.C.-14 A.D.)

1. THE DYARCHY

AUGUSTUS AND THE SENATE. In January, 27 B.C., two years after he had celebrated his splendid triumph in honor of his victories in Europe, Asia, and Africa, Octavian, now thirty-five years of age and consul for the seventh time, went before the Senate and surrendered the extraordinary powers he had been holding, in order, as he explained, that the Republic might be restored. The Senate, however, voted that he should have proconsular power, with control of the army, and that in the future he was to have the title Augustus (the revered or consecrated one, with its connotation of divine favor). Modern man insists on easy labels, but it can readily be seen that, at the very beginning of his reign, Augustus (as the world has called him) neither demanded nor received an authority which can be defined in conventional language. Did Augustus really wish to restore the Republic? Or did he cunningly plan to establish a monarchy? The Senate, in 27 B.C., no doubt lost an opportunity to reassert the republican form of government, but much of the ancient senatorial stock had perished in war and proscriptions, and the world was tired. The Senate did, however, compound its failure during the next three years, when Augustus was absent in Spain pacifying the Cantabrians, for it insisted on consulting him concerning every question and bowing to his wishes. Impossible though it is to define Augustus' position, it is quite correct to say that, whatever it was, it was largely created by the unwillingness and incapacity of the Senate to assume its own responsibility. It certainly was not autocracy; neither was it democracy; under his successors, however, it did grow rapidly and openly into monarchy. But if we cannot define the Augustan government more precisely than as a transitional stage between Republic and monarchy, we can at least describe it.

DYARCHY. During his absence in Spain, Augustus and the Senate succeeded in carrying on the functions of government in consultation with one another, and when he returned to Rome in 24 B.C. it seemed natural to continue this habit of consultation and to allow to each a special sphere of labor. There thus

came into existence, without its having been planned by anyone, a double rule. This form of government is called a dyarchy, and only the future could tell whether Augustus or the Senate would prove the stronger; actually, and despite varying personalities and many vicissitudes, the dyarchy lasted more than three centuries, from 27 B.C. to 284 A.D.¹

The Roman world yearned for peace; it yearned, too, for a return of the old order, or at any rate for a prosperity and security that an ancient past had reputedly held; but it also hated monarchy and feared the absolutism of a Caesar. Though as Octavian he had proved that he could keep pace with his contemporaries in matters of warfare and proscriptions, Augustus now showed a deep awareness of the mentality of the world—call him politician or statesman—for he gave to his rule the semblance of republican legality. Taking into account the sensibilities of the Romans, Augustus professed to derive his authority from the Senate and the people, and disguised his own position in republican forms. Whereas we are likely to speak of him as emperor, from his title of Imperator, the Romans called him by Pompey's word (and Cicero's), *princeps* or first citizen, and this was the title he himself preferred. Later, in 2 B.C., he was acclaimed *pater patriae*, father of his country, a title that delighted him since it seemed to indicate a wide acceptance of his form of government. It is customary to speak of this particular type of dyarchy as a principate, since it was the princeps who gave it its peculiar character.

2. THE PRINCEPS, SENATE, EQUESTRIANS, AND PLEBS

THE PRINCEPS. The Roman principate is often dated from 23 B.C., for it was in that year that Augustus decided to regularize the system of government which had operated informally during his absence in Spain. Conservative in nature, deeply aware of the hopes of mankind, Augustus proposed to keep every republican institution and custom that was possible: the division of the people into senatorial, equestrian, and plebeian orders; the magistrates and the *cursus honorum*; the Assembly and Senate. Augustus stood for Rome, its glorious past and its promise of a wonderful future. He proposed, too, that the provinces should be efficiently governed, but he did not plan to extend the franchise widely, for his emphasis, as opposed to Caesar's, was to be on Rome and the Italian stock which had built a mighty Empire. On the other hand, a repetition of the experience of the late Republic, with the rivalries of ambitious generals and their armies, must be avoided by all means; nor did he intend to surrender his own power which had been won at the cost of civil war. When it came to his personal position within the state, therefore, Augustus resolved to gather to himself every necessary authority for what was, practically, autocratic power, but to receive it, in each instance, from the Senate and

¹ List of Roman Emperors, p. 700.

people and to bury it as deeply as possible in republican titles; that is to say, he would share the duties of office, as tradition dictated, but would hold several conventional posts simultaneously. The initiative, however, was never solely his.

To achieve this power, it was only necessary for Augustus to gain control of the armies and the civil administration. Recognizing that annual reelection to the consulship was a shock to republican tradition, and in any case fell short of his requirements, Augustus surrendered the consulship and received in return—not the dictatorship, which would have smacked of Sullan autocracy—but the proconsulship, an ordinary republican magistracy which was renewed in blocks of years until his death. The proconsulship gave him command of the armies, and hence of foreign policy, but unlike its republican counterpart it carried with it a power superior to any other magistrate and also, of first importance, the *imperium* within Rome itself. The moderation of Augustus and his insistence on constitutional procedure must have pleased his contemporaries. Nor could the Romans have found cause for alarm when Augustus in this same year, 23 B.C., received tribunician power (*tribunicia potestas*), but in fact it gave him control of legislation, and hence of the civil administration. Since he received this annually until his death, the custom developed of dating events by the years of his tribunician power. Other authority came to him gradually—in 17 B.C., for example, on the death of Lepidus, the old triumvir who had long ago ceased to count, he became Pontifex Maximus for life and thus head of the state religion—but the proconsulship and the tribunician power sufficed for military and civil supremacy.

THE SENATE. The Senate, which was to be Augustus' partner in the vast labor of government, enjoyed an amount of power comparable to what it had had in the republican period, or so it seemed. A *senatus consultum*, for example, no longer expressed the mere opinion of the Senate, but in effect had the force of law. Just as Augustus had the right to make peace and war, so he was entitled to speak first in the Senate and accordingly the *senatus consulta* represented, in fact, the legislation which he himself preferred. The actual authority of the Senate was further reduced by the fact that Augustus could issue edicts, but as long as the principate survived it was necessary for the Senate to ratify these edicts on the emperor's death, if they were to be binding in the future. Appearances were thus maintained and with them a limitation on monarchy. So much business affecting the Graeco-Roman world came before the Senate that Augustus created a small advisory council of magistrates and senators to help him prepare the agenda for senatorial consideration, but he placed special reliance on two intimate friends, Maecenas and Agrippa. The establishment of the Senate as a high court of justice represented, however, a new and significant increase in its importance. In an effort to revive the vir-

tues of old, Augustus purged the Senate of unworthy persons and set its membership at six hundred.

The ultimate fate of the Senate was to become a municipal council, but that lay centuries in the future. Certainly, under Augustus, it had the trappings of a glorious past and enough real power so that, under certain emperors, it became the rallying point of the opposition. The fault of the Senate, however, was not that it insisted on too much authority, but that it made autocracy possible by an unwillingness to assume its proper burden of government. It has often been remarked that under the Roman Empire man as a political animal ceased to be and became economic man, and this undoubtedly lay at the root of things. The failure of the Senate was merely a facet of that larger collapse which eventually left the emperor, who could not always be expected to be as wise as Augustus, with no alternative except Oriental despotism.

Clearly recognizing that the coöperation of the Senate was necessary for the government of a large world that consisted of three ancient cultures—Roman, Greek, and Oriental—Augustus took the obvious step of making life interesting and rewarding for the senatorial class. The members of the Senate and their families composed this order, which was hereditary, and they had the privilege of wearing a broad purple stripe on their toga, just as Augustus himself wore a purple robe on festive occasions. To maintain one's position and avoid transfer to the lower equestrian order, it was necessary to be worth 1,000,000 sesterces (p. 575), but since the civil wars had deprived many individuals, otherwise eligible, of their property, Augustus granted them subsidies. The role of the senatorial class was to form a civil service. The *cursus honorum* was still followed by an ambitious person, as in republican days, and election to the quaestorship automatically brought membership in the Senate. At the conclusion of his journey through the career of offices, a senator might look forward to an important post; for example, he might become City Prefect of Rome or have a responsible office in the government of Italy; it was very likely that he would be awarded a high military command or be invited to serve as Augustus' legate in one of the imperial provinces. These were the frontier provinces, where inevitably the armies and consequently the ultimate basis of power were located. The other provinces, known as senatorial, were exceptionally pleasant places in which to live, for they were advanced in civilization; at the same time they were far removed from the scene of possible fighting and in no need of a large armed force, and consequently Augustus left their government to the Senate.

THE EQUESTRIANS. The senatorial class was not large enough, nor did it possess sufficiently expert knowledge, to attend to the manifold administrative duties of so vast an Empire. For this it was necessary to call on the special

experience of the equestrians, who, instead of perpetuating their republican rivalry with the Senate, now found an official outlet for their skill in business. A dignified career in the imperial civil service—as a financial procurator, for example—meant, moreover, that the equestrians could not fail to become attached to the emperor. It is evident that, under Augustus, the classes at Rome became quite distinct, but it must be emphasized that one could move from class to class, especially if the princeps so desired. Membership in the equestrian class was hereditary, but it was necessary to possess property valued at 400,000 sesterces, and this carried with it the privilege of wearing a toga with a narrow purple stripe. Because of their long experience in business, the equestrians were used chiefly in financial matters, but other civil posts, and even military ones, were open to them. A man might crown his career by becoming prefect of the grain supply at Rome or one of the two prefects of the praetorian guard, the armed force within Rome which originally was Augustus' body-guard and eventually was able to make or break an emperor. The height of an equestrian's career, however, was the prefecture of Egypt. This great prize did not fall to a senator, for the princeps recognized that his potential opposition lay within the Senate and he dared not allow Rome's granary to come within its grasp; moreover, the peculiar economy of Egypt demanded the experience of an equestrian.

THE PLEBS. Within the imperial service there was a multitude of lower posts requiring secretarial and financial ability, and these were filled with freedmen. As for the populace of Rome—the famous plebs of republican days—there was the opportunity to join the army and become a minor officer, but this career was seized chiefly by the people in the Italian municipalities. Most citizens in Rome preferred the expensive festivals, and at least 200,000 enjoyed free grain. They had, however, the privilege of attending the Assembly. The distinction between Centuriate and Tribal Assembly ceased to exist, and indeed the Assembly possessed no real power; this was the final result of the revolution which Tiberius Gracchus had inaugurated on behalf of the masses. The Assembly had the right, subject to Augustus' tribunician power, to legislate, but most legislation fell to the Senate. The Assembly, accordingly, confined itself largely to elections, but here again the candidates were chosen by Augustus, and the Senate was also able to elect. The ambitious plebeian found little attraction in such life and took steps to promote himself into the equestrian order; in this way imperial Rome avoided stagnation.

REVIVAL OF MORALITY. The various elements in the state were pleased with Augustus: the plebeian might advance according to his ability, the Italian might become a centurion, the equestrian had a recognized career, the Senate had survived the civil wars, and the provinces were governed efficiently. Three times during Augustus' principate the doors of the temple of Janus were closed

as a sign that peace reigned throughout the Empire, and in 13 A.D. the Senate celebrated the fact by the erection of an altar of the Augustan Peace (the beautiful *ara pacis Augustae*, p. 573). To inspire all the people and classes of the Empire with faith in themselves and their future, Augustus thought it wise to rebuild the moral fabric of society. In 19 B.C., for instance, he tried to restrict adultery and to lessen the habit of divorce, and further to reconstitute family life he extended to mothers of three or more children property rights and freedom from the *potestas* of their husbands. By private example, as well as in his public acts, Augustus sought a return to the values of the past, to patriotism, to the religion of the fathers. To foster this growth, Augustus, in the later years of his principate, allowed his name to be associated with the Goddess Roma in an imperial cult. Religion and patriotism were here linked symbolically in a service which, in Italy after his death, was largely in the hands of Oriental freedmen known as *Augustales*. The Romans, moreover, now adopted the custom of placing an image of the Genius of Augustus among their Lares, those images of protecting deities which were set up at the crossings of roads and streets. The idea was to make his Genius, or guardian spirit, the center of public worship, and hence willingness to sacrifice to the guardian spirit of the princeps came to be the test of loyalty to the government; in fact, this worship became the most vital force in the religion of the Roman world till the adoption of Christianity. It is hardly strange that on his death Augustus, who had refused deification in his early years, should have been placed among the gods. An inscription found in Asia Minor proclaims that "Augustus is the paternal Zeus and the savior of the whole race of man, who fulfills all prayers, even more than we ask. The land and sea enjoy peace; cities flourish; everywhere are harmony and prosperity and happiness."

Augustus, however, did not have to wait till the end of his principate to witness a return of ancient ways. In 17 B.C. Rome celebrated the seventh centenary of its founding, as it was then calculated, and as part of the magnificent ceremonies the poet Horace composed an Ode—the famous *Carmen saeculare*—in which he said, "Now Faith and Peace and Honor and Antique Modesty and neglected Virtue dare return, and Plenty appears in view, rich with her overflowing horn."

3. THE PROVINCES AND FRONTIERS

The Roman Empire was vast in extent, diverse in race, language and custom, highly civilized and densely populated, particularly in the East, and in certain other areas hardly more than tribal in outlook, but in any case it was regarded by contemporaries as equivalent to the civilized world. With the exception of the Parthians, civilized people did not relish the thought of living beyond its confines, which doubtless helps to explain the absence of wide-

spread revolts during the civil wars of the late Republic. The administration of the Empire, however, cried aloud for reform, and no more solid or splendid achievement can be credited to Augustus than his accomplishment in bringing peace, prosperity and orderly government to the Graeco-Roman world. Augustus practiced the same conservatism in the imperial sphere as he did elsewhere, and instead of exhibiting that profound and imaginative insight which might have produced, let us say, a federal government of world citizens (as Caesar might have done), he took the Empire as he found it, built on its strength, and controlled abuses. After all, it was an achievement of the highest order to bring peace to a world that had known little but war, to give it just and skillful government in place of rapacious governors, to substitute a fair system of taxation for the republican *publicani*. For the blessings he brought the world, says Pliny, "the human race decrees Augustus a civic crown." And yet, mere activity in the machinery of government was not a healthy substitute for independent political life and thought, and in the end brought so much general decay in its wake that the Empire could not survive. (Cf. p. 574.)

For purposes of administration Augustus divided the Empire into two large groups of provinces, those which needed legionary forces and those which did not. The former were close to the frontiers, and he proposed to keep them under his personal supervision, since in the last analysis his power rested upon the army; the remaining provinces were highly civilized and far removed from possible invasion, and these he turned over to the Senate to administer. On the other hand, it must not be supposed that Augustus thereupon dismissed the senatorial provinces from his mind; on the contrary, he insisted on efficient government, reviewed their situation from time to time, held the governors liable to the same laws of extortion as applied to the governors of the so-called imperial provinces, and placed them all on salary. At the same time, he used senators in large numbers for the government of the imperial provinces and periodically rendered the Senate an account of his administration. Thus there was considerable uniformity in provincial rule, and as far as the titles of officials and their tasks were concerned, there was little change from republican days.

SENATORIAL PROVINCES. The governors of the senatorial provinces served one year; they were called proconsuls and were chosen by lot from former consuls and praetors. The chief senatorial provinces, representing the inner core of the Empire, were Baetica, in southern Spain; Gallia Narbonensis (Provence); Sicily; Macedonia; Achaëa; Crete and Cyrene together; Cyprus; Bithynia; Asia; Africa with Numidia.

IMPERIAL PROVINCES. The governors of the imperial provinces served as long as the princeps desired, often for many years; their chief test was efficient government. The more important provinces were in the hands of senators,

who were called legates, since Augustus, as a rule, remained in Rome. The governors of the other imperial provinces were known as procurators, or occasionally as prefects, and were equestrians. The imperial provinces, forming roughly a ring around the Empire and counting those created by Augustus, were chiefly *Tarraconensis* (northwestern Spain); *Lusitania* (Portugal); *Aquitania*, *Lugdunensis*, *Belgica*, all in Gaul, with *Lugdunum* (Lyons) used as a common capital; the Maritime and Cottian Alps; *Raetia* and *Noricum* on the Danube; *Pannonia* (Hungary); *Illyria* or *Dalmatia* (along the eastern Adriatic); *Moesia* (Bulgaria, in part); *Sardinia*; *Galatia* and *Cilicia* in Asia Minor; *Syria*; and *Palestine* (added soon after Herod's death in 4 B.C.).² A changing frontier, or internal conditions, might alter the status of a province. Egypt was not a province, but formed a great prefecture under an equestrian, who was directly responsible to Augustus. (See the map, front endpaper.)

THE FRONTIERS. Finally, Rome rounded out her frontiers and protected her borders by a system of client kingdoms, such as *Mauretania*, *Thrace*, *Cappadocia*, *Lesser Armenia*, and *Palmyra* (in the Syrian desert). These states, which Rome found it convenient not to absorb outright, furnished troops and followed Rome's foreign policy, but were otherwise sovereign. The chief threat to the Roman peace lay along the Rhine and Danube. *Parthia*, as the only well-organized state outside the Empire, was potentially dangerous, but Augustus had succeeded in placing a friendly monarch on the throne; the overlordship of *Armenia* was an endless bone of contention between Rome and *Parthia*. Rome had little to fear from *Arabia*, and almost nothing from the *Nubians*, who lived along Egypt's southern border. *Britain* still lay outside the Empire.

THE MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT. It seems rather extraordinary, in the light of history, that to protect an Empire which stretched from the North Sea to the Red Sea, and from the Atlantic to the Euphrates—an area of about 3,500,000 square miles—Rome needed a professional standing army of less than 300,000 men. This was due, in the first place, to the favorable political situation; and, secondarily, to such things as Augustus' desire to move the reminders of war to the background, to keep taxes low and the treasury full, and to limit, as far as possible, the enlistment of legionaries to Roman citizens who volunteered for a term of twenty years. There were between eighteen and twenty-eight legions during Augustus' regime—and at the end, twenty-five—each theoretically composed of 6,000 men, all of whom were infantry except for 120 cavalry. Auxiliaries of approximately the same number were attached to the legions; these were provincials who, at the conclusion of twenty-five years' service, received Roman citizenship and looked forward, as

² The date of Christ's birth (in the reign of Herod) must be placed between 8 and 4 B.C.; the incorrect date was "established" during the Middle Ages.

did the legionaries, to allotments of land and bonuses. The legions, staffed by Italian centurions and inspired with a wonderful *esprit de corps*, served along the frontiers, chiefly as follows: three in northern Spain, three along the Rhine, six along the Danube, four in Syria, and one each in Egypt and Numidia. The 9,000 praetorian guards, who were Italians and enlisted for sixteen years, and the police and fire departments, which were organized in military form, policed Rome, and a native militia sufficed elsewhere. The purpose of the small navy, which had its main bases at Ravenna and Misenum, was to patrol the Mediterranean and adjacent seas and the frontier rivers.

THE TREASURY. In order to support the expensive military establishment, Augustus set up a separate military treasury, known as the *aerarium militare*; as the richest man in the world, he contributed to it from his own wealth, while other funds came from a 1 percent sales tax and a 5 percent inheritance tax, which was limited to Roman citizens. A 4 percent tax on the manumission of slaves, which was restricted in the hope of keeping the Italian stock pure, constituted another indirect tax. The chief direct tax, on land, was paid by the provincials; to insure that provincial taxation was fair, a census was taken periodically. The regular state treasury, known as the *aerarium Saturni*, derived its income from Italy and the senatorial provinces, and was in charge of the Senate. Taxation, however, was not graduated.

THE EMPIRE'S CHIEF MILITARY PROBLEM. Although he was not a brilliant military commander, Augustus, after his successful campaigning in Spain, spent the years 22–19 B.C. in the East, his chief purpose being to redeem Rome's honor by recovering the standards lost by Crassus at Carrhae. War with Parthia was avoided, and he accomplished his ends by diplomacy (p. 572). In the future, however, Augustus was prone to leave active campaigning to his legates. The fundamental military problem before the Roman Empire was to establish a secure frontier in the northeast and northwest; that is to say, it was necessary to push on to the Danube and Rhine, or rather, if possible, to the Elbe, which would give a much shorter line to defend between the North and Black Seas. The first step in this broad strategy was taken in 16 B.C. when Augustus' stepsons, Tiberius and Drusus, conquered the area along the Upper Danube and organized it as the provinces of Raetia and Noricum. Then in 12 B.C. Tiberius conquered eastward and created the provinces of Moesia and Pannonia. Meanwhile, Drusus was active in Lower Germany, where he built a series of forts, constructed a fleet and dug a canal from the Rhine to the Zuider Zee. Deliberately planning each operation, Drusus advanced to the Elbe—an extraordinary feat of arms—but on his return to winter quarters he fatally injured himself by a fall from his horse (9 B.C.). Tiberius hastened to his brother's side, and with a devotion which was rare in that age brought the body from the depths of the German forest to Rome, walking all the way in front of the bier.

It was a great loss to the imperial family, for Drusus was an able man and popular with the army.

Tiberius was likewise the idol of the troops, for he watched over them and shared their hardships, but in 6 B.C. his differences with Augustus came to a head and he retired sullenly to Rhodes. After a decade Augustus, who had suffered a series of personal misfortunes, recalled Tiberius and adopted him as his son and successor. Once again Tiberius' appointment was to Germany. By 5 A.D. he reached the Elbe, and then, just as he was planning to crush the Marcomanni in modern Bohemia and thus eradicate all signs of resistance between the Elbe and Danube, a terrible revolt broke out in Illyria. The Pannonians, who also were adverse to Roman military service, joined the movement, which so frightened people that even the Italians were compelled to enlist against their will. After three years Tiberius reestablished order, but at this juncture (9 A.D.) the Germans revolted. Their leader was Arminius, a chieftain's son who had received his education in Rome, and, like his people, resented the tyrannical rule of the Roman general, Publius Quintilius Varus. The Germans ambushed Varus, as he was leading his three legions through the Teutoberg Forest (north of Cologne) on his way to winter quarters, and cut his army to pieces. Augustus, his spirit broken, from time to time would cry, "Varus, Varus, give me back my legions." It was a military disaster from which Rome never fully recovered.

But Tiberius, with Drusus' son, Germanicus, restored peace along the Rhine. As one ancient writer, Velleius Paterculus, describes it, "Tiberius penetrated into the interior, opened roads, wasted lands, burned houses, overthrew all opposition, and then with glory recrossed the Rhine." But the Elbe, perforce, was abandoned, and the decision, which Augustus at his death called on the Romans to respect, was followed in the future. A challenging speculation is to what extent the history of Europe would have been different, had Rome succeeded in incorporating and civilizing the great reservoir of Germans who were destined to engulf the Empire (map, front endpaper, and pp. 572, 574).

4. THE SUCCESSION

It was ever on Augustus' mind to secure a peaceful succession.³ This he did by designating a member of his own family, or, if necessary, by adopting an individual and causing him to marry into his family; he then provided his heir with proper authority by sharing the tribunician and proconsular powers with him. Thus Augustus established the precedent which others followed, but he himself lived so long, though he was never in excellent health, that fate struck down one of his successors after another. In the beginning it was clear that

³ Genealogical Table, p. 702.

his dearly loved nephew Marcellus, Octavia's son, would succeed him, especially since the youth had married Julia, Augustus' daughter by his second wife and his only child. When Marcellus died in 23 B.C., Augustus chose his friend and helper, Agrippa, as his successor and new son-in-law, but Agrippa died in 12 B.C. Gaius and Lucius Caesar, the sons of Agrippa and Julia, were then placed under the guardianship of Tiberius and Drusus, but the grandsons and heirs of Augustus died in the provinces a few years later.

Tiberius and Drusus were the sons of Augustus' third wife, Livia, an able and faithful woman who had previously married Tiberius Claudius Nero. Drusus, however, had been killed in Germany. Augustus, accordingly, on the death of his grandsons, adopted Tiberius and forced him to divorce his wife, whom he loved, and to marry Julia. Though he was now the stepson, adopted son, and son-in-law of Augustus, Tiberius was embittered by the manner in which he had been repeatedly passed over for the succession, and he was further scandalized by the immoral nature of his new wife. These were the reasons why he withdrew to Rhodes for several years. Augustus, however, was so shocked by the profligacy of Julia, at the very time when he was trying to rebuild the fabric of society, that he banished her and her daughter of the same name from Rome, together with Ovid, who had once been a favorite court poet.

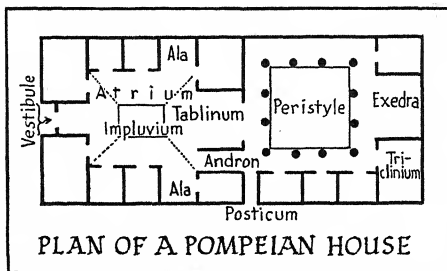
DEATH OF AUGUSTUS (14 A.D.). Augustus died at Nola in Campania on August 19, 14 A.D., an unhappy old man of 76. He had already prepared an account of what he had accomplished—the so-called Deeds of Augustus—and this was set up outside his tomb in the Campus Martius and throughout the Empire, for there were few to doubt that he was one of the greatest benefactors of the human race. A copy of this record has been found in Asia Minor at Ancyra (Ankara); known as the *Monumentum Ancyranum*, it is an important document, needless to say, for understanding the man who brought the world from one era into another.

5. SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC LIFE

The development of roads, the suppression of piracy, the policing of caravan routes were all part of the Augustan Peace which made men secure in their belief that they could own property without fear of proscriptions or of armies robbing them of the fruits of their toil. Welcome and dramatic as was this change from republican days, the actual manner and conduct of life differed little. Security meant, rather, a faster economic tempo and increasing prosperity.

THE ROMAN HOUSE. The education of a Roman boy, for example, was much the same under Augustus as in the Ciceronian period, except that oratory received a different treatment. Here it was not the thought that mattered—how could it, when an independent political life was no longer possible?—but

the superficial polish of its presentation, a hollow shell of an art that had once been great. The daily life, too, remained much the same, but it was far more luxurious, as the great excavations in Italy (at Pompeii, Herculaneum, and Ostia, for instance) and elsewhere prove. The private life of the Romans was secluded from public view, for if a rich man had a beautiful garden, as he was sure to have, he surrounded it with a high wall. The modern traveler who strolls along the narrow, rutted streets of Pompeii sees on both sides plain walls with a few small windows opening from an upper floor. In antiquity a visitor at one of these houses came first to the vestibule, a narrow entrance court, which might have a pavement mosaic representing a dog with the words, *Cave canem* ("Beware of the dog"). The porter, who perhaps had been napping in his little lodge, opened the heavy wooden door and admitted the guest to the *atrium*, where he found the master of the house.



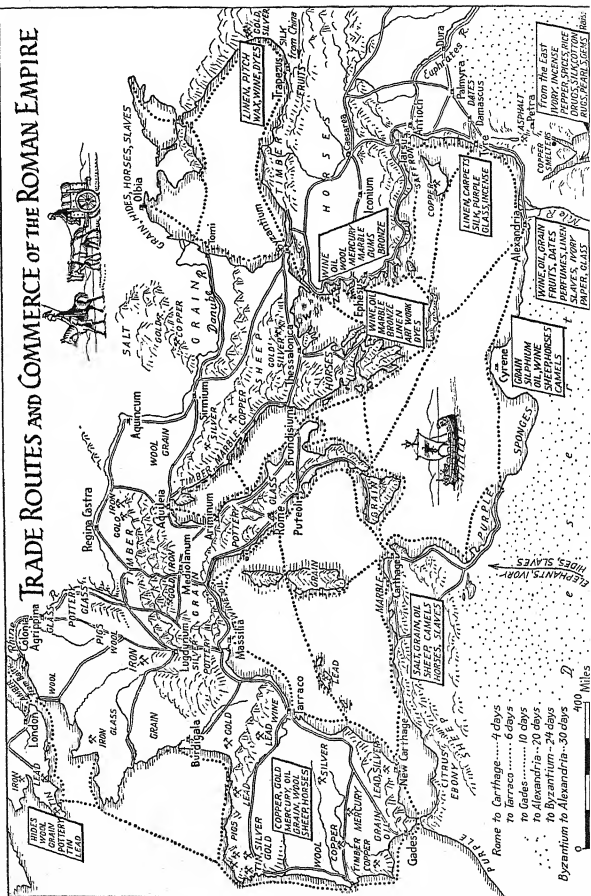
Originally the *atrium* was the only room, but as the dwelling grew in size and the apartments multiplied, it came to be used chiefly for receiving guests. It was roofed over, with the exception of an opening in the center which admitted the light and through which the rain poured into a square basin in the floor. In the middle of the basin was a fountain adorned with reliefs, and the entire room was richly decorated with colorful paintings, statues, costly columns and purple hangings. On the floor were fine mosaics (pp. 326, 541). To the rear of the *atrium* was the *tablinum*, an alcove containing the family archives, and on each side of the *tablinum* was a recess, or *ala*, in which the nobles kept waxen masks and other portraits of their ancestors. Beyond the *atrium* was the *triclinium*, a lavishly adorned dining room with couches along three sides of the table (cf. p. 443).

More secluded than the *atrium*, yet more open to the sky, was the *peristyle*, an inner court so named from the columns which surrounded the large uncovered space in the center. This area contained a fountain in the midst of

beautiful flower beds and trees. Around it were the sleeping rooms and other private apartments of the women, whereas those of the men were often grouped about the *atrium*. There were also a kitchen, elaborate bathrooms, and sometimes a library. The Romans piled one story above another until Augustus limited the height of houses to sixty feet, but the upper rooms are not so well known, nor could they have been as attractive as those of the ground floor. It was not unusual to rent the front part of the house on the ground floor as shops.

INDUSTRY. A house such as we have described might occupy an entire block at Pompeii, while in the country a noble's villa and grounds covered a far greater area. Slaves, with freedmen overseers, performed the usual multiplicity of duties, often making an establishment self-sufficient. The fact that clothing and similar articles were made at home by slave labor prevented the development of large-scale industry and big stores, though the preference of the noble for land as investment cannot be overlooked. In a sense, too, it was wise to grow as much food as possible at home, since slow transportation and the absence of refrigeration rendered any other system of distribution difficult. It was, of course, the rare and fortunate individual who could thus make himself self-sufficient, but self-sufficiency was perforce the rule of the ordinary town. Here and in the surrounding territory were grown and made most of those things which keep people alive and comfortable; meat and vegetables and the like were sold in their own markets, while the products of countless little factories were placed on sale in equally small shops, whose owners generally were despised freedmen and foreigners. Certain other things—such as the silver plate and bronze utensils of Capua, the pottery of Arretium, and the glass of Sidon in Syria—by the very nature of the skill required in their manufacture and the scarcity of the raw material itself were produced on a vast scale by a few concerns and distributed throughout the entire Empire. We know this, because the manufacturers proudly stamped their names on their products. Again the stamps tell us that still other things were produced on a large scale, but were used locally, such as wine and oil jars, the lead pipes for public and private water outlets, and bricks; indeed, the stamps on Roman bricks show that, after the fire in Nero's day, Domitius Afer was fortunate enough to enjoy a monopoly in the capital, which he passed on to several generations of his family. We also know that some estates concentrated on one product, such as the cultivation of the vine, and bought everything that was needed. Specialization, however, was as exceptional as large factories and, in general, business transactions were conducted on a direct and personal plane.

TRADE AND COMMERCE. The tremendous increase in prosperity, which was shared by many, including freedmen, caused a demand for the luxuries of the East. Diplomatic relations with Parthia and Arabia were conducted with at



least one eye toward this trade, despite the fact that the ramifications of trade and business were almost solely the individual's concern. The Parthian caravan routes traded with China rather than India (except Bactria). Sea trade with India was stimulated by the discovery of the monsoon winds, which allowed a by-passing of the Parthians. The ports along the Red Sea, suddenly brought to life, facilitated the movement of goods from the East (cf. map, pp. 380, 381). Since the Romans did not take readily to the sea, commerce was largely in the hands of Greeks and Asiatics, who developed regular passenger service to meet the needs of travelers, whereas the imperial government itself insured close connections with Egypt's grain supply. The chief port in the West continued to be cosmopolitan Puteoli (where St. Paul landed), not only because of the large population around the Bay of Naples, but also because it was possible to find return cargoes here, such as the various products of the Campanian factories and forges, where the iron of Ełba and Etruria was turned into an excellent steel. On the whole, however, the West's contribution to trade consisted of raw materials rather than manufactured goods, and the uneven balance was righted, in part, by taxation and tribute. The growth of trade and travel brought with it the development of large banks, which established branches throughout the Empire and issued letters of credit. The importation of African and Egyptian wheat, however, no less than the ineptitude of the veterans on the land (for Augustus planted many colonies in Italy and the provinces), damaged Italian agriculture. Nor can it be maintained that the lot of the free laborer was happy; against his low daily wage, to be sure, he could balance the low cost of living, and, if necessary, he could obtain free grain, but he had little left over for the comforts of life. Certainly he enjoyed the public spectacles and exhibitions. And to make life more personal and pleasant he surely joined his *collegium* or guild, where he met with his fellows monthly and paid his small dues to insure a decent burial; but his life could not be called satisfying.

POPULATION. The population of the Roman Empire under Augustus numbered about fifty million souls; according to the census taken in 14 A.D. about five million of these were citizens, an increase of almost a million since the beginning of Augustus' principate. Italy had a population of fifteen million, with perhaps a million in Rome.

ROME. The government of Italy lay largely in the hands of the municipalities, but for administrative purposes the peninsula was divided into eleven districts. The 265 precincts (*vici*) of Rome formed fourteen administrative regions, which were under the supervision of the Senate and the regular magistrates. There were, in addition, various commissions to attend to the erection and care of temples and public buildings, to control the floods of the Tiber, and to build roads. Agrippa had charge of the aqueducts. Public order was

maintained by the police department, which consisted of three cohorts of 1,500 men each, under the City Prefect, a member of the senatorial class. An equestrian, known as the Prefect of the Watch, had charge of the fire department or *Vigiles*, who formed seven cohorts of 1,000 men each. Augustus' first duty, however, was to prevent hunger, and this large task he handed over to the Prefect of the Grain Supply, who was an equestrian. The praetorian guard remained in the background, ready for any crisis.

As one reviews the Roman government and its world empire, with its immense cities, its towns and farms and grazing lands, its busy roads and seas and caravan routes, one is impressed by the varied life, the cosmopolitan population which knew little or no racial prejudice, the many cultures, and, above all perhaps, by the absence of civil strife and war, except along the frontiers. It was to take some time, about three centuries, before the cold and standardizing hand of autocracy could finally and completely fasten itself upon mankind and destroy intellectual curiosity and all else that makes life worth while.

6. RELIGION, LITERATURE, AND ART

RELIGION. Many Romans at the end of the Republic had forgotten their gods and lost their morals amid horrible memories of brutality and hatred and confusion. Society was further undermined by the new, often orgiastic, rites and religious ceremonies that had been introduced by slaves and returning soldiers from the East. A healthy skepticism toward established beliefs did not lead to increased scientific inquiry and a rationalistic approach to life, but was swamped by a mystical and well-nigh universal desire for immortality. Astrology and neo-Pythagoreanism, accordingly, had their devotees, as did Orphism and the Eleusinian mysteries. Many were the followers of Isis, Mithras, the Great Mother, and other Egyptian and Asiatic divinities (p. 617). Epicureanism was degenerating into a pure hedonism. Stoicism, to be sure, preached the necessity of improving the individual's moral nature, but at the same time it justified monarchy as the rule of the best man. The fact was, freedom had disappeared, and active interest in the state had yielded to pessimistic interest in oneself.

With confusion and pessimism the partners of a materialistic prosperity, Augustus determined to lead the people back to the pure simple life of their ancestors, who had made the city great, and to the official Graeco-Roman religion, for this, he saw, was the best way to combat new ideas and customs. His law, albeit unsuccessful in the long run, to encourage larger families by giving the parents special privileges was part of this program. For similar reasons he revived the festivals and priestly colleges, became Pontifex Maximus, and permitted the growth throughout the Empire of the imperial cult of Roma

and Augustus, which identified religion and the state with the princeps; and in Italy he allowed the spread of the worship of the Genius of Augustus. For this same reason, too, he meticulously restored old temples and built new ones. The Secular Games of 17 B.C., for which Horace composed his famous Ode, reflected a rebirth of religion and patriotism, of faith and pride, or at the very least they buried pessimism deep beneath an outer enthusiasm.

LIVY. To all this the writers of prose and poetry made their own particular contributions, stirring appeals to the people to lay aside the bitterness of party strife for the blessings of peace. With the encouragement of Augustus and Maecenas, his friend and patron of the arts, the Golden Age of Roman literature aimed to purify and ennoble the present by bringing it the life of the good and great past, but the conscious archaism seems to raise its own doubts. Livy (59 B.C.—17 A.D.), from Padua in northern Italy and the most eminent author of prose at this time, wrote an eloquent history of Rome, *From the Founding of the City*, in one hundred and forty-two books, of which only thirty-five survive. Vivid and interesting, they are our chief source for the earlier periods of Roman history. Livy loved what he supposed to be the truth and the right; on matters of accuracy, impartiality, and sound judgment he ranks as one of the greatest Roman historians. His sympathies were republican; with his fine rhetorical training he would have been a great orator, had he lived a few years earlier. His admiration of law and order, his hatred of violence and vulgarity, glorified the deeds of old, while the vast compass and the stately style of his history, like the Pantheon of Agrippa and the splendid residences on the Palatine, helped celebrate the imperial government. Other histories—such as those of Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Diodorus of Sicily—and the *Geography* of Strabo were written in Greek, for the Augustan Age had two literatures.

VERGIL. The greatest poet of this period, one of the greatest who has ever lived, was Vergil (70–19 B.C.), from Mantua in northern Italy. Inspired by the greatness of Rome, intensely patriotic, Vergil expressed more perfectly than any other writer the ideals of Augustan Rome. His principal work, a long epic poem called the *Aeneid*, tells the story of the wanderings of the Trojan Aeneas and the beginnings of Rome and at the same time glorifies the imperial family, which traced descent from the hero of his poem. The lofty style is sustained by high moral aims, which clearly show that the secret of Rome's success lay in *pietas*, a stern regard for duty. The narrative itself is lively and dramatic, graceful and tender. Vergil's *Georgics*, on the other hand, sing the praises of country life, the affairs of husbandry, the virtues and toil of a day on the farm (p. 10). Pastoral themes form the subject of the *Eclogues*, the fourth of which, with its promise of a Messianic Savior, won Vergil a special place in mediaeval thought as a prophet of the birth of Christ.

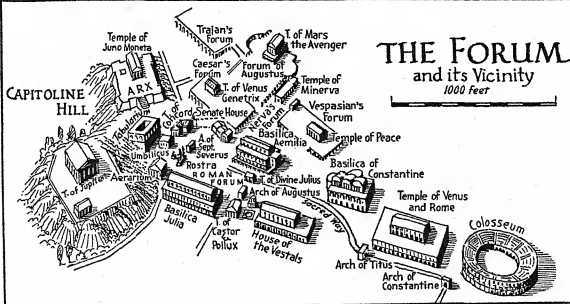
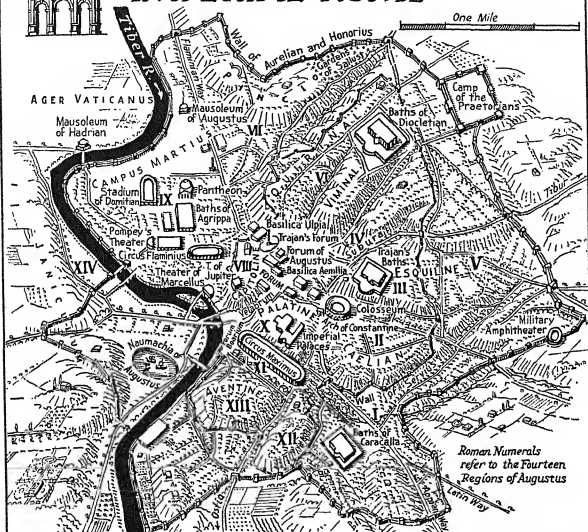
HORACE AND OVID. Another poet to enjoy the patronage of Maecenas was Horace (65–8 B.C.), who was born in southern Italy of a freedman. Author of polished lyrics—*Odes*, *Satires* and *Epistles*—Horace was the poet of contentment and common sense. Leave the future to the gods and enjoy your life, he taught. A comfortable villa, some shady nook in summer, and in winter a roaring fire, good wine, pleasant friends, and a mind free from care make an ideal life. Here was a lesson for the world, after the stormy end of the Republic, and succeeding generations, as well, have found him a source of refreshment and delight. Of the elegiac poets—Propertius, Tibullus, and Ovid—Ovid (43 B.C.–17 A.D.) best represents the attitude that would not be downed, a superficial interest in life and a conviction, one might almost say, that the end of things, rather than the beginning, had been reached. His *Art of Love* is a handbook of seduction, written in defiance of Augustus' sumptuary legislation; the *Fasti* tells of Roman festivals; and the *Metamorphoses* preserves, most fortunately, much of Greek mythology.

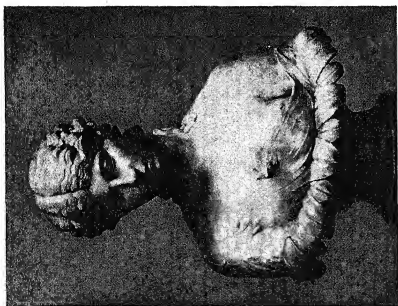
ARCHITECTURE. Art and architecture, no less than literature, did their share to glorify Augustus and imperial Rome. Now, without any question, the capital of the world, Rome was copied throughout the provinces, and it was the rare town that could not boast its Forum and temples, its triumphal arches and baths and theaters. In Rome itself Augustus repaired eighty-two temples and rebuilt the Capitoline temple of Jupiter. In the Forum, beside the spot where Caesar's body had been burned, he built a temple of the Divine Julius and, nearby, a temple of Venus Genetrix, the goddess from whom the Julian house traced its descent. Further to associate himself with the gods and to suggest his protective power, Augustus erected on the Palatine, near his own palatial residence, a Greek temple of Apollo, the Averter of Evil, and joined to it libraries for public use. Here, too, was the shrine of Vesta. The new Forum of Augustus, with its monumental arches, was dominated by a temple to another divine ancestor of the imperial family, that of Mars the Avenger.

It was in the Campus Martius that the greatest building activity of Augustus took place. Here were the mausoleum for the imperial family; the theater dedicated to Marcellus, the nephew of Augustus; the baths of Agrippa; and the Pantheon which still stands, although in its present form it was rebuilt by Hadrian (pp. 615, 620). Agrippa, to whom Augustus delegated much responsibility for the construction of public buildings, erected the Pantheon; the diameter of its dome is 142 feet, its height is approximately as great. This imposing temple to the gods proves the daring of the Roman engineer and the new paths being explored by the architects. The freestone arches of the past could not be used for large structures, because of their thrusts, and therefore solid concrete domes, resting on solid walls, were invented. An excellent concrete was obtained by mixing volcanic ash with lime and crushed stones. The huge tene-

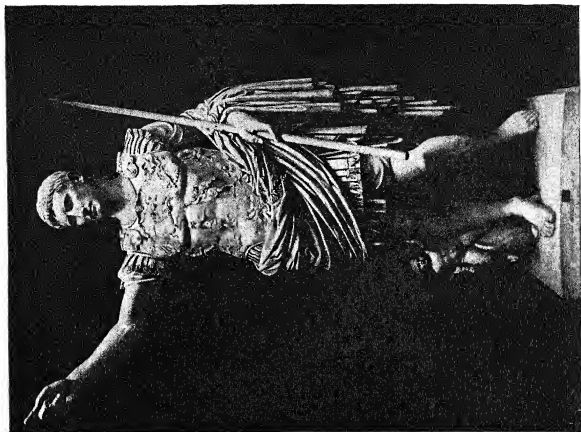


IMPERIAL ROME





A beautiful lady of the Augustan Age. Perhaps she is Drusus' wife, Livia, at Prima Porta near Rome. The central scene on the breast-plate commemorates Parthia's return of captured Roman standards. The small cupid suggests the Emperor's divine descent. In the Vatican Museum, Rome



Photograph by Alinari



Photograph by Alinari

A slab from the Ara Pacis of Augustus. In the center is seated *Terra Mater* (Mother Earth), surrounded by emblems of fertility: children on her lap; ears of grain, etc., behind. A cow and a sheep are below her. The figures to left and right (one on a swan, the other on a sea monster) may be the breezes of Horace's *Carmen Saeculare*. In the Uffizi, Florence

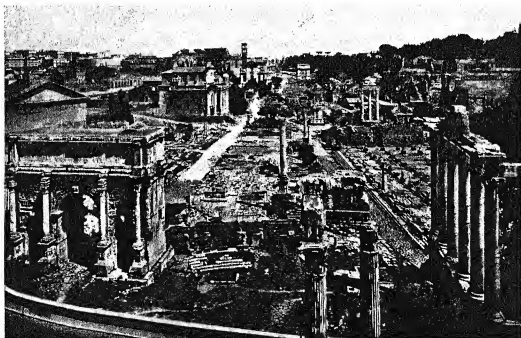


Photograph by Alinari

A sculptured slab, showing priests and members of the imperial family, from the Ara Pacis of Augustus. This beautiful altar, which celebrates the Augustan Peace, was erected in the Campus Martius at Rome, 13 A.D. In the Uffizi, Florence



The great onyx "Gemma Augustea," the most famous ancient cameo. It probably represents the German triumph of Tiberius, who is stepping from a chariot driven by Victory. Germanicus stands beside a horse. In the center is Roma; to the right, Augustus, over whose head is held a civic crown. Augustus' natal constellation, Capricorn, is shown in the sky. Behind him are personifications of earth, sea and sky. In the lower zone, Roman soldiers erecting a trophy, and captives. In the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna



Photograph by Alinari

A general view of the Roman Forum. At the left is the Arch of Septimius Severus; in the distance, the Arch of Titus. The Palatine rises to the right



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Silver coins in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. 1, 2, Republican denarius, about 56 B.C. Obverse, head of Ancus Martius; reverse, equestrian statue on an aqueduct. 3, youthful Augustus (denarius). 4, Nero (sestertius). 5, Trajan (sestertius). 6, Hadrian (sestertius). 7, Antoninus Pius (sestertius). 8, Marcus Aurelius (sestertius). A sestertius ($2\frac{1}{2}$ asses) equals one-fourth of a denarius (22 cents, till Nero's debasement)

ments, often over six stories high, were fireproof when made of this concrete. Public buildings, on the other hand, were not allowed to stand in all the bareness of their concrete, but were stuccoed or, in the case of the more magnificent, received a veneer of marble slabs, frequently of many colors, for which the world was ransacked. Modest houses continued to be made of brick and contrasted sharply with the palaces and villas of the rich. Augustus' statement that he found Rome a city of brick and left it a city of marble was, therefore, something of a boast, but a Roman of the previous generation would nevertheless have marveled at the size and magnificence of its buildings, its thousands of statues and monuments.

SCULPTURE. Roman art, though reaching out for new forms and ideas, was rooted in its Hellenistic past. Realism was more popular than ever, and is wonderfully illustrated in the portraiture and coins, the gems and metalwork. The Roman loved to decorate arches and other structures with reliefs depicting his past or the important matters of the present. A beautiful example of this attitude, perhaps the most beautiful monument of its day, is the famous Altar of the Augustan Peace. Richly adorned with flowers and fruit and other details suggesting abundance, the reliefs show Augustus and his family, priests and magistrates, marching in stately procession to the sacrifices in honor of peace. But the *Ara Pacis* does more than glorify the great founder of a new era. Dedicated in the Campus Martius in 13 A.D., the year before Augustus' death, it symbolizes one indisputable achievement of a mighty Empire, the winning of prosperity and universal peace.

7. LAW

The creative period of Roman law fell, roughly, between 100 B.C. and 300 A.D.; the organization of professional law schools under Augustus gave it great impetus. The names of the men who conducted its development under the Empire are household words in the legal profession, names such as Julian, Papinian, Ulpian, Paul, Modestine. In their hands, the Roman law became both sophisticated and humane. Lawyers became a profession at Rome as early as the middle of the third century B.C., but they never approached the character of a caste. They did not form a tightly closed corporation, valuing their technique the more that it grew constantly more intricate and specialized. In ancient days, there was neither fear nor dislike of lawyers. While our own social life, literature, and art would be much the same if our law were wholly different, it is highly unlikely that this would have been so at Rome at any period of its history. To understand Roman life—and this includes the whole Mediterranean after Augustus—is not fully possible without some elementary knowledge of its law, since, differently from ourselves, every educated Roman had a little more than an elementary knowledge of it.

BASIC TERMS. There are, first of all, two basic terms to understand, *ius* (pl. *iura*) and *lex* (pl. *leges*). *Ius* meant a right, both in the sense of something which could be sued for at law and in the sense of a valid defense, if one was sued. But *ius* was also a collective form for all the *iura* which all Roman citizens had, as well as all who had access to a Roman court. In this general sense it was equivalent to "law" as such, and had a number of adjectives or phrases attached to it, *ius civile*, *ius gentium*, etc. *Lex* was something quite different and much more precise. Only that was *lex* which the *populus Romanus*, formally assembled by a magistrate, ordered. And this *lex* was not *ius* itself, but a source of *ius*. To be sure, a source of paramount authority.

THE MAGISTRATES. In a community such as Rome, where a differentiated system of courts was developed early, law in any sense can be understood only through the court. The essence of a Roman court was its control by a magistrate, in most instances by a magistrate with *imperium*.

It is this word *imperium* which is the keyword to Roman private, as well as public law. It meant, probably, "paramount position," and the sense of "command" or "power" is derivative and not original. One of the titles of the first magistrates with *imperium* was *iudex*, the "pointer out" of *ius*, the man who declared where the *ius* lay between two disputants. He would doubtless have asserted that he merely discovered and did not create *ius*, but he soon very definitely and quite consciously did make *ius*, though never arbitrarily or capriciously. This was accomplished by the control exercised by the magistrate over the *legis actio*, the legal procedure established by statute, which was codified by the legislation of the Twelve Tables in the middle of the fifth century B.C.

PROCESS AND PROCEDURE. Procedure was always in the open air and trials were watched by throngs of citizens. It was because this throng was there, and only when the magistrate with *imperium* was fairly sure that their approval would follow, that he ventured openly to modify *ius* by refusing an *actio*, where, strictly speaking, there was no doubt about the *ius* asserted. The magistrate might refuse to entertain an action that was contrary to the *mos maiorum*—ancestral custom—and therefore to the sense of what was right, the *bonum et aequum*, which played so large a part in the development of the law.

It was by acts of this sort that a special source of law arose, the law that was derived from the practice of the magistrate. Thus a body of law arose side by side with the law based on the Twelve Tables and subsequent statutes (*leges*). The "edict," which each new praetor published, contained more and more devices by which the substance of *ius* could be obtained without the time-consuming restrictions of the older law. Supplementary statutes helped less than the flexible activity of the practical magistrate. Indeed, as in our own

legal history, statutes often appeared, merely to confirm and render precise what the court had long ago done.

The beginnings of a profession of law had been laid by the middle of the third century B.C. The *iuris prudens* was a man who was versed in *ius* and whose services were at the disposal of citizens and magistrates. It was the *iuris prudens* who, as a private citizen, and later as a judge and magistrate, really created the law of Rome as we know it, and it is his exposition of it which forms far the largest part of the compilation of Justinian with which the Roman Law began its conquest of most of the civilized world.

FORMULARY LAW. Just as it is the existence of a legal profession which gave Roman law its special character, so it is the remarkable procedure, which displaced the *legis actio*, that enabled it both to fuse the *ius gentium* and the *ius civile* and to adapt itself to a world of the utmost diversity and of a high degree of civilization. This was the procedure *per formulam*. Despite the suggestions of its name, it was to a large extent informal and oral. The succession of pleadings in the *formula* required a sifting and a precision of the dispute between the litigants by the praetor himself, who then turned over the final settling of the dispute to a new kind of *iudex*, a private citizen and not a magistrate, who could and generally did rely on the pronouncements of learned lawyers for a decision on law, and on his own common sense and experience for a decision on facts.

Now, when *ius*—or rather *iura*—accumulate, as is bound to happen when social and economic life becomes complex, a demand for classification and definition is practically irresistible. It is notorious that in all matters affecting human relations definitions are extremely difficult. But difficult or hazardous as they are, classification and definition are necessary, if only to enable lawyers to deal at all with the rapidly increasing mass of legal ideas; that is to say, to keep them in mind and discuss them. Definitions and classifications came to Romans largely through the Stoics who were much concerned with such matters. It is probably to the Stoic-trained Quintus Mucius, the teacher of Cicero, that we owe the familiar classification in which are listed the law of persons, of things, of obligation, of succession, of procedure, and finally of crimes. Most of the *iura* the Romans knew could be learned in connection with these terms.

FAMILY AND MARRIAGE. As far as the law of persons is concerned, we come at once to what may be called the most important figure in the Roman law, the *pater familias*. He is the person in whom all *iura* meet. He has all the three forms of status (*caput*). He is free, since a slave could not be a *pater familias*. He is a citizen, since an alien could not be one. And he can acquire and own every type of property and assume every relationship that the law recognizes, and to a large extent only he can. The *pater familias* exercised *potestas* over

his children and grandchildren. A man became a *pater familias* when his father died, provided that all his other male ancestors were also dead. As for the wife, she remained within the *potestas* of her father and if he died, she was free and legally competent.

While marriage was an informal contract, divorce was still more informal and, like all contracts, marriage could be ended by mutual consent; in fact, divorce was possible at the choice of either party. The only check upon it was the legal and stringently enforced obligation to restore the dowry (*dos*), which the wife brought to the marriage to help defray the joint expenses of the household. The husband managed the dowry, but on divorce was accountable for it, and in the great majority of cases men of moderate means would find it hard to make this account. For that reason it was not safe, scarcely decent, for a father to fail to provide a dowry for his daughter. She would, if undowered, be subject to any capricious change in her husband's affections.

OWNERSHIP. The law of things was simplified very early in the history of Rome, and the process of simplification began when the praetorship was created. The older technicalities were disregarded, although not formally abolished. The most important question in this branch of the law was how the complex of *iura* which we call "ownership," or title, was transferred. It was done by delivery, and when there could be no actual handing over, as in the case of land, by permitting or aiding the new owner to take possession.

OBLIGATIONS AND CONTRACTS. Where the Roman law left its most emphatic mark on the modern systems which are derived from it—the systems in vogue in nearly all the modern world except in the countries of English speech—was in the law of obligation. A man became bound in a number of ways to do something and this bond could be enforced by an *actio*, a suit at law. He became bound either by entering into a contract or by doing some injurious act. In the latter case what he was bound to do was to make the injury good and in most instances to pay a penalty besides. The contracts, on the other hand, arose out of transactions which sprang from the many associations, economic and social, in which men were necessarily engaged. They were things like sales, leases, partnerships, loans, pledges, mortgages, and so on. Such things fell into various classifications, and people could scarcely fail to be aware that the doing of these things involved a promise and therefore an obligation to do something in the future.

WRONGS AND INJURIES. Two types of wrong were known from ancient times, theft which consisted in reducing a man's property by the simple process of taking his goods away from him, and *iniuriæ*, a word which is hard to translate and of which the essence lay in the fact that the victim was lowered in the estimation of his fellows. The legal remedy, in both cases, involved more than compensation, for the wrongdoer had, besides, to pay a penalty.

Did the wrongdoer, with the passage of time, merely make good the wrong done and pay a money penalty, or could he be punished as well, as crimes are punished today? It is a striking thing that the Romans had no word for "criminal law" or "penal law," although, very obviously, they had both crimes and methods of punishment. But what they certainly did not have was a district attorney, a public prosecutor. Yet it was most decidedly a fact that a man guilty of a deliberate injury to another could be punished, as well as compelled to make good the loss to his victim. The most general form of punishment, since in the Republic flogging and execution had long been abolished for Roman citizens, was exile, which in the Empire became differentiated into relegation for the upper classes and deportation—generally to an island—for the lower classes. Later in the Empire, capital punishment was reintroduced, especially for the many varieties of treason (*maiestas*).

PROSECUTION. A magistrate had the right of summarily punishing an offense committed in his presence. But in general the matter was managed by permitting any citizen to bring an action against the wrongdoer asking for his punishment rather than for compensation. The victim of the wrong was preferred as prosecutor, but if he did not come forward anyone else might. In Rome the criminal law entered on a new course by the legislation of Sulla, who prepared what was almost a penal code in which many old categories of offenses—especially those under *iniuriae*—were clarified and expanded, and the trial of the cases referred to a number of panels. The members of a panel, the *iudices*, were something between judges and jurymen. They were judges of both law and fact, and there was no appeal or right of tribunician intercession.

INHERITANCE. One final group of *iura* was connected with the problems created by the death of the *pater familias*. The ancient law as codified in the Twelve Tables had much to say of that. The succession to the manifold kinds of property of the deceased ought normally to come to the family, the "right heirs." But the *pater familias* early acquired the right to will his property to others. The history of testamentary succession became thereafter an account of the gradual limitation of the right of disposing of property by will. It became necessary to prevent the multiplying of legacies to the total exclusion of the "right heirs"; then, to protect creditors; and finally to provide for members of the family, who, it was felt, ought not to be deprived of all share in the inheritance by an undutiful testator.

BONUM ET AEQUUM. Something must also be said of the general and continuous movement by which technical exactitude and ritual precision, which were highly valued in the early stages, were gradually loosened and humanized for the very reason that seemed to make strictures necessary at first. They were taken to be securities for justice and they became serious obstacles.

Bonum et aequum was an almost inevitable inference from the power of the praetor—the magistrate with *imperium*—to qualify the unlimited exercise of an undoubted *ius*. The phrase describes what was “good” or “right” because it is “fair”; that is, because it gives each litigant what it was proper for him to have. Whereas *bonum et aequum* at first was necessarily understood as little more than “in accordance with custom,” it soon enough became enlarged to include a growing sense that men of moral integrity do not insist on means of oppressing others, even if they could be justified by literal compliance with the law. This last was old enough to have an archaic formulation, “as ought to be done by right-thinking men, acting rightly toward each other.” Continually, by their control of the *formula*, praetors pushed cases that plaintiffs sought to have decided by strict law into the field of the *bonum et aequum*. And in the first century of the Empire, Celsus, a sharp and practical lawyer with no philosophical pretensions, boldly announced what has become the tritest of Roman law citations, “Law is a device for attaining the *bonum et aequum*.”

It is certainly a most extraordinary result that a vast legal system, developed in a slave economy and against a background of philosophic paganism, should have been with little adjustments capable of serving the needs of the Christian societies not only of feudal and Renaissance Europe, but after the turn of the seventeenth century, also of the credit and capitalist economy of our own day. Little as it impinges on our consciousness, the Roman law has colored and moulded our civilization, perhaps as much as any single element we have derived from those ancient societies out of which we have constructed most of our social and intellectual life.⁴

⁴ See also p. 670 ff.

XXXI

THE EARLY EMPIRE

(14-192 A.D.)

1. THE JULIO-CLAUDIAN EMPERORS (14-68 A.D.)

TIBERIUS (14-37). Tiberius was the son of Livia, or Augusta, as Augustus had decreed that his wife should be called, and Tiberius Claudius Nero. Already the stepson, he became also the son-in-law and adopted son of Augustus. These two aristocratic families, now joined together—the Julian and Claudian—gave Rome her emperors for the next half century.¹ Since the welfare of the entire Empire depended in large part on the ability and personality of the princeps, the ancient historians wrote their accounts chiefly in terms of the reigning emperor, his relations with the Senate and his defense of the frontiers. Spicy gossip about life in the capital interested some of these historians, but the principal charge that can be laid against the greatest of them, Tacitus, is his senatorial bias. The Senate was the only continuing center of republican opposition to the emperor, and since Tacitus had to wait for Domitian to die before he could write, he has left in his resentment a one-sided picture that has prejudiced the judgment of posterity.

The choice of emperors became in time a matter for the Senate or the armies to decide, but concerning the accession of Tiberius there could be no doubt. His personal connection with Augustus was in itself decisive, even though no formal scheme of hereditary succession had been established, and, moreover, he held the *imperium* and the tribunician and proconsular powers. Accordingly, on the death of Augustus, the Senate elected Tiberius emperor (14). As one of his first official acts he arranged the deification of his predecessor.

Tiberius was fifty-five years of age. Scholarly and peace-loving, he had been compelled by circumstances to spend his youth along the frontiers, in governing provinces and commanding armies and in rapid journeys to exposed points of the Empire. A popular general and a skillful administrator, he had had unusually wide experience, but he withdrew to Rhodes when Augustus chose one person after another in preference to him as his heir. When, finally,

¹ Henceforth all dates in the text are A.D., unless otherwise designated. Genealogical Table, p. 702. List of Roman Emperors, p. 700.

Augustus settled upon him as the only possible successor, every one else having died, Tiberius found himself immediately engaged in military and civil problems. By nature, perhaps, inclined toward the morose, he sullenly accepted Augustus' command to divorce his wife and marry the immoral Julia. Now, as emperor, he was surrounded with a multitude of tasks and by a cringing, suspicious Senate, which, while shirking responsibility, still longed for the honor and profit of government. He must have felt that there was more of bitter than of sweet in the cup he was about to drink, and he may have been sincere in his request for an excuse from further public service, or at most for a limited share in the government. However that may be, the Senate voted him the *imperium* and tribunician power for life, which had been granted Augustus in blocks of years only.

FRONTIERS AND PROVINCES. Immediately after Tiberius' accession, the armies of Illyria and the Rhineland revolted in the hope of winning a shorter term of service, higher pay and larger bonuses. Drusus, the son of Tiberius, quelled the mutiny in Illyria, while that on the Rhine was put down with difficulty by the commanding general, Germanicus, the son of Tiberius' brother. This trouble pointed to the time when armies would make and unmake emperors. Germanicus, who was an independent spirit and had already been adopted by Tiberius, hoped to emulate the example of his father, Drusus of German fame, and led his legions across the Rhine and avenged the defeat of Varus. But as Augustus in his will had advised his successors not to extend the boundaries of the Empire, Tiberius would not permit his nephew to waste the resources of the government in attempting further conquests and recalled him. The provinces of Upper and Lower Germany were, however, formed on the left bank of the Rhine, and at the same time the three Gallic provinces—Aquitania, Lugdunensis, and Belgica—were separated. No important war disturbed the remainder of Tiberius' reign, for the risings in Gaul (in 21) and Numidia were neither serious nor prolonged. One event, which was so momentous for posterity, the crucifixion of Jesus (ca. 30), went practically unnoticed. Of far greater contemporary interest was the continuation of reasonably friendly relations with Armenia and Parthia and the transference of Cappadocia from the status of a client kingdom to that of a province.

ADMINISTRATION. Throughout his reign, then, Tiberius devoted himself to administrative work, and in this he showed remarkable ability. The provinces commanded his particular attention, and in various ways—for example, by rebuilding twelve cities of Asia Minor which had been destroyed by earthquake—he won the respect of the Empire. This is not to say that he was popular in Rome itself, for his careful use of public funds was resented. The Senate would have preferred to see him pensioning noble spendthrifts, and the populace grumbled because he fed them poorly and provided no gladiato-

rial shows. Tiberius, however, desired the coöperation of the Senate, and as an earnest of this, and also because he wished to abolish the unnecessary expense, he transferred the election of magistrates from the Assembly to the Senate. Reaction in favor of republicanism, and mutual suspicion between Senate and emperor, developed as Tiberius' contempt for the hollowness of capital society was recognized. Finally, in 26, he withdrew in disgust to the island of Capri, in the Bay of Naples, and there he remained most of the time until his death. He left the administration of Rome to the City Prefect and of the Empire to Sejanus, the prefect of the praetorian guard which was encamped just outside the city.

TIBERIUS' LAST YEARS. It had been Tiberius' plan to have Germanicus succeed him, but in 19 his nephew died mysteriously in the East. Probably he was murdered by Piso, the legate of Syria, but his widow, Agrippina, who was the daughter of Agrippa and Julia (Augustus' daughter), suspected Tiberius. This left Drusus, Tiberius' son, as sole heir, but in 23, as part of his plot to capture the Empire for himself, Sejanus poisoned Drusus and later on exiled or murdered Agrippina and her sons. When the whole conspiracy was finally unfolded to Tiberius on Capri, he quickly caused the arrest and execution of Sejanus, but the terrible implications of the plot, no less than the moral degradation of society, and the flattery and jealousy of senators, made the stern nature of Tiberius more bitter and suspicious. He now enforced rigorously the law of treason (*lex de maiestate*). Having no public prosecutor, Rome had always depended upon private informers (*delatores*) for bringing accusations. Encouraged by Tiberius, these informers caused the death of many persons, not all of whom were guilty. No one felt safe, least of all the senators, who in their haste to please Tiberius condemned men for the most trivial offenses. Tiberius thus grew more and more hateful to the nobility and the Roman mob. It was not that he was vicious; rather he was a stern, unsympathetic, and, at the end, thoroughly embittered moralist, unsocial, tactless, and economical, but, withal, an able and conscientious ruler. It is hardly surprising that the Senate, piqued by his retirement to Capri and angered by the informers, should have refused to deify him on his death in 37.

CALIGULA (37-41). The Senate conferred the imperial powers upon Tiberius' grandnephew Gaius, the surviving son of Germanicus and Agrippina, whom Tiberius had adopted before his death. Gaius is better known to history as Caligula, "Little Boots," a nickname given him by his father's troops in the Rhineland. He was now twenty-five years of age, and lost little time in putting to death his only possible rival, Tiberius' grandson. Caligula had grown up in the home of Antonia, the daughter of Antony and Octavia (p. 572), and there, with its eastern affiliations, he had absorbed ideas about Hellenistic absolutism, but at the opening of his reign no one could have guessed the inner

secrets of his mind. Just as the soldiers had been fond of him as a boy, so now he became a favorite of the Senate and people, who cherished the memory of his father. He won enormous popularity by reducing taxes and spending huge sums on public amusements, but it was not long before he had squandered the surplus left in the treasury by Tiberius. This led him to confiscations and murder. His health, it seems, was poor and his mind unsound, so that excitement and dissipation soon made him insane.

TYRANNY. Thereafter Caligula's life was a series of extravagant and grotesque caprices. He ruled as an autocrat, without regard to the Senate. Whereas Caesar and Augustus had been deified after death, Caligula demanded worship while he still lived, even from the Jews, who because of their religious convictions had been exempted in the past. He even challenged a statue of Jupiter to fight with him, and to emphasize his connections with the gods he built a bridge from the Palatine to the Capitoline, where the temple of Jupiter was located. In the foreign field he threatened Germany and Britain and annexed Mauretania. Fortunately he did not live long enough to make his tyranny widely felt. In 41 he was killed by some officers of the praetorian guard; and, in the hope of a Republic, the Senate proclaimed the assassins "restorers of liberty."

CLAUDIUS (41-54). The Senate would have had the imperial regime end with Caligula, but not so the praetorians, whose preferred position depended upon the continuance of the present form of government. Their nominee was the uncle of Caligula, Tiberius Claudius Caesar Germanicus, the brother of Germanicus. Exacting from him the promise of a large reward of money, the praetorians forced the Senate to salute Claudius with the title of Augustus and to grant him the usual powers. Claudius was fifty-one years of age, grotesque in manners, and lacking dignity and mental balance. Generally considered a learned fool, his reign nevertheless marks the beginning of a new era in imperial history (p. 589).

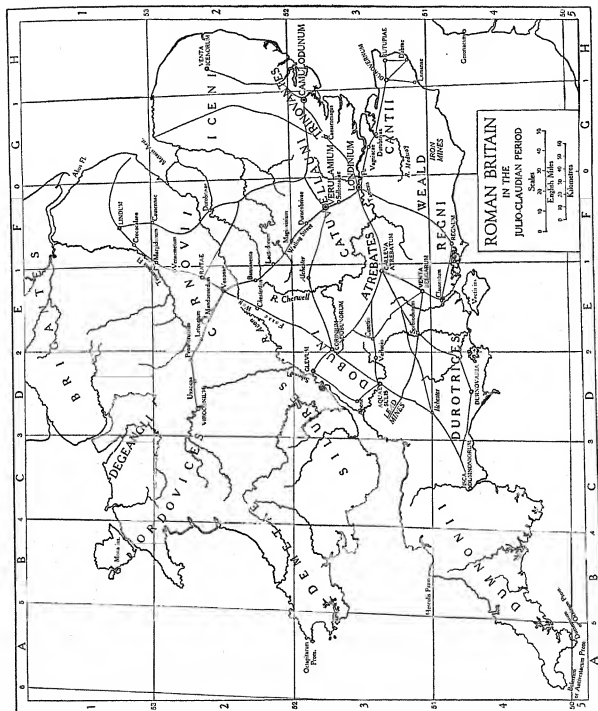
PROVINCIAL POLICY. Whereas Augustus had aimed to keep the provinces inferior to Italy, Claudius, by his readiness in granting citizenship to provincials, restored Julius Caesar's policy of equalizing the rights of empire. His own birth in the Gallic city of Lugdunum (Lyons), together with his scholarly training, broadened his political vision as well as his sympathy, so that he rediscovered, in liberality, the secret of Rome's greatness. According to the census of 48, there were seven million Roman citizens in the Empire, an increase of more than a million since Augustus' day. He was especially generous in his grant of citizenship to Gauls, allowed some of their nobles to become senators in Rome, and granted Roman citizens in Gaul the right to hold Roman magistracies. He founded many colonies throughout the Empire, and, unlike Caligula, gave the Jews religious freedom. To provincial administration he de-

voted careful attention. Mingled with this wisdom was firmness in punishing offenders, in putting down revolts, and in protecting frontiers. One of his generals—though Claudius himself was present to win personal fame—conquered southern Britain to a point beyond the Thames and made it a province (43). In the following year Mauretania was divided into two provinces, and in 46 the client kingdom of Thrace was turned into a province (map, front end-paper).

DOMESTIC POLICY. Claudius' domestic policy was marked by humane legislation in favor of slaves. With a view to preventing famine at Rome, he insured importers of grain against loss by storms at sea and dug a new harbor at Ostia, providing it with warehouses and docks. He built roads and two magnificent aqueducts for Rome, the Anio Novus and the Claudia, which was named after himself and was noted for the purity of its water. Toward the Senate Claudius was respectful, though he did not trust it and as censor weeded out the most disloyal members. It was chiefly through the censorship that succeeding emperors encroached upon the Senate till they usurped all its powers. Notwithstanding many plots against his life, Claudius restricted the enforcement of the law of treason and the work of informers.

His distrust of senators and equestrians, moreover, led Claudius to employ his own freedmen as helpers and secretaries. Here we have the development of the famous imperial bureaucracy, with its many secretaries, which became the handmaid and support of undisguised monarchy and hammered the civil service into a decadent rigidity. One freedman, Pallas, was appointed secretary of the single treasury, known as the *fiscus*, which was set up to receive all the funds due the emperor. His rival, Narcissus, was secretary of the imperial correspondence. These freedmen could hardly be expected to view Rome and the Empire in the same manner as the native stock customarily did, and they actually sold posts to the highest bidder. Their ascendancy over Claudius was pernicious. But the worst feature of the reign of Claudius was the evil influence of his wives. Messalina, his third, bore him two children, Britannicus and Octavia, but when she became implicated in a plot to overthrow the regime, Claudius, at the suggestion of Narcissus, put her to death. Then, on the advice of Pallas, he married his niece Agrippina the Younger, the daughter of Germanicus and Agrippina. This woman had previously married Gnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus, by whom she had a son, Domitius. Claudius now adopted the boy as Nero Claudius Caesar and allowed him, at the age of fifteen, to marry his stepsister Octavia. The following year (54), to insure the accession of her son, Agrippina poisoned Claudius.

NERO (54–68). Sixteen years of age, and utterly inexperienced, Nero became emperor of Rome with the consent of the Senate and by a gift to the praetorians. Since he showed more taste for dancing and music than for official



work, his first years were marked by good government, which was largely in the hands of the Senate. Nero himself was advised by two able men, his tutor Seneca, the Stoic philosopher from Spain, and Burrus, the praetorian prefect. In the beginning, however, he was careful to put to death his stepbrother Britannicus, a possible rival, and then in 59, to allow himself free rein in his revels, he ordered the execution of his overly-ambitious mother. Not much later he caused the death of his wife, Octavia, and married the beautiful Poppaea Sabina. These crimes touched only Rome. The Empire itself prospered, for not only were capable governors chosen, but the judgment of the provincials was considered in the political advancement of a man. Healthy reforms were initially carried through on behalf of agriculture and the monetary system (p. 575).

DESPOTISM. The personal rule of Nero began in 62, when Burrus died and Seneca retired to private life. It was a capricious despotism, short, and affecting the provinces only near its end. Perhaps Nero stood above the average inhabitant of Rome in taste and morals, for Rome had become, in the words of Tacitus, a place "where all things hideous and shameful from every part of the world find their center and are popular." The current companion of Nero was Tigellinus, the new praetorian prefect, who urged him on in dissipation and the cultivation of his artistic instincts. The better element of Rome was scandalized when the emperor appeared in public and gave a musical performance, but at least he avoided the bloody shows of the arena. Convinced of his genius, and posing as a god, Nero visited Greece in 66 and was so overcome by the plaudits of a clever people that he granted them their freedom, a grandiose gesture that meant little more than an increase in taxation.

THE FIRE AT ROME AND THE CHRISTIANS. Provincial taxation became a burden in the later years of Nero's reign. Further to find money for his lavish life he encouraged informers, executed people, and confiscated their property. Many conspiracies, naturally, were formed against him, and in suppressing one of them, led by the senator Piso, Nero put to death Seneca and his nephew, the poet Lucan. Nevertheless, when the great fire of 64 destroyed more than half of Rome, Nero sheltered and fed the sufferers and rebuilt the city on a grander scale. He also seized the opportunity to erect on the Esquiline his own fabulous Golden House. The story began to circulate, however, that Nero had started the fire and that as Rome burned he had played on his lyre and sung verses recalling burning Troy. Since he was innocent and desired to place the blame elsewhere, he found a scapegoat in the Christians, an obscure and unpopular religious sect. His persecution of the Christians, the first in their history, was limited to those within Rome.

ARMENIA AND BRITAIN. Though he later put him to death, Nero was fortunate in his general, Corbulo, to whom the command of the East had been



Photograph by Anderson

Portrait of the Emperor Claudius, wearing the oak crown of Jupiter. Though a learned fool, he extended Roman citizenship and greatly developed the imperial bureaucracy. In the Vatican Museum, Rome



Photograph by Alinari

A brutally frank portrait of Nero, the last of the Julio-Claudian emperors. In the Museo Nazionale delle Terme, Rome

given. The Parthian king, Vologases, wished to place his brother, Tiridates, on the Armenian throne, but this was a threat to Roman prestige; the matter was solved after several years by having Tiridates journey to Rome, where Nero pompously crowned him king of Armenia (63). In Britain, however, more serious trouble stirred. Here the Roman dominion had been extended and included even the island of Mona (Anglesea), the center of the Druid religion. A tribal queen, Boudicca (Boadicea), irked by Roman maladministration, led a general uprising, which resulted in the massacre of 70,000 Romans and the destruction of Londinium (London) and the provincial capital of Camulodunum (Colchester). Only with difficulty was the insurrection quelled (60).

NERO'S DEATH. The provinces eventually found Nero's taxation and tyranny unendurable. The first general to revolt was Vindex, legate of Gallia Lugdunensis. Though he was put down by Verginius, the governor of Upper Germany, the latter's troops joined the revolt, as did Galba, governor of Hither Spain. A march was begun on Rome. The praetorians deserted Nero, and the Senate declared him a public enemy (68). Nero fled from the city and took refuge in a dingy cell. When the tramp of approaching horses told him the end was near, he ordered a faithful freedman to stab him. "A pity that such an artist should die" were his last words, says Suetonius.

2. THE YEAR OF THE FOUR EMPERORS (68-69 A.D.)

THE MILITARY BASIS OF AUTHORITY. Thus ended the Julio-Claudian line of Roman emperors, a sad commentary, no doubt, on the decisions forced by the battle of Actium ninety-nine years earlier. In that dim past, the military basis of the princeps' authority had been carefully concealed, but now it was all too obvious. The praetorians saluted as emperor the Spanish legate, Sulpicius Galba, an able provincial governor, who was to prove wholly unequal to his new tasks. Tacitus' verdict was that he would have been judged fit to rule, had he not ruled. Galba was too indiscreet and obstinate, too severe a disciplinarian, and when he forgot to pay the praetorians, they killed him. In January, 69, the praetorians selected as emperor Marcus Salvius Otho, once a roisterer in Nero's youthful society. The troops on the Rhine, however, nominated their general, Aulus Vitellius, the legate of Lower Germany, and marched with him on Rome. Otho was defeated in battle at Cremona in northern Italy and killed himself (April, 69). Vitellius, the new emperor, was good-natured, but he was also a sluggard and a monstrous eater. It is said that while his troops plundered Italian towns he used to invite himself to dine with one noble after another and could generally bankrupt his host by a single meal. Only a few months remained to Vitellius, however, for the army of the East had selected its own emperor, Vespasian, the legate of Judaea, who was then

engaged in a war against the Jews. Vespasian cut off Rome's grain supply by seizing Egypt, while the Danubian and other legions marched on Italy. A victory was won at Cremona, Rome was sacked, Vitellius killed. Early the next year (70) the new emperor came to Rome to accept from the Senate the powers already conferred by the army.

Thus in little more than twelve months Rome had seen the making of four emperors, all of them nominees of the soldiers. Says Tacitus, "The fatal secret of the Empire had been discovered, that emperors could be chosen elsewhere than in Rome." It was inevitable that those who protected the Empire should claim a voice in selecting the ruler, and that, in the absence of a representative system, the armies, by substituting civil war for the ballot, should take the place of the old republican Assemblies. This military revolution had some good results, however, for it lessened the political value of the capital (though its possession was necessary for authority), and it ended in setting up an able ruler. Vespasian was the first in a line of emperors trained in the camp, who were to give the Empire its most prosperous era; they were capable, experienced and broad-minded men, uncorrupted by the impure atmosphere of Rome, though one of them was to play the tyrant toward the capital's nobility.

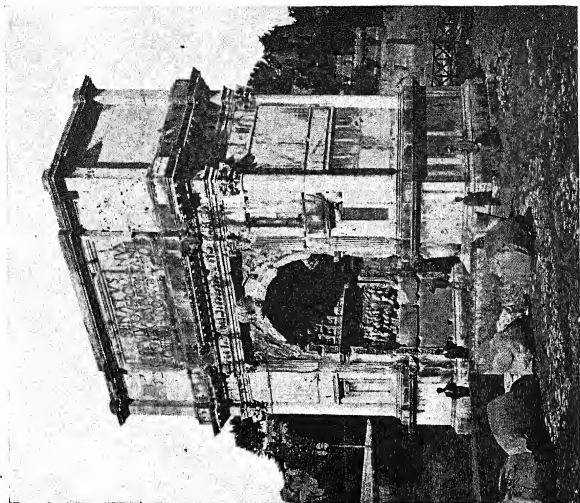
3. THE FLAVIAN DYNASTY (69-96 A.D.)

VESPASIAN (69-79). Titus Flavius Vespasianus, who founded the Flavian dynasty of Roman emperors, is spoken of as the second founder of the principate. Not only was he a remarkably able ruler, but he gave to his reign certain new and significant characteristics. For example, he took the title *Imperator* (largely disused since Augustus' day), which rather candidly admitted the military basis of his power; and he adopted the name *Caesar* as a symbol of legitimacy. From the beginning, moreover, Vespasian associated his son Titus with himself in the *imperium* and tribunician authority. His action, which was accompanied by the remark that his sons or no one would succeed him, had the advantage of establishing a dynastic succession and of lessening the possibility of war, but the weakness of the principle, whether applied to Rome or another state, was that it was only through war (or murder) that an unfit ruler could be removed. Clothed though it may have been in constitutional forms, the theory of hereditary military monarchy received great impetus from Vespasian.

REBELLION IN GERMANY AND GAUL (69-70). Vespasian came from a Sabine town—the Italian municipality of Reate—of an equestrian family. In appearance he was short and stumpy, with a large neck, a broad chin, and a hooked nose; his little eyes never rested, and his face was deeply furrowed with care. It was fortunate that he was conscientious and industrious, because Rome, in the West as in the East, was threatened with serious trouble. A Batavian



A vital portrait of Vespasian, the second founder of the principate. It was he who discovered "the fatal secret of the Empire, that emperors could be chosen elsewhere than in Rome." In the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen



Photograph by Anderson

The Arch of Titus, on the Sacred Way of the Roman Forum. This beautifully simple arch, with its lively sculptures, celebrates the victory over the Jews and the capture of Jerusalem

chief, Julius Civilis by name, led an uprising in Lower Germany, in which he was joined by part of the army of the Rhineland and by some Gallic tribes. Their hope of establishing a Gallic state with its capital at Augusta Treverorum (Trier or Trèves) was destroyed by energetic measures in 70.

REBELLION IN JUDAEA (66-70). War in the East antedated Vespasian's reign, for the rebellion in Judaea had broken out in 66. The Jews, whether in Judaea or Alexandria, were liable neither to military service nor to the obligations of the imperial cult. Rome's supporters in Judaea were, as so often happened, the rich, known as the Sadducees. Their rivals, not so prosperous, were the anti-Roman Pharisees, but responsibility for the rebellion lay with the Zealots, who felt that their religion forbade them to give political allegiance to another. They believed that Jehovah would protect his holy temple, where Caligula had planned to install a statue of himself, and that at the critical moment the Messiah would come to save his people from the oppressor. In 67, with an army of 50,000 men, Vespasian moved to put down this nationalistic revolt, and on his elevation to the principate left the completion of the task to his son, Titus (inset, p. 92). The Jews, who were now besieged in Jerusalem, fought with fanatical zeal, but after five months the temple and Mount Zion were captured (70). Vast numbers of Jews were killed during the war, other thousands taken captive. The temple of Jehovah was allowed by the survivors to remain in ruins. His worship could no longer be limited to a single house or province, but was to be universal. The status of Judaea was transferred from that of a procuratorial to an imperial province, and the people were permitted their previous immunities on payment of a head tax. The arch of Titus still stands in the Roman Forum as a memorial of his victory (p. 592).

ADMINISTRATION. Although Vespasian, and not the Senate, ruled the Empire, his reign began a new era of better relations between Senate and emperor. As the old republican nobility, which had considered the princeps a usurper, was now dying out, Vespasian recruited it with new families—the ablest and most loyal he could find—from Italy and the provinces, especially from Gaul and Spain. Thus the senatorial order became again a nobility of merit, which henceforth, instead of conspiring against the emperor as a matter of principle, generally supported him. The equestrians, recruited in like manner, devoted themselves in increasing numbers to the imperial service. These provincial families brought better morals into the society of the capital, and a corresponding change in education. Whereas the old families had trained their children in republican traditions by means of private tutors, the sons of the new nobility learned the broader and more wholesome lessons of the present under public instructors supported by the emperor. Quintilian, a famous rhetorician, occupied such an endowed “professorship” for twenty years.

The excesses of Nero and the civil war following his death had emptied the treasury, so that Vespasian was compelled to practice strict economy and to levy new taxes. As censor in 74 he ordered another census of the Empire. The resources of the Roman world were so fairly and exactly established that he was able to refill the treasury with surprisingly little friction. This was the more remarkable because, in addition to repairing the damage to Rome caused by the war with Vitellius, he built a temple of Peace and created a new Forum of his own. Part of the Golden House of Nero was demolished to make room for the Flavian amphitheater, known as the Colosseum; this was finished not much later by Titus, as were some magnificent public baths (pp. 571, 614).

THE PROVINCES. Vespasian supported dignified and orderly municipal life throughout the Empire as the best means of promoting peace and prosperity. His extension of Roman citizenship, especially among the Spaniards, was accompanied by the grant of Latin rights to all the non-Roman communities of Spain. The whole scheme of provincial administration was examined, with the result that most of the remaining client kingdoms, such as Commagene, were abolished and created as provinces or added to existing ones. The Euphrates and other frontiers were strengthened; a military camp was established at Vindobona (Vienna) on the Danube; and, as a result of the lesson learned in the Gallic rebellion, discipline was restored in the army, the various contingents were reduced in size, and in the future the auxiliaries were stationed in areas far from their homes to lessen the feeling of kinship which they might have for the people they garrisoned. The Empire now had about thirty legions (and the usual auxiliaries), with 5,000 men in a legion; their disposition, so far as we know it, reveals the plan of imperial defense: Africa had one legion; Spain, one; Britain, three; Lower Germany, four; Upper Germany, four; the Danube, six (with a great strengthening of the river fleet); Cappadocia, two; Syria, three; Judaea, one; Egypt, two. To bolster morale, each legion had its own name, such as *Legio III Gallica*, which was raised in Gaul and served in Syria.

TITUS (79-81). The Senate deified Vespasian on his death in 79, a stamp of approval which, it was hoped, would inspire other emperors to rule with proper regard for regular constitutional forms and in the interests of the upper classes. He was succeeded by his son Titus, "the delight and darling of mankind," as Suetonius describes him. A benevolent ruler, he was exceptionally popular, and celebrated the completion of his public works—the Colosseum and baths—with a hundred days of games. The chief event of his reign was the eruption of Vesuvius in 79, which buried under ashes and lava several Campanian towns, notably Pompeii and Herculaneum, whose excavation in modern times has afforded an invaluable opportunity for the study of ancient

life and civilization. In 80 much of Rome was destroyed by a fire, and during the following year Titus died of a fever.

DOMITIAN (81-96). Titus was succeeded in 81 by his younger brother, Domitian, a man of about thirty, who lacked experience in military affairs, and was interested chiefly in books and libraries. Throughout his reign, nevertheless, Domitian held the government firmly in hand and appointed able, honest men to command the frontiers and govern the provinces. In Italy he tried to benefit agriculture by urging that more grain be grown and less reliance placed on the cultivation of vineyards. He repaired the damage wrought by the recent fire at Rome and openly sought the favor of the populace by lavish shows and of the army by increasing its pay. Well aware of the military basis of his power, he nonetheless called a halt to the extravagant bonuses to the soldiers.

TYRANNY. Domitian was an autocrat by nature, more attached to the Hellenistic theory of absolutism than to the restraining principles of the Augustan principate. He chastised vice with an iron hand and attempted to force upon society the austere moral standard of the early Romans. To gain entire control of the government, with the Senate subservient to him, he proclaimed himself "perpetual censor," which enabled him to revise the senatorial lists constantly; and in his egotism, he adopted the title of "lord and god" (*dominus et deus*). When the legate of Upper Germany, Antonius Saturninus, in 88 boldly called himself "Imperator"—hoping that with the aid of the Chatti he could begin a revolt at Mogontiacum (Mainz)—Domitian was enraged because many of the Roman nobility had been involved in the conspiracy, and opened a reign of terror. The informers returned to power; Christians were persecuted; philosophers were banished from Rome, the Stoics because their teachings insisted on the rule of the "best man," the Cynics because they advocated anarchy; and authors such as the historian Tacitus, the last great Roman writer, bided their time in silence.

BRITAIN. History composed in the senatorial circle has branded Domitian a tyrant, and a tyrant he was in Rome; but the provinces had a different story to tell, and his reign should probably be termed a limited success. A revolt in Africa was suppressed. In Britain the father-in-law of Tacitus, Agricola, conquered Wales and extended the boundary of the province to the Highlands of Scotland (Caledonia); as a protection against raiding tribes, he built a road and forts from Newcastle on the Tyne to the Solway Firth, a general scheme of defense that was to be followed by Hadrian and Antoninus Pius. In spite of his demonstrated military ability, Agricola was refused permission to attack Ireland, on the ground that it would cost too much, but he did succeed in sailing round the northern tip of Britain, thus establishing, what had long been forgotten, that it was in fact an island.

THE RHINE AND DANUBE. The greatest danger to Rome, along the Rhine and Danube, required Domitian's presence. Vespasian had taken the first step in protecting the vulnerable angle between the headwaters of the two rivers by incorporating the region of Baden as an imperial domain; the inhabitants became tithe-paying tenants and hence their lands were known as tithe lands (*agri decumates*). Domitian carried the defense further by building an earthen rampart, 120 miles long, from above Coblenz on the Rhine past Frankfurt and on through Württemberg toward the Danube. Eventually this became the famous limes of later Roman history, much longer and more strongly fortified (see the maps, pp. 601, 633). Domitian placed small earthen forts at frequent intervals along his rampart; behind it ran military roads (*limites*, hence its meaning of frontiers) for the rapid movement of troops; to the rear were stone forts and fortified camps which held large numbers of troops ready for an emergency. Even a small frontier camp was laid out on a regular plan (p. 633). The highly professional Roman army was thus being transformed from a striking force into a garrison body. Some of their great camps grew into cities, as their names still indicate; for example, the name Chester, in England, is derived from Latin *castrum*, camp (a word that is also found in composition, as in Colchester). The name Cologne represents Colonia Agrippina, one of several Roman frontier colonies that became large cities.

THE DACIANS. From across the Danube, however, came the greatest threat to the Roman peace. In 85 Decebalus, king of a Thracian tribe known as Dacians, who dwelled in modern Hungary and Rumania, invaded the province of Moesia, and was subsequently joined by the Germanic Marcomanni and Quadi of Bohemia and by a branch of the Oriental Sarmatians, called Iazyges. These were some of the vast tribes, fortunately for Rome often divided, that lived just outside the Empire, and were destined to be pushed, in terrible confusion, across the frontier rivers by still other tribes, especially by the Huns when they left their home in the Far East. Domitian did not meet with notable success in his war against the Dacians, for terms of peace were reached (89) by his agreement to give Decebalus an annual subsidy, military engines and technicians, so that he might resist the tribes behind him. The gift of engines and technicians was particularly dangerous, for Rome thereby transferred to the barbarian world the one advantage she possessed, technical knowledge, with its obvious requirement of discipline. To make the frontier more easily defensible, Domitian divided Moesia into two provinces, Upper and Lower Moesia.

Domitian came to an end in 96, when his wife Domitia, fearing for her own safety, induced two praetorian prefects to murder him. The Senate ordered that his memory should be cursed and his name stricken from all monuments.

4. NERVA, TRAJAN, AND HADRIAN (96-138 A.D.)

NERVA (96-98). As soon as the Senate heard of the death of Domitian, it conferred the imperial powers upon one of its own members, Marcus Cocceius Nerva, a man over sixty years of age, whose life had been without reproach. Nerva's reign (96-98) opened the rule of the so-called "Five Good Emperors," when the emperors were chosen on the basis of merit rather than birth. This period corresponded with the widest and most prosperous development in the history of Rome and became famous as the Golden Age of the Empire. Here seemed to be realized the historian Sallust's assertion, "If the intellectual ability of kings and magistrates were exerted to the same degree in peace as in war, human affairs would be more orderly and settled."

MONARCHY AND LIBERTY. Immediately upon assuming office, Nerva changed the government from a tyranny, such as it had been under Domitian, to a constitutional monarchy. He granted the Senate a due share in the administration and agreed to put no senator to death without a just trial. Tacitus, the historian, who considered the earlier emperors usurpers and tyrants, declared that Nerva had united two things hitherto incompatible, monarchy and liberty. For a long time events had been leading up to this era of good feeling. The old nobility, whose republican sympathies were confined to Rome or at most to Italy, and who had considered the emperor a tyrant, was now nearly extinct; a new nobility, abler and more broadminded, chosen by the emperor, saw in him a patron and friend. And as the imperial government had passed the experimental stage and had become permanent, the emperor could again permit freedom of speech. Nerva corrected the worst abuses of the preceding reign and put an end to the law of treason, which Domitian had revived. With considerable justice the government struck coins bearing the legends, *Libertas publica* (public liberty) and *Roma renascens* (Rome reborn). But Nerva, like Titus, was too amiable to be a vigorous ruler, and when he found himself unable to control the praetorians, he adopted as his son Marcus Ulpius Traianus, an able general in command of the troops in Upper Germany. Nerva caused Trajan to receive the title of Caesar, the tribunician power and the proconsular *imperium*, so that on Nerva's death, not long afterward, he succeeded to the principate.

TRAJAN (98-117). Born in the Roman colony of Italica, Spain, Trajan was the first provincial to become emperor of Rome. Following Nerva's example, this model emperor (as he came to be known) took an oath not to put senators to death without a fair trial. He also allowed them to vote by ballot, instead of openly as heretofore, but in fact they enjoyed less actual power than under Augustus. The consuls, too, lost much of their importance, for their term had been reduced to two months. The whole tendency of government was

toward paternalism, or as Pliny approvingly expressed it, "Everything is done according to the will of one man, who for the common interest takes upon himself alone the cares and burdens of all." Trajan was able to strike this blow at self-government, well-intentioned though it doubtless was, by assuming the duties of censor, which in the hands of the emperor became a powerful weapon against the nobility; this was to prove a long step in the direction of outright monarchy.

IMPERIAL INTERFERENCE IN MUNICIPALITIES AND PROVINCES. The growing power of the emperor appeared in Italy and the provinces as well as in Rome, for when the finances of a municipium fell into disorder, Trajan sent it a curator to control its accounts. Imperial aid was highly desirable, but in practice the curator gradually usurped authority until, within a century or two, he had deprived the community of self-government. For the moment, however, the curators were a distinct advantage. Italy had suffered from the twin burdens of war and the competition of slave labor in the provinces, and Trajan turned his attention not only to an improvement of the Italian economy, but also to an increase of its population. Unlike earlier emperors he was ambitious militarily and could see the additional necessity of new man power. Accordingly, he founded colonies in Italy and lent the municipia money for the maintenance of poor children. One of the most important acts of his reign was the senatorial decree which permitted a municipium, like a person, to receive bequests. Wealthy men all over the Empire now began to will property to their towns to be used for public works.

The provincial governors, following Trajan's habit of placing curators in the municipia, interfered at pleasure in the administration of the towns of their provinces. Many questions, sometimes most minute ones, were, however, referred to Rome, a practice which was to end in the destruction of municipal freedom, the life of ancient society. For example, when Trajan took over Bithynia from the Senate, in order to improve its affairs, the new governor, Pliny, consulted him on such trivial matters as the building of a public bath, the removal of a tomb, and the repair of a sewer. In sum, Trajan's administration was energetic, just and humane. He punished evildoers, repealed oppressive taxes, and laid no new burdens on the people, in spite of wars and a large building program. His wife Plotina, like Livia, was an able helper, but he himself differed from Augustus in his ambitious imperialism (p. 575).

THE DACIAN WARS. In two wars (101-102, 105-106) Trajan personally subdued Dacia, overthrew Decebalus, and converted his kingdom into a province. The dangerous salient north of the Danube was thereby removed, the Roman technicians, whom Domitian had supplied, were recovered, and the important gold and iron mines of the Carpathian Mountains were added to the imperial economy. Engineers, architects, and workmen built roads and

fortresses, which promoted peace and travel. Trajan settled many of his veterans here, while other colonists poured in from Asia Minor and various parts of the Empire. The native population either fled the country or adopted the speech and habits of the colonists so thoroughly that Dacia became Latinized, and even the name of Rome has survived there in the modern Rumania.

To commemorate his conquest of Dacia Trajan built a magnificent Forum between the Capitoline and the Quirinal on a spot he had leveled for the purpose by cutting away the ridge which had previously connected the two hills. The chief adornment of the new Forum was a marble column more than one hundred feet high, which still stands; it is covered by a spiral band, winding around it from base to summit, and tells in sculptured reliefs the story of the conquest—marches, battles, sieges, the building of camps, the burning of towns, the care of wounds, the slaughter of prisoners, the last scene in the life of Decebalus, and the presentation of his head to the populace of Rome. In the absence of a contemporary literary description of the Dacian Wars, Trajan's Column is a historical document of first importance for the campaigns and military habits of both Romans and northern barbarians (pp. 615, 616).

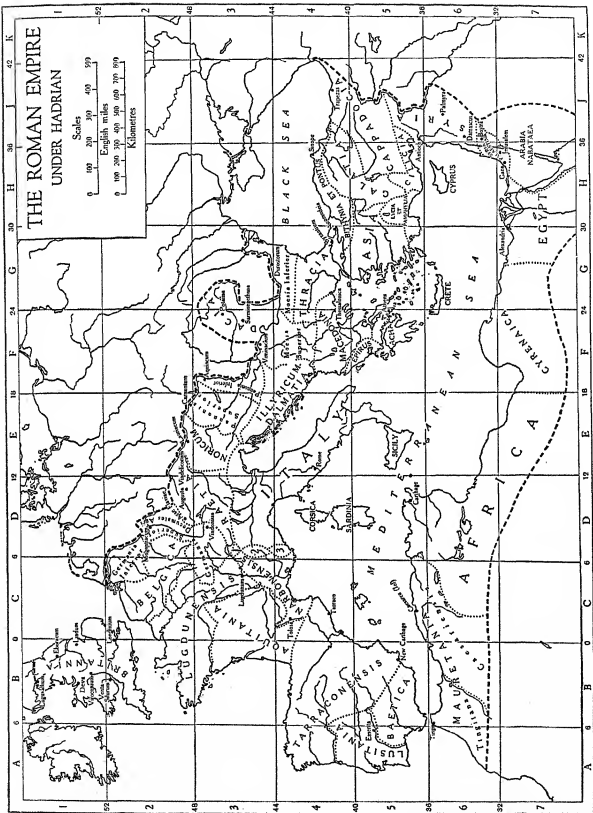
TRAJAN IN THE EAST. To win more land for agriculture, Trajan extended the limits of Numidia to the Sahara desert; garrisons at Thamugadi (Timgad) and Lambaesis kept an eye on the restless tribes and enabled caravans to pass back and forth to Central Africa. Through his legates, Trajan converted the client kingdom of the Nabataean Arabs into a province (106). Eastern trade coming up the Red Sea on its way to Syria caused the rose-red city of Petra to reach its greatest heights of prosperity. But in 114 Trajan himself took the field, inspired by the example of Alexander the Great. The Parthian king, Osroes, had interfered in the affairs of Armenia, which Rome had looked upon as a vassal state ever since the days of Nero. Trajan found it easy enough to expel the intruder from Armenia and turned the kingdom into a province. Northern Mesopotamia was also made a province, and by 115 Trajan had succeeded in capturing the Parthian capital, Ctesiphon on the Tigris. He continued to the Persian Gulf, but regretted that he was too old to retrace Alexander's steps to India. Revolts in Egypt and Palestine, however, coincided with a sharp Parthian counterattack, and Trajan abandoned southern Mesopotamia. He died in Cilicia on his way back to Rome (117).

HADRIAN (117–138). Just before his death Trajan had adopted as his son Publius Aelius Hadrianus, a kinsman both by blood and marriage, for Hadrian's wife was Trajan's great-niece, Sabina by name. Like Trajan, Hadrian had been born at Italica in Spain; he was already well known as an able general and provincial governor, thoroughly experienced in military and administrative affairs. He had, moreover, a broad education, a scholar's tastes, and an industrious, curious nature. When Trajan died, the legions of Syria

proclaimed Hadrian emperor, an act in which the Senate acquiesced (p. 575).

TRAVELS AND PUBLIC WORKS. Of his twenty-one years of rule (117-138), Hadrian spent fourteen in traveling through the provinces, from the snows of Caledonia to the sultry plains of Upper Egypt. His obvious partiality for Greece earned him the not altogether complimentary title of "Greekling." He encouraged and supported the professors of rhetoric and philosophy at Athens, added a large quarter to the city, and completed the temple of Olympian Zeus, which Peisistratus had begun in the sixth century B.C. In every part of the Empire rose temples, theaters, aqueducts, and new foundations, one of which, Adrianople in European Turkey, still bears the emperor's name. In Rome Hadrian built a temple to Venus and Roma, and his own mausoleum, which became known in the Middle Ages as the Castel Sant' Angelo, while at Tibur (Tivoli) in the Sabine Hills he created a magnificent villa that contained reminders of some of the famous buildings and scenes elsewhere in the Empire. The travels of Hadrian, the provincial, emphasized the increasing interest of the imperial government in the entire Empire and, as a corollary, tended to diminish the importance of the capital. This fact, together with his long absences, made Hadrian unpopular in certain aristocratic circles. His division of Italy, outside Rome, into four districts, each under a judge, was the first distinct step toward making it a province and Rome a municipium. Hadrian maintained a respectful attitude to the Senate, but it had already lost most of its power in the provinces and in Italy itself.

FRONTIERS AND THE ARMY. Another purpose of Hadrian's travels was to build up good will along the frontiers, so that Rome might have friendly allies, now taking on the ways of civilization, between herself and the formidable barbarians beyond. In the furtherance of peace, Hadrian abandoned Trajan's conquests, excepting Dacia and Arabia; Armenia returned to its status of a client kingdom; and the terrible Jewish revolts, which had been the partial cause of Trajan's return from Mesopotamia, were ruthlessly suppressed. In Britain the famous Wall of Hadrian (map, front endpaper) was built from the mouth of the Tyne to the Solway Firth as a defense against the northern Picts; it consisted, originally, of two parallel moats and walls, with turrets and camps. In Germany a palisade was added to the limes which Domitian had built from the Rhine to the Danube. Hadrian also gave detailed attention to the personnel of the armies. He banished demoralizing pleasures and, as he put it, "restored the discipline of Augustus." A new and improved form of the phalanx, designed to withstand better the mass attacks of barbarians, was substituted for the legion; heavy-armed cavalry was developed; and a study of the military systems of foreign states was required of officers. The soldiers were now quartered, as a rule, in the areas where they had been raised, a dangerous practice in case of local trouble and, of potentially greater sig-



nificance, they tended to become garrison troops. By the end of the second century this army, which protected an empire of 100,000,000 people, had grown to 400,000 men.

THE CIVIL SERVICE. The amount of administrative business in the hands of the emperor had greatly increased since the days of Augustus. The household staff, consisting largely of slaves, and a few equestrians had helped in this work hitherto, but now Hadrian turned it over to the equestrians. The equestrian class was thereby identified with the civil service; a complex system of offices was created, each with its special functions, and with regular promotions from the lowest to the highest. The five important secretariats were: *a rationibus* (finance); *a libellis* (petitions); *ab epistulis* (correspondence); *a cognitionibus* (investigations); *a studiis* (records). The cause of the economic crisis in the next century was not so much a decline in the national income of the Roman Empire as an increase in these overhead expenses—as Gibbon expressed it, “the stupendous fabric yielded to the pressure of its own weight.” The surplus wealth of the Empire, after the subsistence of the workers had been met, was, with the primitive methods of production in use, not large, and out of this surplus had to be maintained a large class of civil servants and a professional army. In the second century the strain could be met because the army was poorly paid, and administration was cheaply run. Even during the second century, however, overhead expenses were rising to a dangerously high level, owing partly to the growing bureaucracy and partly to the ever increasing extravagance of city governments in games and buildings—a tendency which the imperial government viewed with grave alarm. Then, under Marcus Aurelius, renewed barbarian pressure on the frontiers meant greatly increased military expenditure, and finally, at the end of the century, rivals for the throne bid against one another for the favor of the army by successive increases in pay and donations which imposed an intolerable burden on the Empire.

A vast bureaucracy, such as that which was developing under Hadrian, inevitably delighted in surrounding itself with the trappings of hereditary titles. Thus a senator came to be known as *clarissimus* (most noble), while *vir eminentissimus* (most eminent) was reserved for the praetorian prefects. An equestrian was called *vir perfectissimus* (most perfect) or *vir egregius* (honorable). Hadrian, moreover, needed a large number of revenue officials, for he had abolished the farming of taxes and had undertaken to collect them directly. Preparatory to vigorous financial reform, he remitted all taxes due on his accession.

JURISPRUDENCE. The highest place in the purely civil service was that of imperial treasurer, but of even greater importance was the praetorian prefect, who stood second only to the emperor himself. Since his duties henceforth were to be judicial as well as military, he was usually a jurist, and from the

class of jurists—senators and equestrians—Hadrian made up his council. The most eminent jurist of the day, Salvius Julianus, codified the Praetor's Edict, which became the basis of Roman Civil Law. This code, under the title *Perpetual Edict*, henceforth had the authority of law, and was subject to modification by the emperor. Julianus was the first of those eminent jurists who labored to perfect the Civil Law. Since a uniform law was necessary for the Roman Empire, the science of jurisprudence flourished under Hadrian and was further developed by Gaius and Scaevola, under the Antonines, and by Papinian, Paul, Ulpian, and Modestine, during the time of the Severi. In the sixth century many of their writings were brought together in the *Digest* of Justinian's *Codè*, which became the basis of mediaeval and modern law codes.

By his thorough reforms Hadrian put the machinery of government, as well as the military system, in such order that it continued to run with little repair for a century and a half and was able to see Rome through the terrible ordeal of the third century. Underlying all his work was the devotion of a real servant of the state, a recognition of the principle that the armies, the governors, Rome and the emperor existed for the welfare of the Empire.

5. THE ANTONINES (138–192 A.D.)

ANTONINUS PIUS (138–161). Toward the end of his life Hadrian adopted as his son and successor Lucius Commodus, and then, on Commodus' sudden death, Titus Aurelius Antoninus, a Roman senator from Nîmes in Narbonese Gaul. Following Hadrian's instructions, Antoninus adopted Commodus' son, Lucius Verus, and Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, a Spanish nephew of Hadrian's wife. When Hadrian died, Antoninus succeeded to the principate as the first emperor from Gaul, and because of his filial devotion in winning deification for Hadrian, despite many senatorial protests, was called Pius (p. 575).

A DECEPTIVE PEACE. During his reign (138–161) Antoninus Pius remained chiefly in Rome, a change from Hadrian's habits which the aristocracy welcomed. A man of estimable character, who strove for justice and peace, he advanced the cause of humane legislation. The right of a master to torture his slaves for the purpose of extorting evidence, which Hadrian had already restricted, was still further limited, and at the same time Antoninus Pius laid down the legal principle that an accused person must be considered innocent till proved guilty. He also enlarged on the charitable policy of Trajan and set aside an endowment for orphan girls, whom he called *Faustinianae*, after his wife Faustina. His long and economical reign was prosperous and happy, unmarked by untoward events, but for this he could thank not so much his own ability as the excellent condition in which Hadrian had left the Empire. It was a deceptive peace, however, for on every frontier there were ominous rumblings. Antoninus Pius adopted a defensive policy against the barbarians,

and in Britain built an earthen rampart north of Hadrian's Wall, from the Firth of Clyde to the Firth of Forth (map, front endpaper). Early in his reign he gave the title of Caesar, and then the tribunician power and the *imperium*, to his adopted son, Marcus Aurelius, who became a junior colleague and married the emperor's daughter. In 161, on the death of Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius became sole emperor.

MARCUS AURELIUS (161–180). It is one of the tragic facts of history that this sensitive Stoic philosopher should have spent his reign (161–180) in almost constant warfare and that his *Meditations*, as his noble, contemplative writings are called, should have been composed by the fire of camps and not in an imperial library. But it was also tragic that at this juncture in history, when civilization was about to be swept into new currents, a philosopher with little warmth and regard for the individual should have presided over the Empire; energetic and fine as he was, Marcus Aurelius was the living proof that Plato was wrong when he said that mankind would be happy, when philosophers were kings (p. 575).

VERUS IN THE EAST. In general, Marcus Aurelius' administration followed the lines marked out by his predecessors, yet there was a disposition to waste the revenues in gifts to the populace and soldiers. And perhaps because he wished to find a scapegoat for the calamities of war, plague, and famine that fell upon the Empire together, he ruthlessly persecuted the Christians. One of his first acts was to associate with himself as colleague Lucius Verus, his brother by adoption, so that for the first, but not the last time Rome was ruled by two Augusti. Marcus Aurelius exercised the greater power, but a certain disinclination for the post, no less than the pressing problems of state, led him to divide the duties and cares, for the easy disposition of Antoninus Pius had left him a legacy of troubles. On his accession, war brewed along the northern and eastern frontiers. In Syria barracks life had softened the troops, and they were unable to withstand the invasion of the Parthian king, Vologases III. Marcus Aurelius dispatched Verus to the scene, but Verus, who was weak and sensual, proceeded to the East in leisurely fashion. Fortunately, however, he found good generals awaiting him, the ablest of whom was Avidius Cassius, a Syrian by birth, but of the old Roman type of severity. Discipline was restored, and in the course of the war (162–166) the Parthians were driven out, their land overrun, and even their capital, Ctesiphon, and Seleucia were captured. As a price of peace, Rome retained northern Mesopotamia and insisted that Armenia should once again become a client kingdom.

PLAGUE. Meanwhile a fearful plague was raging in the East; and when the troops returned from the war, they spread the disease over the Empire. The army was greatly weakened; and in some places, as in Italy, a third, or perhaps a half, of the population was carried off. Efforts to check the plague—

perhaps it was smallpox—emptied the treasury and further hampered the military preparations of the Empire. Rome's enemies were growing formidable and bold and, hard pressed by restless tribes to their north, were threatening to overwhelm the defenses of the Danube. The leaders were the Teutonic Marcomanni, Quadi, and Iazyges, who lived in what is now Bohemia and Moravia.

THE DANUBIAN CAMPAIGNS. Marcus Aurelius sold the crown treasures to provide means for the war (167–175) and, in view of the depleted man power, recruited the army with slaves, gladiators and even German mercenaries. Rome's real superiority over the barbarian world lay in her disciplined troops, but the tendency to rely more and more on Germans within the Empire to fight those outside meant that she would have to sacrifice her one advantage in favor of masses of men, where in the issue she could not meet the enemy on even terms. Both emperors took the field, but in 169 Verus died, and Marcus Aurelius continued the war alone. With considerable brilliance he crossed the Danube and defeated the enemy in several campaigns, which were commemorated by a column, reminiscent of Trajan's, set up at Rome. The enemy were forced to surrender their captives and agree to render Rome military service. Large numbers of barbarians were settled as *coloni* on the waste lands of the frontier provinces; advantageous as it was to have them as farmers and soldiers, there was a danger that they might feel closer in sympathy to their kinsmen beyond the Empire than to the older inhabitants.

Marcus Aurelius had hurried to bring the war to an end, because a rumor of his death had caused Avidius Cassius to proclaim himself emperor. A campaign in the East was, accordingly, necessary; after its successful conclusion, and to prevent possible uprisings of the kind in the future, he made his son, Lucius Aelius Aurelius Commodus, his colleague with the title of Augustus. Once more (178–180) the Marcomanni and Quadi threatened the Danube, and now Marcus Aurelius resolved to turn their lands into provinces, but before he was able to accomplish his purpose he died at Vindobona (Vienna).

COMMODUS (180–192). It is a sad commentary on the dynastic principle that the son and successor of Marcus Aurelius, Commodus (180–192), should have had no redeeming virtue, a fact doubtless known to the father, but he lacked the resolution to pass beyond his own family in favor of a capable person. Commodus was weak-minded, cowardly, and cruel, the companion of low associates, sensual, vain, and brutish. He quickly gave up the expedition against the Marcomanni and returned to Rome, where he squandered the imperial funds and posed in the amphitheater as a gladiator and hunter of wild beasts. He looked upon himself as the reincarnation of Hercules and issued coins which showed himself as a god. Miraculously the Empire held together, though ruled by favorites; as discipline in the army declined, brigandage appeared. Finally a conspiracy was formed against him by the praetorian prefect; Marcia,

the emperor's mistress, joined with it, and on the night before Commodus was to take the consulship dressed as a gladiator, a wrestler strangled him in his bath. The great age of the Empire had ended a dozen years earlier and was never to return, but the seeds of destruction were accompanied by fresh forces and vital ideas which, after an agonizing struggle, were to transform the old world into the new. The first of these was the Germanic race, which eventually stamped its character on the Empire; and the other was Christianity, which revolutionized the world.

XXXII

THE GRAECO-ROMAN WORLD DURING THE EARLY EMPIRE

1. WEAKNESS AMID STRENGTH

EMPEROR AND SENATE. From the days of Augustus until a century after Commodus the magisterial character of the principate was theoretically preserved by both constitutional and autocratic emperors. But just as the signs of outright monarchy become increasingly visible after Commodus, so too is there a unity of another sort to the preceding reigns. Augustus, Vespasian, the five "good emperors"—different as they were, different as were their problems—would have understood one another and each other's world. It was a world of senatorial and imperial provinces, busy with the ways of peace, and ruled by an emperor, though the responsibility was shared in varying degree by the Senate and regular magistrates.

In the early Empire a regard for legality and loyalty to the princeps provided this vast world with its cohesion. He came to represent the highest court of appeal, and his wishes, which were often presented to the Senate as an address (*oratio*), were automatically ratified and had the force of law. The Senate, by the time of Hadrian, contained a large number of provincials and certainly was more representative of the Empire than hitherto, but it was essentially an advisory body, which helped the emperor with legislation. The Roman Assembly, moreover, had ceased to exist since Tiberius's day, except that it was called on from time to time to recognize the emperor's *imperium*. This was the price Rome paid for the extension of the emperor's powers and those of the various prefects.

MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT. On the other hand, political activity at a municipal level remained vigorous outside Rome; the excavations at Pompeii, for example, show keen and lively interest in local affairs, which was also true of the Greek East. It was the general practice in Italian municipalities, as a whole, to elect an annual board of four magistrates (*quattuorviri*) and 100 members (*decuriones*) of the curia, or city council, whose business it was to pass the local ordinances. These men were moderately well-to-do and were happy to serve without pay in return for the honor, but it became increasingly difficult

to find such men later on, when the basis of their wealth began to crumble. During the second century, however, their willingness to serve without pay, together with the fact that most municipalities owned city lands and rented them, kept the running expenses so low that city taxes were unnecessary. Provincial and imperial taxes were reasonable and amounted to about ten percent of the value of a farmer's annual produce. As in so many other matters, the urbanization of the Roman Empire probably reached its height under Hadrian and his immediate successors. In the West, where rural and tribal life tended to linger, the military camps and colonies of veterans hastened the process of urbanization—each city, as usual, receiving a charter, which settled its rights and government—and even beyond the Rhine, in the *agri decumates*, there were 160 towns, and beyond the Danube, in Dacia, 120. The province of Asia boasted 500 cities, Egypt 40.

THE PROVINCES. The organization of the Empire into provinces, and their government, remained much the same under Hadrian as in the past, except that there was greater centralization. There were now forty-five provinces, eleven of which were senatorial, and even the smallest provinces were able, through their councils, to keep the governor informed of local sentiment and to send embassies to Rome to address the emperor. The process of Romanizing the provinces west of Greece had been rapid, and Gaul became so thoroughly Romanized that in many ways it was a second Italy—law-abiding, prosperous, and vigorous enough to provide the Empire with some of its finest troops. Gaul and Spain, with their fresh life and excellent education, gave Rome eminent poets, scholars and emperors. The same was coming to be true of Africa, Britain, and Dacia. Along with the progress of culture, individuals and entire communities continued to receive either the full Roman citizenship or the slightly inferior Latin rights (maps, pp. 490, 492, 523, 587, 633).

The task of giving the East one civilization had already been accomplished by the Greeks, and theirs was the language of learning, commerce, and diplomacy in the eastern half of the Empire. Except for the cities, however, Syria remained more Oriental than Hellenistic, and it was necessary to garrison the province and its often recalcitrant inhabitants with western troops (map, p. 601).

THE PROBLEM OF ROME'S DECLINE. As we review the early Roman Empire, we see that it was in fact a Graeco-Roman world, and that within these two major divisions there was infinite variety; cantonal life in the West could be matched by temple states and feudal domains in the East. This healthy local diversity was destined in the end to be killed by increasing standardization and uniformity, but under Hadrian and the Antonines Graeco-Roman government and law, architecture, industry, manners, ideas, and religion won a high level of prosperity, accompanied by peace. It is also true that this amazing

second century produced few constructive ideas in government, few great books, no significant scientific discovery, and no new principle in art. The factors which create outbursts of intellectual activity are as mysterious as the fact that, with its height, ancient civilization also began its decline. The basic cause of the economic decline which commenced in the second century cannot be discovered in such facile explanations as the exhaustion of the soil. The disease of the ancient world was subtler, by far. It must be emphasized that the splendid structure of ancient civilization was built on a primitive foundation, which was marked by technical backwardness. Labor-saving devices were few, and manual labor was held in such contempt that it discouraged the educated classes from turning their minds to applied science. The institution of slavery had little to do with this, because, except for relatively limited periods when constant wars and unchecked piracy produced a glut of slaves, free labor was as cheap. Under the principate the majority of slaves were bred, and the master had to allow his slaves enough to maintain a wife and family. The abandonment of slave gangs in agriculture in favor of free tenants during the first century suggests that slaves were neither abundant nor cheap; even in mining slaves gave way either to convicts or free miners. By the end of the third century there was clearly an acute labor shortage, but economic stimulus produced no inventions.

The opening up of new markets by conquest brought prosperity to Italian manufacture and trade in the first century, but the subsequent decentralization of industry to the provinces checked this boom. Owing to the poverty of the working classes there was no depth to the market, and prosperity could only be maintained by expanding it through further conquests. Trajan attempted this, but the effort proved too great for the resources of the Empire, and Hadrian's abandonment of an expansionist policy meant a contraction of wealth. The irreducible overhead expenses of the Empire had, however, to be met, and the only means of extracting them from the diminishing resources of the Empire was ever increasing extortion, culminating in the "corporate state" of the fourth century. But this analysis must not be pressed too far. Since there was no technical advance in production, for example, the growth of large-scale industries and extensive trade did not greatly increase the wealth of the Empire. The price of manufactured articles was not reduced by mass production, and their cost to the consumer was increased by the heavy expenses of transport. Conversely, the decentralization of industry to the provinces did not greatly reduce the wealth of the Empire; manufactured articles could be produced locally as cheaply, and the cost of transport was saved. In the first century Italy had profited at the expense of the provinces, and in the second century the balance was adjusted. In the whole process the Empire gained in wealth by eliminating unnecessary transport.

Once again, it would be easy to exaggerate the importance of manufacture and trade in the economy of the Empire. Agriculture was the basic industry of the Empire, and the ownership of land the basic source of wealth. The vast majority of the bourgeoisie—the great middle class which filled the city councils of the Empire and the lower grades of the equestrian order—were not enterprising merchants and manufacturers, but landowners, living like the senatorial aristocracy on rents, though on a more modest scale. Their fortunes would be unaffected by trade booms or slumps.

We must emphasize, however, that the technological backwardness of the Roman Empire deprived man of incentives and means to economic progress at a critical time, and yet, of course, this was not the cause of the Empire's collapse, since technological backwardness had characterized classical antiquity for centuries. The absence of new discoveries is indeed surprising, especially when we recall that civilization began in Mesopotamia and Egypt with such inventions as irrigation works, the plow and wheeled cart, the use of oxen and boats and sails, the smelting of ores, writing, the calendar. For the condition of the Graeco-Roman world the upper classes were responsible. The whole atmosphere was unfavorable to technical progress, which would have challenged their privileged position. Just as the great achievements of past centuries in art and literature had been limited to a relatively few people, so too wealth was not evenly distributed. The leisured class rested, at least in significant part, first upon slavery and subsequently upon the tenant farmer. What was needed was not so much an expansion of possible markets, which Trajan tried, as a deepening of them; or rather, the need of the day was to make it possible for the great masses of humanity to share more fully in every aspect of life. It was hardly to be expected that the upper classes would inaugurate a revolution that could only end in the loss of their own special position.

It is probably significant that such new inventions as there were had their origin across the 4,000-mile frontier, in the barbarian world, whose societies were not based on slavery and tenant farmers to the same extent as that of the Roman Empire. The valuable technical accomplishments of the barbarians included the wearing of trousers and fur coats, the development of the easily heated compact house as contrasted with the Mediterranean patio house, felt making, cloisonné jewelry, the ski, the use of soap for cleansing and of butter in place of olive oil, the cultivation of rye, oats, spelt, and hops, the making of barrels and tubs, the stirrup, the heavy plow, and the sport of falconry, which was ultimately popularized in Europe (in so far as falconry ever became popular) by the Huns. These discoveries passed over the frontiers as easily as the Roman influences in the opposite direction. The map on pages 4, 5 emphasizes the extent of the barbarian world, with which may be compared the political limits of the Roman Empire as shown on the front endpaper.

Except in building and engineering, the Roman world suffered from a complete stagnation of technique during the second century A.D., which was especially disastrous for agriculture. We have already said that the decentralization of industry to the provinces rectified an advantage enjoyed previously by Italy, and eliminated unnecessary transport. Nevertheless, it must be stressed that Roman communications, superior though they were as compared to the past, did not suffice for the needs of the day; another disadvantage from which the economy suffered was the insecurity of credit. The early Roman Empire, however, enjoyed a sound coinage; the most important coin was the gold aureus, first minted in large quantities by Julius Caesar. Augustus stabilized the relationship between the gold aureus and the older silver denarius at 25 to 1, representing a gold-silver ratio of about 12 to 1. The result was that Roman aurei circulated from Scandinavia to southeastern Africa, Siberia, India, Ceylon, and China. The trouble was that the eastern trade in luxuries was paid not with western goods, but with coins; hence there was a constant drain of metal from the Empire. The unfavorable trade balance led Nero to debase the silver denarius, so that it ceased to circulate in the East, and the debt had to be paid in gold. By the time of Commodus the denarius so sank in value that it no longer circulated outside the Empire, and after 200 the aureus was not accepted without testing for weight, until finally Constantine substituted a new coin, the solidus, for it (debased specimens of the solidus do not appear until 1070; see pp. 575, 642).

The decentralization of industry to the provinces led ultimately to provincial autarchy, which destroyed the economic unity of the ancient world. The tendency of industry to export itself instead of its products was accompanied by the dangerous practice of exporting skilled technicians outside the Empire. We have already noticed Domitian's gift of technicians to the Dacian king; when Septimius Severus defeated Pescennius Niger at Issus in 194, many of the latter's followers fled to Persia and revolutionized Persian military technique. As industries moved to the provinces, the tendency developed for them to locate, not in towns, but in the large, self-sufficing manorial estates. This, and other factors, led to a decline in urban population; for example, in the third century the population of Alexandria had dropped 60 percent. Nevertheless, urban culture remained deeply rooted in the East, which helps to explain the survival of the Eastern Empire after the fall of the Western; the intense wave of urbanization which had begun in Hellenistic times was imitated, but never matched, in the West.

The problem of the decline of the Roman Empire will probably be debated as long as history is studied, for it was a complex phenomenon in which many factors interacted, not one of which can be singled out as the prime cause. High on the list of causes of Rome's economic decline must certainly be placed the

growth of bureaucracy and army, and the increase in overhead expenses, with which was coupled subsequently a fall in the available man power. We have tried to make clear that it is very difficult to say what lay back of Rome's economic, social, cultural, and political decline. Doubtless it was due to a change in mental outlook, to a "failure of nerve," as it has been called, but to account for that change is equally difficult. We might say that the Peloponnesian War, which brought to an end Athens' attempt to establish democracy, lay at the root of things, were it not for the fact that the following century proved the vitality of Hellas. It is equally tempting, and nearer the truth, to say that Alexander's early death prevented a real test of what might have happened when a vast area was joined economically in a single, Hellenic political unit. But, after all, the world had still another chance under the Roman Republic. It is quite significant that even at the very end of the Republic Cicero was able to coin the word *humanitas*—human decency—which was linked with the Stoic belief in the brotherhood of men. This and all else—including the opportunity and the desire to solve one's problems and hence society's on one's own initiative—disappeared when the battle of Actium robbed the ancient world forever of its freedom.

THE SPLENDOR OF THE PAX ROMANA. It is an easy guess that few people in the mid-second century were worried by the possibility of incipient decline. A Greek rhetorician of the day, Aristeides by name, called the whole world a paradise, where men might travel safely from one end of the Empire to the other, where, in place of war, cities competed with each other only in their splendor and pleasures. Schools, temples, gymnasia greeted one everywhere. The condition of the poor did not interest Aristeides, nor did he reflect on how much the world had gained in creative achievement, when Greek cities, for example, had vied first with one another and then with Rome. Aristeides saw other things, and one can gainsay neither their magnificence nor Rome's greatness in making them possible. The map on p. 566 will repay careful study for there, in vivid form, are outlined the chief economic resources of the Empire, the main centers of industry, the trade routes by land and sea—the important route from Asia Minor and up along the Danube should be emphasized—together with the number of days it took a traveler to go from one great city to another. The map can suggest the mines and factories, the huge cities, the roads, bridges, canals, and harbors; it can suggest, too, the absence of customs barriers, the efficient postal service, and the far-flung trade beyond the frontiers, but it cannot indicate the decline in Italian agriculture. Here grazing and vine culture again became popular, and *latifundia* predominated. Thanks to the many proscriptions, the emperor owned vast estates. He and other large landowners found it cheaper to lease their property to individuals and corporations who, in turn, cut it up into small lots and rented them to farmers.

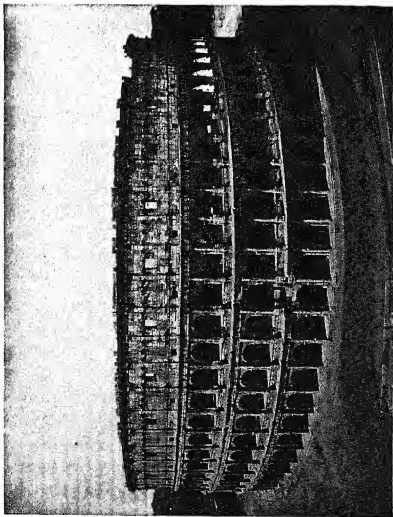
These tenants, who were originally free, were known as *coloni* and paid their rent with a percentage of the crops. Such people are notoriously careless of their land, and here we have the beginning not only of the serious deterioration of the Italian soil, but also of a developed tenantry system which degenerated into serfdom.

As we look back on this extraordinary period of history, it is tempting to agree with Gibbon's observation: "If a man were called to fix the period in the history of the world, during which the condition of the human race was most happy and prosperous, he would, without hesitation, name that which elapsed from the death of Domitian to the accession of Commodus. The vast extent of the Roman Empire was governed by absolute power, under the guidance of virtue and wisdom." On the other hand, if we think of the intangibles, Toynbee doubtless expresses a profounder truth when he says: "The Hellenic world lay more or less passive under the pall of the *Pax Romana*."

2. ART AND LITERATURE

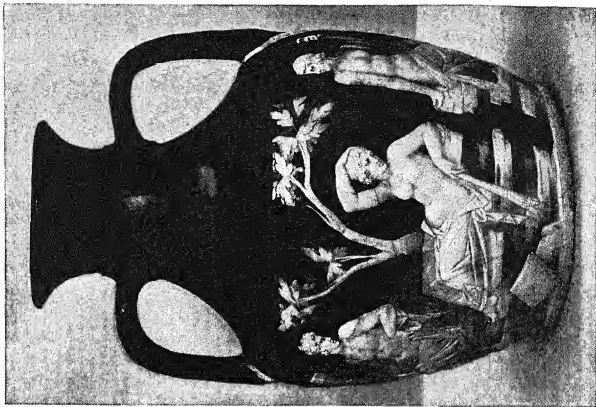
THE EMPIRE'S CITIES. In its physical aspects the Graeco-Roman world did not fall far short of the rhetoric of Aristeides. Impressed as the modern visitor to Rome is bound to be, his respect for the mighty Roman Empire is particularly excited by those imposing ruins at the very edge of the ancient provinces: at Bath, a famous watering place once set amid the forests of Britain; Timgad, beside the Sahara desert, whose military garrison (as was so often the case) grew into a city; Petra, in northern Arabia; Baalbek, the extraordinary show place of Syria; Palmyra, an oasis in the Syrian desert. There is a similarity to the ruins, as there was, of course, to the towns themselves in the days of their glory, each with its Forum, temples, triumphal arches, and basilicas. Wherever Roman rule extended, there followed theaters, amphitheaters, roads, bridges, aqueducts, cisterns, baths, while the ancient, established cities became ever more magnificent. In particular, Alexandria and Antioch, with their unruly, pleasure-seeking and, withal, highly industrious, populations were, in effect, great eastern capitals; their busy trade brought strange peoples and cargoes from as far away as India and China, and at the same time, as centers of learning, they continued to attract intellectual leaders. Indeed, it was at Antioch that an heretical form of Judaism was systematized and elaborated by Greek philosophy into Christianity.

ARCHITECTURE AT ROME. Rome, which Augustus boasted he had left a city of marble, was, of course, the great city of the Empire. On the one hand, there were the palaces of the Caesars on the Palatine and, on the other, the imperial Fora, around which clustered government buildings, temples, and shops (p. 571). Here, too, were the basilicas, which were used as law courts. In general,

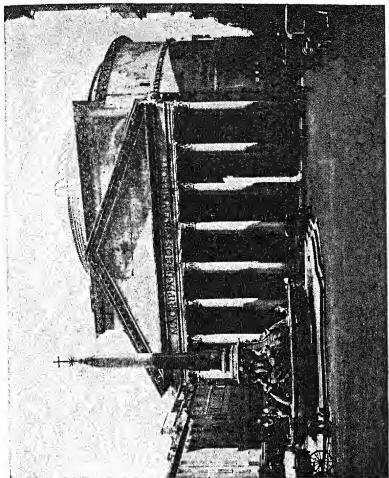


Photograph by Anderson

The Flavian amphitheater, or Colosseum, at Rome. It seated about 50,000 persons and was the scene of gladiatorial combats; many Christians died here during the later persecutions



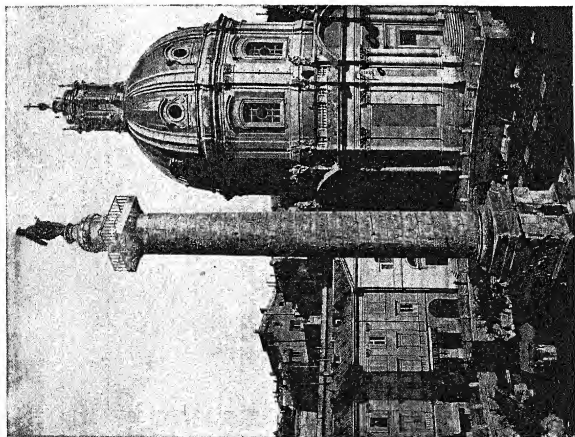
The famous Portland Vase in the British Museum. It is made of dark blue and opaque white glass paste and shows a resting woman being watched by two figures. 1st century A.D.



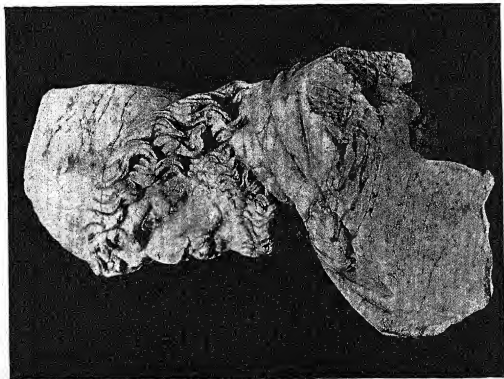
Photograph by Alinari

The Pantheon at Rome, erected by Agrippa in 27 B.C. and reconstructed by Hadrian. The portico of Corinthian columns was added somewhat later. This great temple to the gods is now a Christian Church, resting place of Italian royalty. The obelisk of Ramses II was brought in antiquity from Heliopolis to Rome, where it first stood beside the temple of Isis

Trajan's Forum, Rome. The realistic reliefs which wind around Trajan's Column give a pictorial account of the Emperor's campaigns against the Dacians



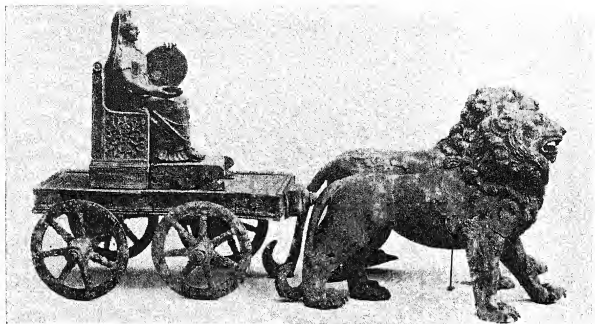
Photograph by Alinari



A fine portrayal of a captive barbarian, probably a Dacian. 2nd century A.D. In the Fogg Museum of Art, Cambridge



Grave stela of a rich lady of the caravan city of Palmyra in the 2nd century A.D. Though her name is Semitic, the inscription is written in Greek, the international language of the East. In the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

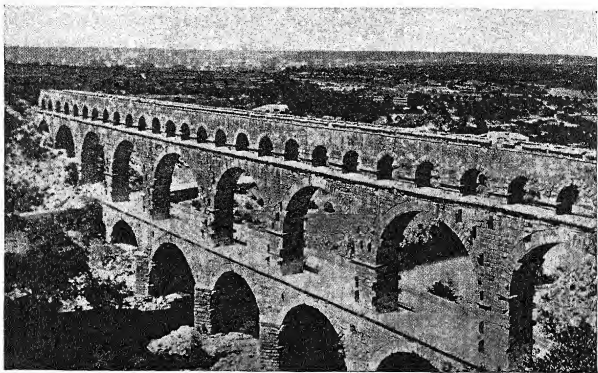


Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

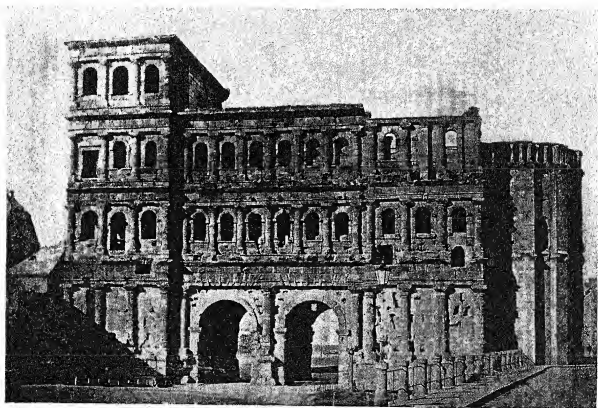
Magna Mater, or Cybele, being drawn in a processional car by two lions. A bronze group of the 2nd century A.D. The eastern cult of the Mother of the Gods was introduced into Rome during the crisis of the war with Hannibal. In the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York



Mithras killing a bull; from the animal's blood spring ears of grain. The dog of Mithras frightens away the snake and scorpion of Ahriman, the god of darkness. In the British Museum, London



Imposing ruins throughout the provinces, from Scotland to Iran, are vivid memorials to the material prosperity of the Roman world state. This is the Pont du Gard, an aqueduct 160 feet high, over the River Gard. In the topmost channel water was carried for the Gallic city of Nemausus (Nîmes)



Gateway at Trèves (Trier) in Germany. A monumental reminder of the boundless majesty of the Roman peace and of the mighty Empire which stood guard along far-flung frontiers

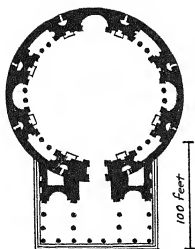
a basilica had a broad central nave, with perhaps an apse at one or both ends; the nave and side aisles were separated from each other by piers on which rose arches, making the roof higher over the center—light was admitted through the clerestory which was formed (p. 674). The masses, who now received not only food but wine, oil, and clothing, found their entertainment in a variety of theaters—the Flavian Amphitheater, or Colosseum, had a seating capacity of 50,000—and in the public baths (*thermae*), of which there were more than 800 scattered around the city; mixed bathing was prevalent. Some of these baths were of immense size, such as that of Titus and, of a later date, that of Diocletian (two halls of the latter form today a Roman church, and other rooms contain the National Museum).

A large Roman bath was a social meeting place, with libraries and lecture halls, gardens and race courses, and rooms for wrestling and boxing. There were also the hot, warm, and cold pools (*caldarium*, *tepidarium*, *frigidarium*); heat was obtained by a system of hot-air chambers below (hypocausts), whence the warmth was brought through the walls by vertical and horizontal flue tiles. The best preserved of all Roman baths, those of Caracalla in the early third century, occupy an area of 270,000 square feet; the central hall measures approximately 170 by 82 feet (plan, p. 620). One of the most interesting things about Roman baths is the ability of the ancient architect to bring together a large number of halls, of different size and varied heights. Another important fact is the maintenance of the axis in laying out the plan, which is typical of all Roman architecture, whether in building a Forum or an ordinary house.

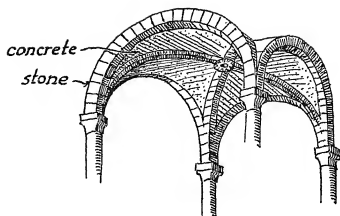
The development of the constructional arch, which made possible the substitution of vaults for flat roofs, was a notable Roman achievement. Large areas could now be covered satisfactorily, and a continuous improvement of the vault resulted in the dome of the Pantheon and the ceilings of the baths of Caracalla.¹ The practical Roman genius was particularly at home in the solution of problems of construction and in building in a vertical direction. Many of their ideas, as we have seen, the Romans took from Greece, but as always they adapted them to their own taste and use. The Doric column, for example, was often left unfluted and rested on a base; the Ionic order was little altered, but the Corinthian, which was never popular in Greece, was widely adopted. The extensive use of concrete, with a brick or other facing, meant that the column and its entablature ceased to have structural significance and became ornamental, being used, for example, as a bracket for the support of vaulting, or to decorate a wall (orders of Greek architecture, p. 173).

ART. In art a number of facets were developed. During the first century the

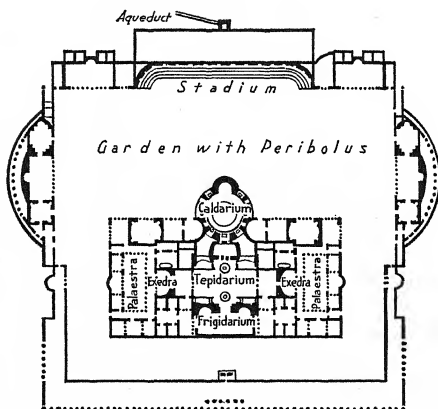
¹ There were three types of vaulting: semicircular barrel vaults, quadripartite vaulting formed by the intersection of two barrel vaults, and domical vaulting as in the Pantheon (see p. 570).



The Pantheon



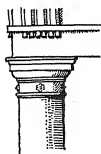
Intersecting barrel vault



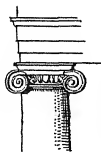
The Baths of Caracalla



Roman Orders



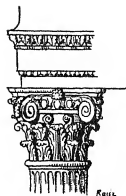
Doric



Ionic



Corinthian



Composite

Composite capital, a combination of Ionic and Corinthian, was introduced and used for the first time in Rome on the Arch of Titus. This monument in the Forum commemorated the destruction of Jerusalem. Since Roman art loved to reflect public events, historical scenes predominate on the reliefs of this arch and the memorial columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius. The reliefs are infused with a remarkable realism, which is also to be found in the portrait sculpture and the coins, whereas the gems and metalwork, the frescoes and mosaics illustrate the Roman gift for detailed work. (See pp. 574, 592.)

LATIN LITERATURE. The desire of the emperors to beautify their capital helps to explain the vigor of art during the early Empire. There was a corresponding production in literature, though hardly the same continuity, for Tiberius refused to patronize writers, and Domitian was openly hostile. To speak in general terms, the authors voiced the sentiments of the nobility who opposed the emperor, and if that party had striven manfully to limit the power of the princeps, or to displace him by a better form of government, it might have claimed a larger share of posterity's sympathy. But it failed to create a single political idea, and continued to look back to the Republic for ideals, though it knew that government by the Senate was no longer possible.

We must emphasize, however, that many emperors did patronize literature. The pulse did not beat so high as in the past, and the period of the early Empire accordingly is spoken of as the Silver Age of Latin Literature. The great creations of the Augustan Age were followed by a singular lull, although in the reign of Tiberius an army officer, Velleius Paterculus by name, wrote a short *History of Rome* to the year 30. Wordy and pompous, he achieves some accuracy in his statements of fact, but he overflows with eulogy of Tiberius, like a partisan rather than a calm-tempered historian. The same criticism applies to his contemporary, Valerius Maximus. The object of his untrustworthy *Memorable Acts and Sayings* seems to have been to supply the youth of the day with material for declamations.

CELSUS. Aulus Cornelius Celsus was an important writer on medicine at this time. In reading the following passage on the development and state of medicine, it may be well to bear in mind that Celsus had a profound influence on later ages, and that his book was one of the first to be printed after the invention of printing in the mid-fifteenth century:

"About this same time (300 B.C.) medicine was divided into three parts: one which cured by regimen or diet, one with drugs, and one by hand or external means. The Greeks called the first dietary medicine, the second pharmaceutical, and the third surgical. Now the most famous authorities by far in the field of dietary medicine, in an effort to carry certain aspects of the matter forward, claimed as their own contribution an understanding of how nature works and implied that without this understanding medicine was incomplete and helpless. After these physicians, Serapion (second century B.C.), who was the very first to insist that this theoretical training had nothing to do with actual healing, maintained that healing was accomplished only by long practice and experiment (trial and error). Apollonius and Glaucias and shortly thereafter Heraclides of Tarentum and some other rather important men accepted the doctrine of Serapion and called themselves the experimental physicians. And so it was that the school of medicine which cured by regimen was divided into two parts, for some claimed a skill based on theory and others relied on practice or experiment.

"After Apollonius and Glaucias and Heraclides and their adherents no one made any innovations until the time of Asclepiades who changed the principles of medicine to a considerable degree. Those who professed theoretical medicine explained what it was necessary to understand: first the hidden causes of sickness, then the obvious causes, and after this the natural processes, and finally the inner organs of the body. They were convinced that when pain and various kinds of ailments arise in the internal organs no physician could apply remedies if he did not have their kind of training and understanding. And that is why they said that it was necessary to cut up cadavers and examine their inner vital parts. The theoretical physicians say that the best dissectors were Herophilus and Erasistratus who dissected living convicted prisoners delivered to them from the prison by the kings of Alexandria. Herophilus and Erasistratus examined, while the prisoners were still alive, what nature up to that time had kept concealed: the organs' location, color, shape, size, type, hardness, softness, smoothness, junctures, and then the projections and indentations; and, while the prisoners were still alive, the physicians tried to find out if one organ is contained within another or if some organ contains part of another. The theoretical physicians say that, in the case of deep-seated pain, one who does not understand where or what an inner organ is does not know what ails the patient; and they say that the afflicted part cannot be cured by one who does not

know what the part is. The theoretical physicians also say that, although most people think so, still it is not cruel to seek cures for all generations of harmless people amid the suffering of condemned criminals—and even of these only a small number is involved.

“Those, on the other hand, who from their tendency to rely on experience, call themselves empirical cling to the obvious causes of disease as the source which must be understood; the investigation of hidden causes and of natural processes they say is a waste of time because nature cannot be understood and explained. They are convinced that the disagreement of experts on the subject, the disagreement of both philosophers and physicians themselves demonstrates plainly that nature cannot be understood and explained. Where thorough understanding is lacking, mere conjecture cannot discover a specific remedy. And it must be admitted that theory contributes no more to medicine than does practice. And so many circumstances which do not have directly to do with the various aspects of healing, still promote healing by stimulating the natural skill of the practitioner. Thus the close observation of nature, although it does not make a physician, still makes him a more and more skilled healer of human ills. But medicine needs a theory often enough, even if it does not lie among the unseen causes of disease and among the natural processes. The problem is unsolved; usually both conjecture and experience provide an insufficient answer.”²

SENECA, LUCAN, PETRONIUS. A literary revival took place, however, under Nero. His tutor, Seneca (4 B.C.–65 A.D.), it will be recalled, was a Stoic philosopher and tragedian from Spain. Seneca shared with his age the striving after brilliancy in language, but nevertheless he gives evidence of the broader and deeper thought which the provinces were bringing Rome. Another Stoic of this time was the poet Persius, whose *Satires* show him to have been a pure-minded moralist. Seneca's nephew, Lucan (39–65), was also a provincial and Stoic philosopher. He composed an epic poem, the *Pharsalia*, on the civil war between Caesar and Pompey. For a time Lucan stood well at Nero's court, but falling into disfavor, he finished his poem as an ardent republican; later on, he became involved in the conspiracy of Piso and killed himself by order of the emperor. Many writers of this period, considering a simple style insipid, sought to attract attention by rhetorical bombast, far-fetched metaphors, and other unnatural devices, and in this respect they reflected the artificial society in which they lived. An exception to the rule is Petronius (died 66), who was known as the arbiter of luxuries at Nero's court. Petronius may be regarded as the creator of the Latin novel. The main episode of his *Satyricon*, “Trimalchio's Dinner,” is a coarse, yet entertaining and vigorous satire on the vulgar ways of a rich freedman.

² Translated by C. Arthur Lynch.

PLINY THE ELDER, QUINTILIAN, MARTIAL. Under the Flavians fresh life continued to pour in from the provinces. Pliny the Elder (23–79), from Cisalpine Gaul, wrote an encyclopedic storehouse of knowledge, known as *Natural History*, which discussed not only the natural sciences, but also geography, medicine, and art. A man of extraordinary industry, he was suffocated by a rain of hot ashes while studying the eruption of Vesuvius that destroyed Pompeii. What Pliny did for science Quintilian (died 95), a native of Spain, did for rhetoric. In an age when form rather than substance mattered, Quintilian nevertheless discourses delightfully on life and education. His *Institutes of Oratory* could not, of course, come to grips with the political problems of the day, but they do show how a study of rhetoric can train a man both personally and professionally. Another Spaniard, Martial (died 102), wrote brilliant, satirical epigrams, which generally expose the corrupt society of the capital.

TACITUS. Martial had been able to write under Domitian because of his fawning flattery of the emperor, but not so Cornelius Tacitus (55–116), the great historian of the early emperors. On account of Domitian's tyranny, Tacitus had had to wait till the reigns of Nerva and Trajan to write, and the unhappy experience colored his estimate of the earlier rulers. On matters of accuracy, impartiality, and sound judgment, therefore, Tacitus leaves something to be desired, for the satirist occasionally runs away with the historian, but concerning his literary artistry there can be no doubt. Beginning with three minor works—an essay on oratory, a fine biography of his father-in-law, Agricola of British fame, and a treatise on the Germans, which is exceptionally valuable as the only extant Roman account of the tribes of Central Europe—Tacitus proceeded in his *Annals* and *Histories* to write the history of the Roman Empire from the death of Augustus to that of Domitian. Tacitus tells us that history has a moral purpose. His grand style is typical of the Silver Age, in that the long Ciceronian periods are abandoned in favor of short, concentrated sentences. So, too, commonplace words are avoided, and in their place we find poetic expressions, due to the influence of rhetoric, which sought to break down the boundary between poetry and prose. Tacitus' brevity of expression is as famous as his sententious phrases, which have been quoted ever since. Of Roman conquest he said, "They make a solitude and call it peace"; of the transience of political systems, "Princes die but society is eternal"; on the psychology of power, "The cause of hatred is all the stronger if it is unjust"; "In a community of might concord seldom rules," "Tyranny is never secure," "Among the powerful and those greedy of power, serenity is deceptive." In one important respect, however, Tacitus' psychological vision is one-sided, for it is stamped with a thoroughgoing pessimism. A member of the senatorial aristocracy, he bitterly hated the "tyrants" and ignored the blessings the

imperial government brought the provinces, this in spite of his statement that history must be written without preconceived antipathies or sympathies.

PLINY THE YOUNGER, JUVENAL, SUETONIUS, APULEIUS. Tacitus was the last great writer of classic Latin. His friend, Pliny the Younger (62-113), who was a nephew of the naturalist, was an orator and for a time governor of Bithynia. One of his speeches, a eulogy of Trajan, is an example of the tiresome, feeble style of the day, but his polished, sometimes trivial letters are valuable for a study of the times, particularly for Trajan's provincial policy. Juvenal (died 130), on the other hand, was a powerful critic and in his *Satires* attacked the corruption of Roman society. His ideal, which has been famous ever since, was a sound mind in a sound body (*mens sana in corpore sano*). Less praiseworthy is the *Lives of the Caesars* from Julius to Domitian by Hadrian's secretary, Suetonius (75-150), which is a chaotic mixture of useful facts and foolish gossip. As we review Latin literature of this period, we are impressed with the contributions of provincials. By the time of the Antonines Africa was well represented, notably in the person of Apuleius, who composed a romance entitled *The Golden Ass*. Another African, the essayist Fronto who wrote in a turgid, archaistic style, also kept his eyes on Rome's past, as ominous a sign that the process of decay had set in as the fact that many people in Egypt were already looking upon themselves as mere tax-paying units and were fleeing the tax gatherers.

GREEK LITERATURE. The early Roman Empire continued to have a Greek, no less than a Latin, literature. The writings of the Apostle Paul, as well as the *Meditations* of the emperor Marcus Aurelius, remind us of the universality of the Greek language. Two officials of Hadrian, Appian and Arrian, wrote important histories, one on Rome's *Civil Wars* and the other on *Alexander the Great*, while their contemporary, Pausanias, composed a valuable work on the antiquities of Greece. One of the most attractive writers of all time was born at Chaeronea in Boeotia about 50, the biographer Plutarch, whose *Parallel Lives* of famous Greeks and Romans celebrated the glorious past. Another original genius was Lucian, who was born in Syria about 125; his *Dialogues* satirize philosophy, religion, and society.

SPECIALIZED WORKS. This large literary output, Greek and Latin, was accompanied by a variety of works on specialized subjects, such as military strategy, agriculture, botany, aqueducts, and science. In the field of medicine Galen of Pergamum, who was the physician of Marcus Aurelius, wrote many books that influenced later centuries. Hippalus' discovery of the monsoons, which made possible a quick direct sail to India, and the development during the second century of the all-sea route to China, together with other activities of merchants, produced a better understanding of the earth. This subject, and the larger one of the universe itself, attracted various minds, the greatest of

whom was Claudius Ptolemy of Alexandria (150). The Ptolemaic conception of both geography and astronomy (where the earth was represented as the center of the universe) was accepted as standard until the time of Copernicus (p. 428 and see the inset, p. 647).

The decline of vitality, in general, during the second century affected both the literature and the art. Imitation often took the place of originality, the shallow and the insipid were usually mistaken for thought and imagination, while repetition destroyed the spirit of initiative. And yet, intellectual power remained and continued to manifest itself particularly in jurisprudence, for which the Romans possessed real genius.³

3. RELIGION

ROME'S COSMOPOLITAN POPULATION. Juvenal's statement that the waters of the Orontes had flowed into the Tiber was true, for imperial Rome swarmed with Syrians and other peoples of the Near East who had come to the capital for a variety of reasons. Many of them were slaves, or their descendants, and thousands of others were merchants. Still others in Rome had learned of the Near East at first hand as soldiers. The racial stock of the city was changing, and at the same time many of these newcomers, by their initiative and industry, rose from a low to a high position in society. Needless to say, they brought their own ideas and outlook on life with them.

While we are apt to speak of the Roman Empire as a Graeco-Roman world, the Hellenistic half did, of course, include the ancient Near East, that third great cultural element of antiquity. Now, as in the past, its significant contribution was to be in the field of religion, and now the political unity of the world facilitated the rapid spread of ideas. The soil, moreover, was particularly fertile, not only because so many Orientals had migrated to the West and formed a ready audience, but also because by the second century men everywhere yearned for something new. These weary men eagerly sought faith, not intellectualism.

PHILOSOPHY. This is not to say that the various schools of philosophy did not continue to exist. For example, Philo, the Jewish philosopher of Alexandria, explained Judaism to his followers during the first century by reference to Greek philosophy, while Dio Chrysostom, the "golden-tongued" orator of the Greeks, preached virtue, but each in his own way was leading philosophy along the road to a union with morality, to an elaboration of the rules of life, rather than toward further speculation. In a sense, too, this was true of Stoicism, with its insistence on the brotherhood of man. Stoicism, as interpreted by a Seneca, might teach men detachment and self-sufficiency and how to live with dignity and die with courage, but its refusal to countenance servility made

³ See p. 602 and p. 670 ff.

it politically obnoxious to emperors such as Domitian. Epictetus, the Phrygian freedman, was among the philosophers banished from Rome by Domitian. The emperor-philosopher, Marcus Aurelius, in his *Meditations* proclaimed himself a citizen of the world, but his was a modified form of Stoicism, which seemed to think less of a world soul and more of a beneficent Providence.

THE BLEAK OUTLOOK. Philosophy, however, was not for the mass of men. Neither was the prosaic old-time religion, except on public occasions when processions in honor of Jupiter and other gods made pleasing spectacles. Emperor-worship continued to provide the world with a common, patriotic bond, but it did not satisfy the needs of the heart. What men needed by the second century, or thought they needed, was faith, faith in another world that would be happier than this. The gradual drying up of the springs of vitality, including those of economic resourcefulness—no less than plague, barbarian invasion, and the threat of famine—made men anxious and dissatisfied, and not a few were attracted by superstition and mysticism and the cult of Aesculapius, the god of healing. Many of the rich suffered from tedium, the slaves faced a bleak future, the free poor were losing hope. Despotism had killed political life, and paternalism was fast destroying initiative and independence.

EASTERN RELIGIONS. Various religions had been coming out of the East for a long time, that of Magna Mater, the Great Mother, as long ago as the days of the war with Hannibal. Orgiastic at first, it developed into a pantheistic philosophy of nature, with an awe-inspiring sacrament, including the slaying of a bull in the underground *taurobolium*, where the initiates' sins were cleansed in blood. Another religion to come out of the East long ago was that of Isis, whose worship received special impetus from Pompey's soldiers. Its success, however, was not due to its theology or morals (both being quite uncertain), but to its ritual and formulas which bent the will of heaven and promised future bliss. All eastern religions had some things in common: they demanded faith, they promised communion with the deity, if the faithful performed certain acts of purification and accepted various symbols, and, above all, they guaranteed eternal life. They grew steadily in popularity and were assured of victory the moment that conditions were ripe. Such a moment was the second century; at least it was propitious for the beginning of a struggle which was to clear the path for a universal religion as a substitute for the ancient conception of the service of God and man as a civic duty. (Cf. p. 617.)

MITHRAISM. A religion which had particular appeal during the second century, and was to be Christianity's chief and bitter rival in the next, was a fighting faith that attracted the soldiers engaged in eastern wars and from them spread westward, as far as the cities and camps of the Rhineland and Britain. This was Mithraism, which had its origin in the Zoroastrian worship of Ahura

Mazda. Mithras was not a solar divinity, rather he was the agent of Ahura Mazda, the god of light. In the eternal struggle between the powers of light and darkness, Mithras appears as the leader of the forces of light, as the god of truth and purity. All men—rich and poor, free and slave—were eligible to worship him, and all were treated alike in the underground chapels, where the sacred bull was sacrificed. The faithful formed a secret society, with their own watchwords; and all, no doubt, were filled with the certainty of a glorious immortality as they performed the ritual and fasted and moved through the seven degrees of initiation.

CHRISTIANITY. Those in the West who first listened sympathetically to these religions were chiefly individuals who had their roots in the Near East, and in this respect Christianity was no exception. In the beginning Christianity was often mistaken for Judaism, and its appeal in Rome, for example, was to Jewish slaves, 100,000 of whom had been taken at the time of Jerusalem's capture, and to whom Jesus now appeared as the Messiah. All these religions grew under the protection of the imperial government, which tolerated all faiths so long as they found room for emperor worship. But Christianity forbade worship of the emperor. In so doing, it invited persecution, and yet its certitude and rejection of every compromise added immeasurably to its strength, as did the fact that, instead of claiming some mythical figure as its founder, it could point to old records which foretold the Messiah.

The religion of Jesus of Nazareth, who was born in the reign of Augustus and crucified in that of Tiberius (ca. 30), was destined to revolutionize the world. For the multitude of Graeco-Roman gods, or the meticulous ritual of other faiths, it substituted the Father in Heaven; for bloody ceremonies, pure worship; for learning, it substituted love and charity, kindness and joy; for law, the Sermon on the Mount; for a selfish, sophisticated life, a life of sacrifice and fellowship. St. Peter carried it early to the "Gentiles," and St. Paul preached it even in Rome. Everywhere, and especially in the cities, the lower classes eagerly accepted a faith which esteemed the slave equal to the emperor and claimed the humblest on earth as the greatest saints. All who shared in this religion enjoyed the comforting hope of eternal happiness.

CHRISTIAN OPPOSITION TO ESTABLISHED SOCIETY. During the first century the followers of Jesus Christ attracted little attention, for Nero's persecution was limited to Christians in Rome, and was conceived with the aim of finding scapegoats for the fire which destroyed so much of the city. The learned and the powerful alike considered Christians unworthy of notice, and the government, which protected the public worship of all the races within the Empire, included the Christians with the Jews. But when they discovered that the Christians were a distinct sect, the Romans came gradually to regard them as a menace to existing society and government. Unlike the Romans, the Chris-

tians were intolerant of all other religions and exceedingly aggressive in making new converts. To keep themselves free from idolatry, they refused to associate with others in public festivities and often in ordinary pleasures, an attitude which won them Tacitus' description of "haters of mankind." Their refusal to worship the Genius of the emperor was naturally construed as impiety and treason. The government, which was always suspicious of secret meetings, could see nothing but danger in those of the Christians, whose Church was, in fact, a great secret society with branches in every city and town. A class of people, and that the lower class in large part, which advocated the communal ownership of property and objected to military service, seemed to be a threat to society. These were the chief reasons why they were persecuted. Many of them, when accused, obstinately defied the authorities and courted martyrdom. Such conduct widened the chasm between the civil power and the new Church, which by the end of the second century had a diocesan organization under bishops. The leaders, too, by wrangling over minute points of doctrine, added further disrepute to their cause.

PERSECUTION OF THE CHRISTIANS. The civil authorities throughout the Empire proceeded, accordingly, to punish the Christians for real or imaginary offenses against law and order. We find Trajan, however, instructing Pliny, the governor of Bithynia, not to hunt them down or to receive anonymous charges against them, but to condemn those only who were openly known as Christians and were therefore disloyal. Hadrian discouraged persecution and made informers responsible for any outbreaks their accusations might cause. His successor, the gentle Antoninus Pius, though a restorer of the ancient religion, himself persecuted no one. Nevertheless in his reign popular hatred forced the magistrates in some of the cities to torture and kill prominent Christians. Under Marcus Aurelius a change came for the worse. As popular dislike of the Christians excited tumults in many cities, especially in the East, he ordered those who confessed the faith to be beaten to death, but otherwise he paid the Christians little attention. Their trouble came chiefly from the people, who regarded them with superstitious hatred. Plague, famine, and other calamities demanded victims, and accordingly riots broke out against them in Lugdunum and elsewhere. Their enemies asserted, on mere rumor, that in their religious meetings the Christians were guilty of gross immorality and feasted on their children. But persecution, instead of helping the Empire or its decaying gods, strengthened the new faith and made it more aggressive.

THE EARLY CHURCH. The early Christian congregations met in underground chapels or private homes, indeed wherever they could, until such time as they were able to build their own halls or basilicas. In the beginning, of course, they had no Christian style to copy, so that in their architecture and other arts they merely followed the Roman phase of Hellenistic art that lay around them.

The subterranean catacombs of Rome, where early Christians were buried (as might be the members of any society), have some of our earliest Christian frescoes, but the subjects are so pagan in content that they might be from Pompeii. During the second century a beginning was made of showing Christian subjects—a Good Shepherd or Daniel with his lions—but the scenes and figures are from the Old Testament rather than the New. There were two reasons for this. In the first place, the Old Testament had been translated into Greek at Alexandria long before the Christian era, and its stories were familiar to the Jewish colonies throughout the Roman world. Secondly, illustrated copies of the Old Testament had been produced at Alexandria and elsewhere, which provided themes for the nascent Christian art. It is not until the third century that Christ—a youthful, beardless figure with short hair—begins to appear in frescoes. The excavations at Dura-Europos on the Euphrates show with particular clarity how Graeco-Roman art was transformed into something new, involving a shift of content from Greek naturalism to the immaterialism of the East, which marks Christian art. Representations stressing the importance of the spirit and after life became the new theme in art at a time when mankind was confronted with a multitude of problems (cf. p. 668).

XXXIII

THE IMPERIAL CRISIS AND RECOVERY (193-395 A.D.)

1. THE MILITARIZATION OF GOVERNMENT: THE SEVERI (193-235 A.D.)

RENEWED EMPHASIS ON THE MILITARY BASIS OF AUTHORITY. Commodus, it will be recalled, was strangled the night before he was to take the consulship on January 1, 193, dressed as a gladiator. The new year, accordingly, opened propitiously, with Publius Helvius Pertinax the choice of the praetorians. The Senate was happy to accept him as emperor, for he was not only a senator himself, but also the city prefect, and had already proved himself an able military commander under Marcus Aurelius. Pertinax applied himself with energy and success to the restoration of finances and public order, but his habits of economy and severe discipline so displeased the praetorians that they murdered him after three months' rule. Thereupon they offered the throne to the highest bidder, and the opportunity was seized by Marcus Didius Julianus, a wealthy senator, who bought it by a promise to pay the praetorians 25,000 sesterces apiece (approximately \$1,250). When news of these disgraceful proceedings reached the troops in Syria, on the Danube, and in Britain, they nominated their own commanders to the office of emperor. Publius Septimius Severus, the legate of Upper Pannonia, who had the best army and was nearest Rome, won the prize. As he approached the capital, his nomination was confirmed by the Senate, which had already decreed the death of Julianus.

SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS (193-211). A member of an equestrian family of Romanized Punic stock, Septimius Severus (193-211) was the first emperor born in Africa (at Leptis Magna). He was a firm, clear-headed man who had his own ideas concerning the needs of the Empire. One of his first acts was to disband the ungovernable praetorians and to form a new guard of 15,000 men from the armies of the Danube. Previously the praetorians had been Italians, and here at the very beginning of his reign we have an indication of the new imperial policy of deliberately displacing Italians and western provincials in the government of the Empire. Another key to imperial policy is to be found in the stationing of a legion near Rome, on the Alban Mount. This, even more

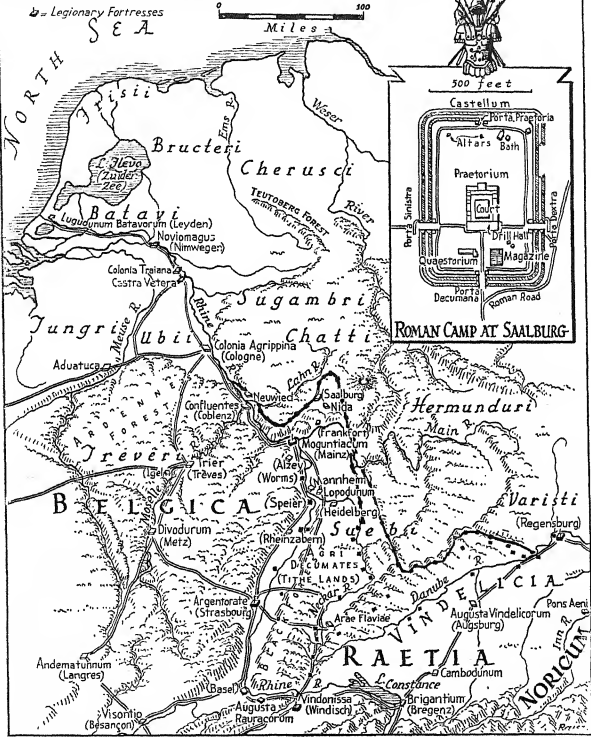
than Severus' adoption of the title "Imperator," signaled the military basis of the monarchy (p. 642).

EASTERN AND WESTERN CAMPAIGNS. In order that he might deal separately with the two rival claimants to the throne, Septimius Severus cunningly offered Clodius Albinus, the legate of Britain, the title of "Caesar," as if he were to be the successor, and then marched against Gaius Pescennius Niger, the legate of Syria. On the historic battlefield of Issus he crushed Niger (194), and proceeded to reassert Roman authority in Osroene, a client state which now became a province with its capital at Nisibis, and in northern Mesopotamia. During the general restoration of order in the East, however, an important outpost against the barbarians, Byzantium, was severely damaged. Severus then turned on Albinus. In 197 the two armies fought a fierce battle at Lugdunum, which resulted in the death of Albinus and the irreparable devastation of the greatest city of Gaul. These disturbances gave Vologases IV, the Parthian king, an opportunity to invade northern Mesopotamia (197-199), but Severus hurried to the East, relieved the siege of Nisibis, and once again established order there.

THE ARMY. For his Parthian campaign Severus had raised three new legions, which now stood at a total of thirty-three, or 180,000 men; with the auxiliaries, the army of the Empire numbered about 400,000 troops. The auxiliaries, as the result of a new practice, included many barbarians, especially Germans, who had been allowed to occupy border districts of the Empire; they formed special contingents known as *numeri* and fought in their native manner under Roman officers. Because of his dependence on the soldiers, which he openly recognized, Severus increased their pay and allowed them to marry; the sons of such marriages were readily available as new recruits, but this advantage was offset to a considerable degree by the consequent immobilization of the army, which became a local border militia (*limitanei*).

THE FRONTIER DEFENSES. Severus also gave much attention to the frontier defenses. A great ditch and wall, with towers and forts, protected North Africa; the magnificence of these fortifications was only made clear by aerial photography in the years following World War II. A series of forts sufficed to protect Asia and the mighty Danube, which marked the natural northern border. Dacia, however, lay to the north of the river and had its own limes; small sections survive, together with the wall that protected Moesia at the point where the Danube turns sharply north (see Mursa and Tomi on the front endpaper map). The limes which extended for a distance of 350 miles from Rhine to Danube was strengthened by Severus' son, Caracalla, in its Raetian section; here, for more than a hundred miles, a solid stone wall (four feet thick and six to nine feet high) replaced the earlier wooden palisade. A determined enemy could, of course, penetrate the limes, although the garrisons in the larger

ROMAN GERMANY AND THE LIMES



forts and camps to the rear would contain him. The general purpose of the limes was to keep out raiding bands and to control the traffic between the Empire and the barbarian world beyond; this trade, no less than the soldiers themselves, spread Roman civilization far beyond the frontiers. Severus found it necessary to abandon the Wall of Antoninus Pius in Britain because so many troops had been moved to Gaul by Albinus in his bid for the throne that the Caledonians could not be controlled. Hadrian's Wall, therefore, was repaired and established as the new line of defense. It had been designed to resist large hostile forces—not mere raiding bands—with a garrison stationed at intervals of a mile throughout its extent of 76 miles. The wall itself was eight feet thick and twenty feet high, with fourteen small forts enclosed within it and larger forts and camps to the rear. Severus' sons, Caracalla and Geta, both of whom had been invested with the title of Augustus, accompanied him on the final expedition of his life (208–211), against the restless Caledonians; the emperor died besieging Eboracum (York).

GOVERNMENT. Among the pressing problems which confronted Septimius Severus on his accession none was more ominous than the empty treasury. Not only had taxes become oppressively high, but in many places, especially in Egypt, poorer people had begun to flee the tax gatherer. A result of this was that government had no choice but to compel municipal councils to assume the responsibility of paying the local taxes, so that officeholding, which had once been sought as an honor, became a burden forced upon the rich. Moreover, the services rendered by certain groups—such as the colleges or guilds of firemen, bakers, and oil merchants—were considered so important that the individuals were exempted from their regular municipal obligations, in order that they might attend strictly to business; in days not long after the Severi, their services were regarded as public duties (*munera*) which were both obligatory and hereditary. The guilds of shipowners were, of course, closely controlled by the government, for Rome continued to import five million bushels of grain annually from Egypt, about a third of its requirements. The number of those receiving free grain at Rome did not increase appreciably under the Empire—free oil had recently been added to the list—but the number and cost of holidays and spectacles were much greater. Severus also undertook a building program throughout the Empire, one memorial of which, his imposing arch, still stands in the Roman Forum (p. 574). The increasingly large bureaucracy and the army required still more money. Another expense was the imperial post; riders and horses in relays carried official documents and letters over the network of fine roads.

In order to meet expenses, Severus debased the denarius, mixing copper and silver in approximately equal proportions, while Caracalla issued a new coin, called the Antoninianus, which was supposed to be worth two denarii,

but actually contained only half that value in silver. Caracalla also debased the value of the regular gold coinage (the aureus). One windfall, however, came Severus' way. The adherents of his rival, Albinus, had been both numerous and prominent, and accordingly he confiscated their property. A special financial department, known as the *Res Privata* (Privy Purse), was set up to look after his new riches, and the ancient state treasury (the *aerarium Saturni*) was allowed to degenerate into a local treasury.

NON-ITALIANS FAVORED IN GOVERNMENT. His own provincial origin and that of his wife, Julia Domna, who was the daughter of the priest of the Sun God at Emesa, a Syrian temple state, doubtless influenced Severus' attitude toward provincials in general, particularly those from the East. At least two-thirds of the Senate were non-Italian, and most of the new members came from Asia Minor, Syria, Egypt, and Africa. Severus also opened the senatorial career to the sons of centurions and to equestrians, the class he especially favored in administration. These new members of the Senate could have little regard for Italian traditions, but nevertheless the prestige of the Senate continued, both because of its antiquity and the wealth of its members. Society was becoming more stratified than ever, and already the official classes were known as *honestiores*, the common people as *humiliores*. Indeed, the emperor caused himself to be deified and proclaimed Rome, as a consequence, a sacred city.

JURISPRUDENCE. Septimius Severus ruled without any regard to the Senate, which merely ratified his addresses and thereby gave them the force of law. The center of administrative authority shifted to the judicial council, which gave close attention to the welfare of the provinces and supervised the governors, who were now generally called *praesides*. The praetorian prefect was the most powerful man in the Empire after the emperor himself, so powerful, in fact, that Severus divided the office between two men. The task of the praetorian prefect was to preside over the judicial council, if the emperor was absent, to command the military forces in Italy, to try important cases arising in Italy more than 100 miles from Rome, and to hear appeals from the provinces; the city prefect tried cases arising within 100 miles of Rome. Papinian was a praetorian prefect at this time; he was perhaps the ablest of Roman jurists, though his younger contemporaries—Paul, Ulpian, and Modestine—were scarcely less eminent. Through them and their associates, Roman law reached the height of development. Order was brought to the mass of past legislation, principles were established, and much in the way of legal theory was adopted from the Hellenistic East. They were also responsible for the adoption of the principle which justified autocratic rule. Later jurists did little more than systematize the material already existing.¹

¹ For a fuller discussion, see p. 670 ff.

CARACALLA (211–217). The devotion of the armies to the dynastic principle, as well as personal ambition, explains Septimius Severus' decree that he was the son by adoption of Marcus Aurelius. On his death, accordingly, his son Bassianus ascended the throne with the title of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, but he is better known from the nickname of the Gallic cloak he wore, Caracalla (211–217). Caracalla was a brutal and immoral spendthrift; nevertheless, he occupies a peculiar niche in the history of Rome as the emperor who completed the development of several centuries which brought Italy and the provinces to the same plane. His edict of 212, embodied in the *Constitutio Antoniniana*, or Antonine Constitution, made all the free men of the Empire Roman citizens. No special enthusiasm greeted this act, for citizenship now had its burdens, and yet the complete Romanization of the provinces meant that legionaries could be raised throughout the entire Empire, and that the special taxes of citizens would be paid by all. Not so admirable, but equally in keeping with Caracalla's autocratic nature, was the murder of his brother Geta, who was a possible rival, and of Papinian. In like manner he played the tyrant toward the Senate and cultivated the work of informers, but he increased the pay of the soldiers and satisfied his own vanity by erecting huge baths which rank among the largest monuments of ancient Rome. We are hardly surprised, then, that Caracalla found it necessary to increase taxes and to debase the coinage still further (pp. 620, 642).

ELAGABALUS (218–222). Two campaigns called Caracalla from Rome; one in the West, where he was able to strengthen the Rhine-Danube defenses; the other in the East, against the Parthians, where he imagined himself the reincarnation of Alexander the Great. In 217 a praetorian prefect, Macrinus, had him murdered at Carrhae and reigned in his stead, with his son Diadumenianus, only to be overthrown the following year by Varius Avitus Bassianus. This creature was the grandson of Julia Maesa, the sister of Julia Domna. Through the scheming and ability of Julia Maesa, the Severan dynasty was thus restored,² but the new wearer of the purple was a mere youth of fourteen, a sensual, shocking individual who will perhaps always rank as the worst of Roman emperors. He had been priest of the Syrian Sun God Elagabal at Emesa and consequently is known to history as Elagabalus. The new god and his unclean worship were transported to Rome, where people were outraged by the impurity of the rites. For four long years, while his grandmother ruled on his behalf, Elagabalus indulged himself, until finally the praetorians killed him (222).

SEVERUS ALEXANDER (222–235). His cousin and successor, Severus Alexander (222–235), was an amiable youth, mentally gifted and of good moral

² Genealogical Table, p. 702.

character, but it was unfortunate that at a time when the duties of the imperial office called loudly for a man of energy and iron, the emperor should have been merely a good-natured dreamer. As Alexander was but fourteen on his accession, the government rested with his mother, Julia Mamaea; she in turn was assisted by Ulpian, the great jurist who was also a praetorian prefect, and by a council of sixteen senators. Reversing the policy of Septimius Severus and Caracalla, this administration looked to the Senate to counteract the growing influence of the army, a policy which marks almost the last appearance of the Senate, albeit a feeble one, on the stage of history before its final and complete reduction to the status of a municipal council. Not only in his outward respect for republican traditions, but also in his patronage of education, in his attention to the needs of the poor, and generally in his policy of mildness and justice, Alexander was a faint imitation of "the good emperors." It was impossible, however, to return to the past, and despite all appearances the government remained autocratic.

THE SASSANIDS. Severus Alexander himself, unfortunately, was too weak and incompetent to maintain discipline among the soldiers or to defend the Empire at the very time when a new danger to the Roman world arose. Ever since the days of Trajan, the Parthian Empire of the Arsacids had slowly declined, but in 227 the Persians suddenly asserted their independence, overthrew the Parthian rule and made the Empire Persian, with Ctesiphon as the capital. Artaxerxes (Ardashir), the founder of the new Sassanid dynasty, supported an official revival of Zoroastrianism, the ancient worship of the spirit of Good and Light, against whom darkness and evil forever warred. The ensuing religious fervor strengthened the position of the new monarch; and at the same time his talent for organization made him a military power.

Since he looked upon himself as the successor of the great Cyrus, who had founded the Persian Empire of many centuries ago, Artaxerxes claimed all Asia and ordered Severus Alexander to confine his authority to Europe. An inconclusive war followed, ending superficially to Rome's advantage, but the eastern menace remained and compelled Rome to mass troops on the Euphrates at the very time when the Alemanni, a Germanic tribe, were threatening invasion. Alexander hurried to Mogontiacum (Mainz), where by diplomacy and bribes he tried to hold off the enemy. But just as the praetorian guards had killed their prefect, Ulpian, some years ago, so now the soldiers, disgusted with Alexander's weak policy, murdered their emperor (235).

The death of Severus Alexander brought the "immense majesty of the Roman Peace" to an end. Only twice since the battle of Actium (31 B.C.) had it been seriously disturbed: in the year of the four emperors (68-69), and in the years immediately following the death of Commodus (192). For more

than two and a half centuries the mighty Roman Empire had provided the civilized world with one blessing it had never enjoyed before; and large areas of that world enjoyed a greater prosperity than ever before or since.

2. MILITARY ANARCHY (235-285 A.D.)

CIVIL WAR, INVASION, AND PLAGUE. The murder of Severus Alexander inaugurated a period of anarchy, when for fifty years emperor followed emperor.³ Not counting a score or more of so-called tyrants—men who unsuccessfully made a bid for the throne—there were not less than twenty-six emperors, only one of whom died a natural death. In the year 260 alone Gallienus faced eighteen rivals. At the same time large, organized waves of barbarians—not mere raiding bands—swept over the Empire's defenses, often penetrating far into the interior: Saxons sailed against Britain; Berber tribes attacked in Africa; Franks, Alemanni, and other Germanic tribes swarmed across the Rhine; the Quadi and Marcomanni crossed the Danube; the Carpi, Sarmatians, and Vandals overran Dacia and Moesia; the Goths sailed across the Black Sea to ravage Asia Minor; the Herulians sacked Athens; the Persians menaced the East. As if civil war and invasion were not enough, piracy and brigandage did their share to close lines of communication, stop trade and industry, and carry off the movable wealth of the Empire. Large areas of the Empire broke away and set themselves up as independent states, the Christians were regarded as potential traitors—and more than once, as a consequence, were persecuted—and, finally, the dreadful toll of life was greatly increased by a terrible plague, which broke out in 251, raged till 266 (5,000 persons died daily at Rome for awhile, and two-thirds of the inhabitants of Alexandria), and continued for several years thereafter.

THE FORCES OF DESTRUCTION. To speak generally, the well-being of the Roman world hitherto had been chiefly due to the wisdom of a line of rulers who had been able to secure the good will of the Senate and of the population of Rome and the Empire, the subordination of the praetorians and the army, and the respect of surrounding peoples. A system cannot be lasting, however, in which so much depends, not on the political activity of the people, but on the accidental succession of able rulers. No sooner had the weak Commodus come to the throne than the forces of destruction burst to the surface. While the ancient provinces, far removed from the frontiers and enfeebled by centuries of peace, passively bore the burdens of taxation and permitted interference with the liberties of their towns and cities, the populace of Rome threatened the government and the peace of the world if their amusements and food were curtailed. Moreover, the interests of the Senate often clashed with those of the emperor or the soldiers. The praetorians had been

³ List of Roman Emperors, p. 700.

established as a guard of the emperor's person, but they were ready to kill him in order to secure a gift from his successor. After nominating the emperors Galba, Otho, Vitellius, and Vespasian, the frontier armies had forgotten their political power till they learned it anew from the insolent praetorians of Commodus. The mutinies and civil wars during the third century were due primarily to the greed of the unruly frontier soldiers, who had lost all contact and community of interest with the interior of the Empire, and were ready to plunder the civilians and enthrone their general in the hope that their own lot would be improved. Though they hated the haughty aristocrats in the cities, they did not hesitate to despoil the peasants whom the city dwellers had exploited.

The weakness and brutality of Commodus precipitated this revolution. The praetorians not only trampled upon the Senate and the residents of the capital, but also asserted the right to make and unmake emperors. Then the armies, jealous of the pampered praetorians, fought against them, against the Senate, and against one another. The civil war, after rendering the praetorians helpless and depriving the Senate of its last remnant of authority, decided that the emperor should be a general, the choice of the soldiers who protected the Empire. The rival claimants for the office—many of whom were extraordinarily able generals and administrators, and were often forced against their will by the soldiers to seek the throne—threatened to break up the Roman world into a multitude of warring states. The waves of invading barbarians added to the causes of alarm.

A NEW GOVERNMENTAL POLICY REQUIRED. To restore order, it was necessary to strengthen the imperial office. As the task of government seemed too great for a single ruler, more than one emperor in the third century shared his duties and honors with a colleague. Again, as the collapse of old institutions and of the old nobility exposed the emperor more than ever before to mutiny and assassination, he sought new safeguards for his person and his authority. He put on a crown and a silken robe which sparkled with jewels and gold; he called himself "Lord and God" and often pictured himself with a god on his coins—after all, if his authority to be emperor did not come from the Senate, some source for it had to be found. In keeping with his new position, the emperor ultimately compelled his subjects to prostrate themselves before him, and surrounded the throne with the circles of a new nobility of various grades, each attended by its appropriate degree of pomp and ceremony. Finally Rome ceased in all but name to be the capital of the Empire, as the soldier emperors took up their abode at the posts of danger and issued their decrees from the provincial cities. That is to say, some time during the period of military anarchy the principate which Augustus had founded long ago ceased to be; the Senate, which with the emperor had been intended to form a

dyarchy, went down before the soldiers and no longer helped to govern, or to clothe the emperor with his authority to rule.

PERSIAN WARS. The soldiers who had been responsible for the murder of Severus Alexander elevated their general, a Thracian peasant by the name of Maximinus, to the purple. Maximinus was the first barbarian in history to become emperor of Rome, and although he was a general good enough to ward off invasions from across the frontiers, he was in other ways despotic and cruel. A civilian reaction against his terrorism set in, first in Africa, where the proconsul Gordian and his son were proclaimed emperors. They soon lost their lives, however, whereupon the Senate rose heroically to the occasion and brought about the death of Maximinus. The new emperor, Gordian III (238–244), gave the world a brief respite, and during his reign the gates of the temple of Janus were closed, for the last time in history, as a sign of peace. But Gordian was soon compelled by events to hurry eastward, for the Persian threat to the Empire seemed the most serious at the moment. As he was about to win a victory over the new Sassanid king, Shapur I, son of Artaxerxes, Gordian was murdered by his praetorian prefect, Philip the Arabian. Philip patched up a peace with the Persians, but was murdered himself shortly thereafter. As these calamities fell upon the civilized world, the Herulians invaded the Balkan peninsula and sacked Athens, while the Goths sailed across the Black Sea, raided Asia Minor and even the Aegean. Many people within the Empire thought the Christians responsible for the disasters, and in order to bring these domestic foes out into the open, the emperor Decius (249–251) ordered that everyone throughout the Empire should publicly sacrifice to the gods of the state. Decius did not live to carry through his persecution of the Christians, for he was killed campaigning against the Goths.

THE RISE OF PALMYRA. Not much later, however, the emperor Valerian (253–260) resumed the persecution of the Christians, particularly of their bishops and leaders. With his son and colleague, Gallienus (253–268, p. 642), Valerian tried to brace the Empire against repeated shocks. He himself went to the East, where the Sassanid king, Shapur I, had recently won Armenia. Valerian was treacherously seized by the Persians in a conference, but shortly afterward Odenathus, Rome's client king of Palmyra, defeated Shapur at Carrhae. Gallienus, who was now sole emperor, rewarded Odenathus with the title "Commander of the Romans" (*dux Romanorum*); the Palmyrene, with his beautiful and famous wife, Zenobia, then proceeded to create what was in effect an independent state. It came to include Asia Minor and Egypt.

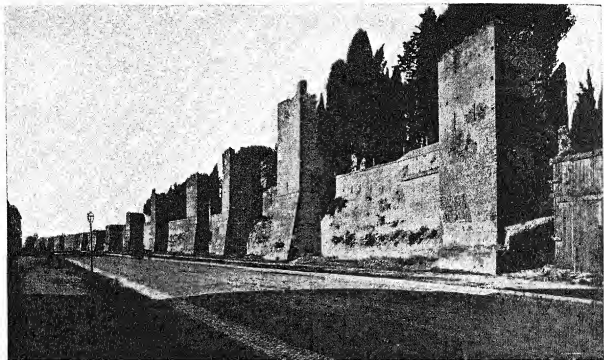
THE GALLIC EMPIRE. Gallienus was no more capable of defending the West than the East, and consequently the troops of Gaul revolted and hailed Postumus, their general, as emperor. A new state, known as *Imperium Galliarum*, was set up (260), with its capital at Augusta Treverorum (Trèves, Trier).

Though Postumus soon added Spain and Britain to his realm, he did not seek the entire Empire.

THE EMPIRE'S THREATENED PHYSICAL AND ECONOMIC RUIN. The economic, no less than the physical, ruin of the Empire faced Gallienus. The coinage became so debased that it was practically worthless, trade and industry shrank, prices rose in places twenty times what they had previously been, and people everywhere were compelled to shoulder public duties, this at a moment when the (bubonic?) plague was at its height. Taxes for the maintenance of the army (the military *annona*) were paid in kind and were under the general supervision of the praetorian prefects. Additional contributions were demanded from local inhabitants for armies on the march; in spite of the need of military protection, therefore, in so disordered a period, there were few things a community dreaded more than to have an army quartered on it. Gallienus, however, was a man of resource and energy. He stopped the persecution of the Christians, to win as much unity within the Empire as possible. To protect himself from senators who might seek the throne, he excluded them from a military career. The great commands—the distinction between senatorial and imperial provinces disappeared—were now held by equestrians, many of whom rose from the ranks, and from this class (especially from those who received their training in the Danubian provinces) came a series of fine generals and even emperors.

INVASIONS OF GOTHS AND ALEMANNI. On the military front Gallienus drove the Goths from Moesia and the Marcomanni from Italy. No sooner had he settled these people in Upper Pannonia, however, than he was forced to return to Italy. At Mediolanum (Milan) he defeated swarms of Alemanni who had crossed the Alps, and not much later was murdered. The chief contribution to the Empire's welfare by his successor, Claudius Gothicus (268–270), was, as his surname suggests, a resounding defeat of the Goths.

AURELIAN (270–275). The next emperor was Lucius Domitius Aurelianus (270–275), a humble Illyrian who was to prove the most competent ruler since the days of Septimius Severus. A good general and strict disciplinarian, with an enviable record as a cavalry commander, Aurelian set about the task of restoring the Roman Empire. Rome's advantage over the barbarian world in the past had consisted in her superior discipline and technical knowledge, but these qualities were disappearing as rapidly as the Italian officers in the army. Moreover, vast spaces, particularly along the frontiers, had been depopulated and resettled with barbarians as *coloni*, and Rome was using barbarian auxiliaries (*numeri*) to fight barbarians. To cope with the changed situation, the Romans posted militia troops along the frontiers and organized mobile forces at strategic points to the rear which could be quickly moved to threatened areas. Since the Persians were especially skillful in the use of cavalry, the



The so-called Wall of Aurelian at Rome, a portent of the world's terrible crisis in the 3rd century



1



2



3



4



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8

Roman coins in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. 1, Septimius Severus (as). 2, Caracalla (sestertius). 3, Gallienus and Salonina (medallion, with traces of gilding). 4, Probus (aureus). 5, Constantine I (aureus). 6, Julian (aureus). 7, Theodosius II (solidus, gold). 8, Justinian (solidus, gold)

Roman foot soldier was equipped with a long sword, which was a better weapon against cavalry than the customary short sword. In addition, Aurelian developed to a high degree of effectiveness the Moorish and other units of cavalry, some of whom were archers; and from Persia was imported the idea of heavy-mailed mounted lancers (cataphracts).

During Aurelian's reign there was no relief from invasions of Sarmatians, Vandals, and other barbarians. The Graeco-Roman world was by now accustomed to them and had been looking to its local defenses, those long-forgotten walls which were suddenly put into repair all over the Empire. The Mediterranean lands today are full of these silent reminders of the crisis through which civilization once passed, and nowhere more dramatically than at Rome itself, where Aurelian's Wall still stands, twenty feet high, twelve feet thick, and twelve miles in circumference. Almost half a millennium had passed since the last dangerous enemy, Hannibal, had threatened Rome.

THE EMPIRE RESTORED. The exposed position of Dacia led Aurelian to complete what Gallienus had begun: its abandonment and the creation of a new province of the same name, south of the Danube, carved from parts of Moesia and Thrace. But the real achievement of Aurelian was to regain those large areas which had broken away from the Empire. In 271 Zenobia, who was now a widow, proclaimed Palmyra a kingdom wholly independent of Rome, but in the following year Aurelian took the city and not long afterward, suspecting its loyalty, sacked it. He then marched West and, finding that Tetricus, the new emperor of Gaul, was friendly toward him, completed the unification of the Empire. With little exaggeration he called himself "Restorer of the World" (*Restitutor orbis*).

THE SUN GOD. Aurelian was not equally successful in administration. He tried, without achieving much, to introduce a sounder currency; and to the Roman masses he gave baked bread instead of grain, as well as salt, pork, and oil. Simple and frugal in his personal habits, in public Aurelian appeared like an Oriental despot, surrounded with grand ceremony and requiring his subjects to worship him—a "Lord and God" who brooked no interference from the Senate. He regarded himself as the incarnation of the Sun God, whose worship he made the official religion of the Empire.

After Aurelian's murder in 275, he was followed in rapid order by half a dozen emperors. When, finally, assassination removed them from the scene (285), the way was clear for an Illyrian general, Diocles by name, to remake the Roman world.

3. AUTOCRACY: DIOCLETIAN AND CONSTANTINE (285-337 A.D.)

DIOCLETIAN (285-305). The Illyrian officer, Diocles, who was now master of the Roman Empire, chose for himself the name Gaius Valerius Aurelius

Diocletianus (285–305). The fact that he was the son of a former slave, and probably an Oriental one, may explain both his disdain for Rome and her traditions and his willingness to embrace a despotic socialism in which a man's birth determined his position and career through life. Diocletian was, without question, an efficient innovator, blessed with the ability to bring order out of anarchy, but the autocratic government he set up as his particular solution was to make the Empire's subjects yearn for barbarian invaders and freedom.

DIVISION OF RESPONSIBILITY. Diocletian recognized that the task of defending the Empire from foreign and domestic foes, and of administering it, was too much for one man. He therefore hit on an ingenious scheme, whereby he would associate with himself an Augustus and then each of them would adopt two successors, known as Caesars; after a period of years, the two Augusti were to retire, their Caesars would become Augusti and adopt two other Caesars, and so on. Accordingly, Diocletian chose as his fellow-Augustus, Valerius Maximianus, a Pannonian officer. For his Caesar Diocletian chose an Illyrian officer, named Gaius Galerius; Maximian chose another Illyrian officer, Flavius Valerius Constantius; and the Caesars then married daughters of the Augusti. All edicts were issued in the names of the four rulers, for no formal division of the Empire was contemplated; a certain precedence was enjoyed by Diocletian, however. It was believed that some such scheme as this, allowing for an orderly succession and permitting no great power to anyone else, would prevent civil war. To protect the Empire from foreign invasion, four capitals were selected, each at a strategic point. Because of his love of the East, a land that long ago had accustomed itself to the theory of Hellenistic absolutism, Diocletian chose Nicomedia in Bithynia, and to emphasize his divine right to rule adopted the title "Jovius," which, moreover, automatically set him above his colleagues. Under his direct care were Thrace, Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt. Galerius, his Caesar, took Sirmium as his capital and was in charge of the Balkan and Danubian provinces. Maximian, the other Augustus, adopted "Herculius" as his title and Milan as his capital. He was responsible for Italy, Raetia, Africa, and Spain. Finally, Maximian's Caesar, Constantius, had Trier as his capital and Gaul and Britain as his provinces (see map, pp. 646, 647). Rome, with its glorious traditions and reminders of a republican past, was overlooked.

REVOLTS IN GAUL AND BRITAIN QUELLED. The chief military troubles at the beginning were a revolt of Gallic peasants, called Bagaudae, who found their taxes and requisitions unbearable; and a separatist movement in Britain, where a Roman officer, named Carausius, set himself up as Augustus. But both revolts were subdued, the Frankish and Saxon pirates who were raiding from the North Sea were defeated, and the Alemanni, Franks, and Burgundians who tried to cross the Rhine were repelled.

ORGANIZATION OF THE EMPIRE. Fundamental to Diocletian's new administrative policy was the separation of civil and military authority and its assignment to as many persons as possible. Accordingly, the provinces were decreased in size and raised in number to over one hundred; even Italy was divided into provinces and taxed. The provinces were grouped into thirteen dioceses. A provincial governor (*praeses*) was responsible to the head (vicar) of his diocese, who in turn was under the praetorian prefect of his particular prefecture. The whole Empire was divided into four great prefectures—the East, Illyricum, Italy, and Gaul—and according to Constantine's refinement of the scheme, the praetorian prefects had no military power, but were to dispense justice and collect the taxes in kind. Their military authority was shifted to two new officers, the Master of the Horse and the Master of the Foot, and in time they were known simply as the Masters of the Soldiers. The four prefects were directly responsible to the emperors.

THE EDICT OF PRICES (301). Plague, civil war, and barbarian invasion had taken their toll of life, the towns and cities of the Empire were much smaller than in the past, trade and industry had shrunk to an intraprovincial scale, and the coinage had lost its value. Diocletian's attempt to put the coinage on a sound basis was elaborated, with considerable success, by Constantine who introduced a new gold coin, the solidus, which contained $\frac{1}{2}$ of a pound of gold (approximately \$5.25), and a new silver coin, the siliqua, which was worth $\frac{1}{24}$ of a solidus. A shortage of metal necessitated the use of silver-washed copper coins for small change, but slowly, as a result of these reforms, trade revived between provinces and even with the Far East. The high cost of living, however, called for an immediate solution, and in 301 Diocletian issued his famous Edict of Prices, which aimed at setting the maximum price to be charged for all manufactured goods, clothing and food throughout the Empire as well as the cost of every form of labor. The maximum price of ham, for example, was placed at approximately 20 American cents a pound; wheat at \$1.25 a bushel; butter, 16 cents a pound; eggs, 9 cents a dozen; a worker's shoes, 85 cents a pair. Unskilled labor was allowed a maximum of 18 cents a day; carpenters and bricklayers, 36 cents; painters, 52 cents; food was included in each case. It proved impossible to enforce the Edict, even though death was the penalty of infraction, because it drew no distinction between wholesale and retail prices, and failed to consider such things as differences in quality, and the variations in supply and demand.

PERSECUTION OF THE CHRISTIANS (302). Diocletian's reign is also memorable as the last fierce persecution of the Christians. The Christian Church was now a community as wide as the Empire itself. It had survived previous persecutions and possessed the permanence of a State. Pagan and Christian were learning to live together, and the issue no longer lay between them, but



rather between the State and the Church. Perhaps because his Oriental despotism could brook no rival or, as is more likely, because Galerius forced him to it, Diocletian issued an Edict in 302 which confiscated all church property, deprived the Christians of their rights as citizens, forbade their worship, and ordered them to sacrifice to the gods of the state. In any case, it was Galerius who enforced the Edict with barbaric severity until in 311, mortally ill and aware that his cruelty had shocked even pagans into becoming Christians, he issued his Edict of Toleration.

ABDICATION OF DIOCLETIAN AND MAXIMIAN. The excesses of Galerius may explain why Diocletian decided to abdicate on the twentieth anniversary of his rule, May 1, 305. He withdrew to his palace near Salona (Spalato) in Dalmatia and forced Maximian to retire as well, to his estates in Lucania. A few years later Maximian died of disease, and in 316, after a decade in his vast palace, Diocletian died.

CONSTANTINE (306–337). The precise scheme of succession, which Diocletian had worked out so laboriously, did indeed raise Galerius and Constantius to the rank of Augustus, but so many quarrels developed over the choice of their successors that in 310 there were five Augusti and no Caesars. For a moment the field narrowed down to two men, Maxentius, the son of Maximian, and Constantine, who had been hailed as Augustus by the troops in Britain after the death (306) of his father, Constantius, at York. Flavius Valerius Aurelius Constantinus (306–337)—Constantine the Great, as he came to be called by Christian writers because of his work on behalf of their religion—was born about 280 at Nish (Naissus), the illegitimate son of Constantius and a beautiful Oriental freedwoman, Helena, a Christian serving maid in a Balkan inn (p. 642). Capable of cruelty and viciousness, Constantine had wide military experience and bided his time until 312, when at the head of an army of veterans he crossed the Mont Genève pass, routed his enemies at Turin and Verona, and pressed on to Rome. Inspired by a vision of the Christian cross, and the words “By this conquer” (*hoc vince*), Constantine had placed on the shields of his men the labarum—the Christian monogram, an X with a line drawn through it and rounded at the top, so as to represent the first two letters (chi and rho) of “Christ” in Greek. Then, at the Milvian bridge, he won one of the famous battles in history, and Maxentius was drowned in the Tiber. Victory against overwhelming odds had been promised him, so Constantine believed, by the God of the Christians, and now that the promise had been kept, it was bound to influence his reign. The people of the Empire were yearning for something more than mere political unity, desirable as that was; it was a higher universalism they sought, but paganism had failed to provide it.

FOUNDATION OF CONSTANTINOPLE (330). Constantine and Licinianus Licinius, an appointee of Galerius, were now the rulers of the Empire. In 313

they met briefly at Milan, whence they issued an Edict placing Christianity on the same plane with other religions and restoring to the Christians their civil rights and property. The uneasy peace between the two men finally broke out into open warfare, in which Licinius lost his life. From 324 until his death in 337 Constantine was the sole ruler of the Empire. Now that the God of the Christians had restored imperial unity, it was proper that the Roman world should have a Christian capital, and work was immediately begun on the transformation of Byzantium into the City of Constantine. On May 11, 330, Constantinople was dedicated. Majestically situated beside the Golden Horn—its fine harbor on the Bosphorus, admirably suited for the fleet and for trade beyond the seas—the new capital was adorned with works of art from the ancient world and strongly fortified against any dangers of the future. From this spot the emperor could easily keep his eye on the two danger lines of the Empire, the Euphrates and Danube rivers. Except for a brief interruption in 1204, when the Crusaders took it, this Second Rome stood impregnable for more than a thousand years; but when the Turk did at last come (1453), Constantinople had discharged its chief function in history, and western Europe was ready once again to defend civilization.

THE COUNCIL OF NICAEEA (325). Constantine saw that unity must be restored within the Church no less than in the State. A religious controversy was dividing the Christians of the East, as not so long ago it had those in the West. There the Donatist schism in Africa had compelled the emperor to call together the Synod of Arles (314), the first such gathering in the history of the Church, and to mediate between rival bishops. The present issue concerned the physical nature of Christ. Arius, a presbyter of the Church in Alexandria, maintained that God and the Son were of like substance, but not identical, on the ground that eternal God had created the other two members of the Holy Trinity, the Son and the Spirit; whereas the Bishop of Alexandria, Athanasius, held (as did the West) that they were of the same substance. The Arian heresy, as it was called, so inflamed people that in 325 Constantine summoned the Bishops of the Church to meet with him at Nicaea in Asia Minor. There an oecumenical Council was held, the first in the Church's history, and a creed was agreed upon. The orthodox doctrine of Athanasius prevailed, but Arianism continued widespread in the East. The point at issue was of little interest to Constantine; in fact, within three years of championing orthodoxy, he murdered a son, drowned his wife in her bath, and put a young nephew to death. He had, however, acted like a statesman to bring about unity within the Church. As he expressed it, the unity of the Church was the condition and guarantee of the prosperity of the Empire. The Council of Nicaea was the first gathering which professed to represent the entire Christian world and as such it added greatly to the power of the Church in its contest with paganism, and

exalted the clergy to a place which no religious body had ever held before.

ORGANIZATION OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH. By the time of Constantine the Church had acquired a considerable organization. Each congregation had its officers: deacons, who cared for the poor; elders, or presbyters, who as the council of the congregation looked after its interests; and an overseer, or bishop, who was the chief of the presbyters. The clergy came to enjoy a privileged position and were freed of taxes and *munera*. As the church of a given city sent out branches to neighboring towns and rural districts, the bishop of the parent community came to have authority over a group of congregations. In Constantine's day some differences of rank and influence among the bishops were already appearing. Those of a province looked for guidance to the highest religious officer of the provincial capital, who, though essentially a bishop, was usually called a metropolitan (or, later, an archbishop). Above him in dignity were the patriarchs of such important cities as Constantinople, Antioch, and Alexandria, while the Bishop of Rome was acquiring the greatest influence of all (see the map, pp. 646, 647). It must be emphasized, however, that under Constantine Christianity was not the religion of the state, but was merely on a level with other religions; indeed, it was only on his deathbed—by which time Arianism was again in the ascendant and Athanasius was in exile—that Constantine received the sacrament of baptism, from an Arian bishop.

THE IMPERIAL COURT. Constantine's administrative policy was essentially a continuation and refinement of Diocletian's, and since it is not always possible to differentiate between them, it is best to describe their policy together. To begin with, the emperor was an unapproachable Oriental despot, the elect of God, out of touch with his subjects and surrounded by a multitude of court dignitaries, each with his own pay and grade, jealous of precedence and anxious for promotion. At the top stood, not senators and equestrians (the distinction between them was forgotten), but the highest officials, *Clarissimi* (Most Glorious), and just under them the *Perfectissimi* (Most Perfect). The emperor's chief advisers were the Grand Chamberlain, who was in charge of the palace and all its servants; the Count of the Sacred Largesses, who looked after the revenues paid in money; the Count of the Privy Purse, who was responsible for the revenues from the imperial lands; the Quaestor, minister of justice. All persons, no matter what their station, prostrated themselves before the emperor, whom they found wearing a diadem set with precious stones and dressed in purple silken robes. Only the emperor could wear a special type of the *paladumentum*, or purple mantle, only he could hold the scepter with its eagle. Twenty of the highest officials and nobles formed the Imperial Council, which had in charge the civil and military administration. To run the bureaucracy and army was the chief task of government.

THE BUREAUCRACY. The bureaucracy was enormous. The many different bureaux (*officia*) were under the Master of Offices. He was also in charge of the spies, and the spies on spies, for every man was jealous of every other man, suspicion filled the air, and duplication of work was everywhere necessary. For example, the spies, or *agentes in rebus* as they were called, were ostensibly inspectors of the post and the imperial highways, which of course carried them all over the Empire in their nefarious work; then, to close their active career, they were assigned as assistants to the provincial governors. The governor, that is to say, had at his elbow a spy busily sending secret reports to the capital. There was no room for talent or originality in a scheme such as this; graft and corruption, rather, were the order of the day.

Not only was there the imperial court at Constantinople to support, but those of other Augusti and the prefects as well. The city masses of Rome and Constantinople occupied a favored position, for they had to be fed and amused. Each of the two cities had its own Senate (now a municipal council) and was under a city prefect. Vast building programs—baths, basilicas, palaces—in Rome as well as Constantinople, and indeed throughout the Empire, were further drains on the treasury.

THE ARMY. The largest expense was the army. The number of legions had grown to sixty, though each was smaller than formerly, and there was also an increase in the cavalry, auxiliaries, and fleets. The percentage of barbarians in the armed forces was greater than ever before; their officers received Roman citizenship. The border garrisons (*limitanei*) now had their own lands for their support, free from the authority of the municipality in which they were located. The soldiers were essentially peasants under arms, valuable in their way, and to ensure a steady supply the career was made an hereditary obligation. An officer of such a permanent garrison was known as a *dux* (duke), though the more important ones were called *comites* (counts). It was obviously necessary to provide a large mobile force, stationed at strategic points within the Empire, which could be quickly moved to threatened borders. A well-trained and well-equipped army of 200,000 men was organized, and since the soldiers accompanied the emperor on an expedition, they were called *comitatenses*. Vigorous barbarians along the borders were taken into Roman pay as allies (*foederati*); they continued under their own rulers, but were obligated to give military aid. Finally, there were the palatine troops, who officially were the palace troops, though they generally served in the field; and the 3,500 scholars or imperial bodyguards. The Master of the Horse and the Master of the Foot (Masters of the Soldiers) were directly responsible for the military forces.

THE IMPERIAL ECONOMY. The high cost of army and bureaucracy crushed the Roman world. The primitive economy of the Empire was such that when

the peasants had paid their taxes and rents to maintain those who did not produce—the soldiers, bureaucrats, and large landowners—they did not have enough left to feed large families. The depopulation caused by war and plague during the third century need not have been more than temporary, but this permanent falling off of population explains the acute shortage of man power, which was a major factor in the decline of the Empire. And yet the government had to maintain the existing establishment, with its ever-increasing demands for man power. In order, therefore, to discover every possible form of wealth and to tax it, the government took a census regularly. Each year, moreover, an imperial proclamation (*indictio*) announced the amount of taxes to be collected in kind (*annona*), a particularly cruel blow to the farmer who was thus prevented from taking advantage of a rise in prices. The amount of land a man owned was divided into taxable units, each called a *iugum*; for example, a *iugum* consisted of twenty good acres of arable land, or 225 olive trees, or five acres of vineyard. In addition, the laborers were taxed, one man or two women forming a unit (*caput*). Money taxes were laid on tradesmen, municipal senators, and others for various purposes, and in particular to enable the emperor to distribute a largesse to the army every five years. The taxes, in money and in kind, were not sufficient to meet expenses, so that public duties (*munera*) were required of the population, to keep up the post, to feed and transport the army, and so on. Members of the bureaucracy and army were free from taxes, and the Empire was full of people who hoped to join one or the other. The only other avenues of escape were across the frontiers or into the Church.

HEREDITARY, COMPULSORY SERVICE. To change one's position in life, however, was practically impossible, for the law of *origo* bound people to their tasks, which were made hereditary. In an immediate sense, there was a certain justification for this, since the feeding and clothing and servicing of the Empire had to be provided, but the result was to destroy initiative and life as it had been understood for centuries. The transformation of the free farmer into a serf, which must have been brought about by an imperial decree in the early fourth century (though it has not survived), clearly illustrates the process of change. The coloni, who were originally small free farmers and then tenants, were crushed between taxes and *munera* and began a movement from the land. In order to supply the army and civilian population with their essential needs, the emperor first bound the workers on his estates to the soil, and then farmers everywhere. The colonus was now a serf, personally free (though he progressively lost civic rights) and even able to own his land. He could not sell it, however, and his children were obligated to cultivate it in their turn. If the colonus did not own his land, he was included with it when it was sold. In like fashion the old colleges, or guilds, were now gone, their place was taken by

corporations (*corpora*), and their members—tradesmen, artisans, and others—generally found themselves saddled with a hereditary obligation to continue in their careers.

The prosperous middle class of former days was also ruined. This section of society provided the municipalities with their councillors (*curiales*), but the custom had developed of making them responsible for the taxes of their communities. When it was discovered that many *curiales* were leaving their posts, this once honorable profession was decreed a hereditary obligation. The *curiales*, to save themselves from economic disaster, exacted as much as they could from their fellow townsmen and were hated accordingly; it was a common expression that a city had as many tyrants as there were *curiales*.

THE GREAT LANDOWNERS. The only prosperous individuals in the Empire were the great landowners, whose fortified villas became centers of country life. The owners were very powerful, exempt from the supervision of the municipalities near them, and in return they took over waste lands and made their vast estates as productive as possible. Most of the large landowners throughout the Empire were known as senators, a term which now denoted rank rather than post or function. They were strong enough to shirk their duty to the State and to protect their tenants from injustice and even from the discharge of their proper obligations. For this reason many freeholders were ready to put themselves under their rich neighbor. He, in turn, was glad to have as many dependents as possible, for they enabled him to defy the tax collectors and other imperial officials. The landowners were practically sovereigns and ruled over estates so extensive as to resemble little kingdoms. This was the beginning of feudalism, which was to reach its full development in the Middle Ages.

To speak generally, the dangerous foreign situation, religion, the decline in population, and the financial needs of the State combined to set the social structure of the late Roman Empire. The principal feature of this structure was its immobility, which was caused by the inseparable relationship of the head tax and the land tax. The government, that is to say, had to establish a definite stability between land and labor, and therefore attached the peasants to the land. It must be emphasized, however, that social immobility was never complete in this "corporate state." Some free peasants were able to move, if they did not occupy the same land more than thirty years. In the towns those artisans who were not connected with any public service had some freedom of action, though they were organized in the new corporations and their activities were regulated; their trades were not forcibly hereditary (though in practice that was usually the case), and they might strike for higher wages and intervene in politics. Indeed, even the members of corporations engaged in public services were allowed to find substitutes for themselves; the fact that substitutes could be found shows that the curtailment of freedom and the heavy

obligation of membership in the corporations were, in the minds of some, more than compensated by the security afforded by the corporations. The fabric of society, as it subsequently developed in the Eastern Empire, was in truth ever-changing.

The late Empire, heir of civil wars and barbarian invasions and economic collapse, had succeeded in creating an essentially regimented life which Cicero would have found difficult to recognize.

4. THE LAST YEARS OF THE UNITED EMPIRE (337-395 A.D.)

Among the reasons why a citizen of the Republic or early Empire would have found it difficult to recognize the world of the fourth century was the fact that the Italian people had been lost amid a sea of races. Political life and spirit had also disappeared, including even the institutions of the Greek cities, which had continued to function long after Rome's conquest. Artistic creation, in large part, had stopped, and so had literature, except among Christian writers. Diocletian and Constantine, nevertheless, gave the Empire a new lease of life, and this was well, for in the years that remained to the united Empire some of the barbarians across the frontiers gained a respect for Rome's law and new religion.

CONSTANTIUS (337-360) AND JULIAN THE APOSTATE (360-363). When Constantine died (337), the troops would recognize only his sons as Augusti; they ruled jointly, until death removed Constantine II and Constans. The surviving son, Constantius (337-360), was long occupied with the Sassanid king, Shapur II, who threatened both northern Mesopotamia and Armenia, now a Christian country. Since he had no son of his own, Constantius associated with himself as Caesar his nephew, Julian (355, p. 642). This man had been a Christian, but he had lost his belief in the new religion as he studied the great classical literatures at Athens. It was Hellenism, and more particularly Neoplatonism, with its mystical belief in salvation, that appealed to him. Julian, rather surprisingly for a scholar, proved himself a good general and defeated the Franks at Cologne and the Alemanni at Strasburg. When, however, Constantius summoned to the East some of Julian's finest Gallic troops, civil war was averted only by the timely death of the emperor. Julian himself was killed in 363 during a campaign in the Tigris Valley, but his brief reign is interesting as the last attempt to reassert paganism as the religion of the Empire. Julian the Apostate, as he is called, did not persecute Christianity, but he tried to weaken it in various ways. For example, he fought Christianity with its own weapons, by adapting to pagan use its liturgy and preaching, together with its practice of charity. Then, too, under the guise of complete toleration, he favored heretical bishops and decreed that Christians were not to be allowed to teach classical pagan literature. But it was too late to revive paganism, and

with Julian's death all such efforts came to an end, as did the House of Constantine the Great.

VALENTINIAN I (364-375) AND VALENS (364-378). The following year the choice of the soldiers fell on a Pannonian officer, Valentinian (364-375), who immediately associated with himself as Augustus his younger brother, Valens (364-378). Leaving Valens to defend the Empire along the lower Danube and in the east, Valentinian hastened west, where various dangers threatened. A defeat of the Alemanni in the Black Forest gave him the opportunity to repair the defenses along the Rhine and to create a new fortress at Basilea (Basel). At the same time he sent his general, Theodosius, against the Moors in Africa and against the Scots, Picts, and Saxons in Britain. Valentinian was a superior emperor, measured by the standard of the day. He was tolerant toward the various controversies raging within the Christian Church, an attitude, however, which merely allowed feelings to rise to a higher pitch. To protect the people against their government (for that is what it amounted to) he set up in the cities "protectors of the community" (*defensores civitatis*). These officials were supposed to defend the weak and ended in oppressing them. Perhaps Valentinian's greatest fault was his uncontrollable temper; in any case, it brought on his death, for during a conference with envoys of the Quadi at Brigetio on the Danube he burst a blood vessel and died. His son, Gratian (367-383), fifteen years of age and already an Augustus, and another son, Valentinian II (375-392), four years old, succeeded him.

RELIGIOUS CONTROVERSY. The chief controversy dividing Christians during this period was Arianism, which neither the Council of Nicaea nor the tardy return of Athanasius to his see at Alexandria had succeeded in destroying. Although Valentinian himself was orthodox, his lack of interest in dogma and his willingness to let people express their opinions had the effect of fanning the strife. His brother, Valens, on the other hand, was an Arian and persecuted orthodox believers. When, moreover, he found that thousands of people were disappearing into Upper Egypt—some for ascetic reasons, others in reality to escape their public obligations—he passed legislation against monasticism.

THE VISIGOTHS. Valens also busily defended the eastern frontiers. The Visigoths, as the western branch of the Gothic race was called, were a constant menace, as were their eastern brothers, the Ostrogoths. The Ostrogoths had built up a considerable kingdom in southern Russia, under Hermanric, and had become Arian Christians; due to the work of their bishop, Ulfilas, the Scriptures had been translated into Gothic. Both branches of the Gothic race, and the other barbarians beyond the frontiers, were now caught up in a series of great migrations which were to end in the overthrow of the Roman Empire in the West. The fiercest of these nomads were the Mongolian Huns—

the Hsiung-nu of the Chinese annals—who in their westward movement conquered first the Alans, and then the Ostrogoths. When the Visigoths saw the fate overhanging them, they appealed to the Romans to be allowed to cross the Danube, without their arms, and to settle in waste lands to the south. The Romans failed, however, to collect their arms and treacherously mistreated them, whereupon the Visigoths turned fiercely upon the Romans. Valens hurried to the rescue as quickly as he could, only to meet his death at Adrianople (378). The Goths were now free to ravage the Balkans.

THEODOSIUS I, THE GREAT (378–395). When he heard of his uncle's death, Gratian appointed Theodosius as a colleague. This was the son of the general who had fought invaders in Africa and Britain; as Theodosius I (378–395) he was the last Roman emperor to be called “the Great.” At the very beginning of his reign Theodosius was able to subdue the Goths and settle them as allies (*foederati*) on waste lands south of the Danube. The following years saw the murder of Gratian and Valentinian II. When Theodosius himself died (395), his two sons, Arcadius and Honorius, succeeded him and divided the Empire between themselves. Never again was a single individual to rule over a wholly united Roman Empire.

TRIUMPH OF ORTHODOX CHRISTIANITY. The reign of Theodosius the Great marked the victory of orthodox Christianity. An imperial edict, directed against paganism, ordered everyone throughout the Empire to accept Christianity. To end religious strife within the Church, Theodosius called together an oecumenical Council, the second in its history (381), and persuaded the 150 bishops gathered at Constantinople to adopt a modified version of the Nicæan creed, which is the one still recited in churches today. Although the Bishop of Rome, who was called “Pope” (after the Greek word for “father,” *pappas*), enjoyed a preëminence over other bishops, nevertheless the outstanding official of the Church at this time was St. Ambrose, the Bishop of Milan. It was Ambrose who wholeheartedly supported Gratian in his persecution of paganism, for now paganism, rather than Christianity, was the object of imperial suppression. Gratian, for example, refused the title of Pontifex Maximus, which was reserved for the head of the old state cults; and he removed the altar and statue of Victory from the Senate house at Rome, which as a symbol of the State was particularly venerated by the pagan aristocracy of the Senate. One of their number, Symmachus, pleaded with Gratian that “not by one path alone can the Great Mystery be approached,” but Gratian had the support of Ambrose and would not relent. Some years later, indeed, the bishop refused Theodosius permission to enter his cathedral and excluded him for eight months until he repented of a massacre at Thessalonica, for, he insisted, there were certain moral laws which bound emperors no less than ordinary mortals.

At the end of the fourth century the Roman Empire was largely barbaric,

but it was most fortunate for posterity that, thanks to the last ruler of the united Empire, the barbarians who were to overwhelm its western half should find on their arrival a potentially powerful Christian State which had broken irrevocably with unproductive paganism. Generally speaking, moreover, the Germans did not come to destroy the Empire—after all, they had been in touch with the Roman world for 600 years—but to profit by its advantages.

XXXIV

THE TRANSITION TO THE MIDDLE AGES (395–565 A.D.)

DIVISION OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE (395). On the death of Theodosius, his sons, Arcadius and Honorius, divided the Roman Empire formally into an eastern and a western half (395, see the map, pp. 646, 647). This in itself might be taken as the end of ancient history, just as the picture of a Christian bishop excluding a Roman emperor from his church seems to symbolize the beginning of Europe's Middle Ages. People at the time, however, were unaware of any abrupt change in the affairs of the world. The Christian Church had long been an established fact; emperors had often before divided their authority, if not the Empire, and even now the fiction of a single state was at least maintained; barbarian invasions, and with them a change in the racial stock of the Empire, had become commonplace. To be sure, the invasions of the next century overwhelmed the Western Empire, and yet might they not prove to be a mere interlude? So long as the Eastern Empire stood, there was always the possibility that the two halves might be rejoined. And this is precisely what Justinian tried to do. Justinian ranks with Constantine as one of the two geniuses of the late Empire. In many important respects he belongs to ancient Roman history, but when his partial reconquest of the West failed to endure, mankind, in both East and West, set sail irrevocably on new seas. Then, and only then, is the break with the past so clear that we are justified in saying that one epoch of history has finally closed, if indeed we can say it then, for every age contains within itself both the old and the germ of the new.

1. THE GERMANIC INVASIONS OF THE WEST (395–476 A.D.)

ALARIC AND THE VISIGOTHS. Soon after Theodosius' death, the Visigoths ravaged Greece under their chieftain, Alaric, until Arcadius, emperor of the East, bought his friendship by making him Master of the Soldiers of Epirus. This gave Alaric the opportunity of supplying his men with good arms, so that in a few years he was ready for a more important undertaking, the invasion of Italy. It is a remarkable fact that not only the common soldiers but even the best generals and ministers of the Empire were now Germans. Such was Stilicho, a fair and stately Vandal, who had married a niece of Theodosius,

and was at this time the guardian and chief general of the worthless Honorius, emperor of the West (395-423). Stilicho and Alaric were well matched, for both were born leaders of men, both were brave and energetic, with equal genius for war. But Stilicho had the advantage of Roman organization. Hastily gathering troops from Britain, Gaul, and other parts in the West, he defeated Alaric at Pollentia and Verona and forced him back across the Alps (403).

Honorius, whose chief interest in life was poultry raising, feared that Milan was no longer a safe capital, in spite of its strategic position in northern Italy, and removed his residence to the marshes of Ravenna. There he listened to stories about Stilicho's disloyalty, until finally he ordered the Vandal's death (408). As Alaric knew that no able general was left to defend the Empire, he crossed the Alps and marched straight for Rome. Afflicted with famine and pestilence, the citizens bought Alaric off by the payment of an enormous ransom. In the following year he appeared again before the walls, this time demanding whole provinces for the settlement of his men. He appointed his own emperor to displace Honorius, an arrangement that did not last, and then he besieged Rome a third time. It was at this moment, when the Goth was already at the gates, that the poet Claudian wrote his great eulogy on the Rome of the emperors, the swan song of the Western Empire. It is this Rome, Claudian says, who has cared for the human race and given it a common name; who has taken the conquered to her bosom like a mother, and called them not subjects but citizens; who has united distant races in the bonds of affection. To the peace which she has brought to us we owe it, every one of us, continues Claudian, that every part of the Empire is to us as a fatherland; that it matters nothing if we drink of the Rhone or of the Orontes; that we are all one people. That is the last verdict on the Rome of the emperors, it has been remarked, the proudest boast perhaps that any man in any empire ever made: we are all one people.

THE SACK OF ROME (410). For eight hundred years Rome had seen no enemy in her streets, but now (410) the Visigoths burst in and plundered the city. They killed many citizens, but as Christians, who had received their religion from the Arian bishop Ulfilas, they spared the churches and those who took refuge in them. The sack of Rome astonished mankind, for all had supposed the city inviolable, and in her fall they thought they saw the ruin of the law and order of the world. To console them, and particularly the Christians, St. Augustine wrote his *City of God*, to prove that the community of the Most High would last forever, even though the greatest city of earth had fallen.

THE VISIGOTHIC KINGDOM IN GAUL. The Visigoths soon left Rome and wandered southward with their booty, intending to cross to Africa, but while they were making ready for this, Alaric died. His brother-in-law, Ataulf, succeeded him. This man had once wished to blot the Romans out of existence and to

substitute the Visigoths in their place; but as he saw his followers slow in adapting themselves to settled life, he recognized the value of Rome for order and civilization. So far as events permitted, Ataulf henceforth became Rome's champion. He led his people out of Italy, bringing with him Galla Placidia, Honorius' sister, whom he married. From Italy the Visigoths went to Gaul and Spain, which had already been plundered by Vandals, Alans, and Suevi (whose name survives in the modern Swabia). After Ataulf's death in 415, Galla Placidia returned to Italy, and many of the Visigoths to Gaul. Here they settled as *foederati* of the Roman Empire—allies obligated to give military aid, but otherwise under their own kings—but later on, under Theodoric and Euric, they created an independent kingdom, with Toulouse for its capital.

THE VANDALS. In 405, a decade before Ataulf's death, thousands of Vandals crossed the Rhine, whose garrisons had been withdrawn by Stilicho to use against Alaric. The Vandals, joined by Suevi and Alans, ravaged their way through Gaul into Spain. It was here that the Visigoths found them. The Suevi were gradually pressed by the newcomers into the northwest corner of the peninsula, while the Vandals and Alans retired southward. Thus far the Vandals had been driven about from place to place—their history had been an unbroken record of defeats. Now, however, they found their hero king in Gaiseric, under whom they, too, were to appear as a conquering nation. In contrast with the majestic type of Germanic leader, Gaiseric was short and limping, but he had a cunning, nimble mind, which always hit upon the right expedient. Bold, grasping and persistent, he never lost sight of his ends or of the intricate means which led to them. In addition to his desire to find lands for his men and a kingdom for himself, he sought to humble Rome, and as an Arian Christian, to destroy the orthodox church. (Cf. map, p. 664.)

THE VANDAL KINGDOM IN AFRICA. The Vandal chief found his opportunity in Africa. The military governor of Africa was Count Boniface, but he and the Roman government had quarreled. The Western Empire was now ruled by Valentinian III (425–455), nephew of Honorius, though actually the government was in the hands of Galla Placidia, mother of the emperor and now an Augusta, and of Aëtius, the Master of the Soldiers (or Patrician, as the office came to be called). Suspecting Boniface of disloyalty, Placidia ordered him to Rome, but the Count turned for revenge to the Vandals and invited them to invade his provinces. Gaiseric, accordingly, crossed to Africa with 80,000 persons, including women and children (429). In vain the penitent Boniface, who meanwhile had been reconciled to the Roman government, tried to send Gaiseric back. Africa, with its large, fertile estates was too tempting, and the Vandals desolated the country, until the Romans settled them as *foederati* (435). Not content with this, the Vandals captured Carthage and then built ships and took to piracy. The Sicilian coasts in particular bore the

brunt of their "Vandalism." In the year 455, however, Valentinian III was murdered, the last of the dynasty of Theodosius the Great in the West. The new emperor, Petronius Maximus, forced his predecessor's widow to marry him, and when she appealed to the Vandals for revenge, they gladly accepted the invitation. For a fortnight they pillaged Rome, and stored in their ships at Ostia all the movable property, together with many captives, including the empress Eudoxia and her daughters. The Roman and the barbarian had indeed exchanged roles. Gaiseric, however, had promised the Pope, the great Leo, to refrain from indiscriminate destruction of buildings, and he kept his word. At the death of Gaiseric (477), the expansion of the Vandal kingdom ceased, but it maintained itself in Africa, the Balearic Islands, Corsica, Sardinia, and part of Sicily, until it was annexed by the Eastern Empire in the next century.

OTHER GERMANIC INVASIONS. While these calamities were falling on the Empire of the West, still other Germanic tribes crossed the Rhine to live eventually in Gaul as *foederati*. These were the Burgundians, who settled chiefly in the valley of the Rhone and Saône rivers; the Riparian Franks, so called from the fact that they lived on the banks of the Rhine; and the Salian Franks, from the coasts of the North Sea. Britain, however, fared even worse. Roman civilization and Christianity had not taken a deep hold on the island, and consequently when Stilicho recalled the troops from Britain for the protection of Italy, the Britons could not defend themselves against the barbarians who assailed them on every side. Scots from Ireland, Picts from Scotland, Germanic Jutes, Angles, and Saxons overwhelmed them. By the middle of the fifth century Britain had again become barbarous and pagan. Britain, Africa, and most of Spain had been lost, but the Western Empire still controlled central and southern Gaul. Here Aëtius, Master of the Soldiers and the real power under Valentinian III, maintained the imperial authority. Aëtius and the Germanic *foederati* of Gaul were destined to be drawn together by the new great enemy of civilization—Attila the Mongolian Hun and "Scourge of God."

ATTILA THE HUN. After desolating the provinces of the East and terrorizing Constantinople, the Huns had moved westward to the plains of Hungary and thence to the Rhine. Their king, Attila, attracted to himself men of many races, Germans, Slavs, and even Greeks. Attila was haughty and fierce, short of stature, with a swarthy skin, small eyes, and a snub nose. Many Hunnish troops were used by Aëtius to maintain Roman power in Gaul, but the amicable relationship between him and Attila was broken when the Hun demanded the hand of Honoria, sister of Valentinian III, and half the Western Empire as her dowry. When this was refused, Attila crossed the Rhine and, leaving wasted fields and ruined cities in his path, pressed on to Orleans, which was saved by a combination of Aëtius and the Germanic *foederati* of Gaul under

the Visigothic king Theodoric. As Attila retreated eastward, one of the bloodiest conflicts known to history was fought between Troyes and Metz, though it is celebrated as the battle of Châlons (451). Theodoric fell, but Attila was routed and withdrew across the Rhine.

The next year Attila arrived in Italy on his errand of destruction. Aquileia and many another city were visited with fire and sword. When it appeared as if Attila would turn on Rome, the Roman bishop, Leo, met him at Lake Garda with the words, "Thus far and no farther," and reminded the Hun of the wrath of God that had stricken Alaric after his sack of the holy city. This was three years before the same Leo succeeded in softening Gaiseric's plunder of Rome. It is a memorable and challenging picture, this regard of Hun and Vandal for an ancient and beautiful city, even though the presence of troops from the Eastern Empire and hardships among his own men undoubtedly also influenced Attila. The year after his departure from Italy Attila died (453), and his Hunnish empire broke into pieces.

END OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE (476). In 454 the emperor of the West, Valentinian III, jealous of the fame of Aëtius, invited the great commander into the imperial palace and killed him there with his own hand. The following year Valentinian himself was murdered. An able, scheming German, Ricimer by name, controlled the Western Empire (456-472) for most of the years that were left to it. Though he called himself simply Patrician, he kept the power in his own hands and made and unmade emperors at pleasure. Three years after Ricimer's death, Orestes, an Illyrian, became Patrician and conferred the imperial title on his son Romulus. Romulus Augustulus, the Little Augustus as he was contemptuously called, ruled but a few months, when the Germanic mercenaries in Italy, demanding a third of the land for themselves, deposed him in favor of their leader, Odovacar, whom they made king (October 22, 476). Odovacar compelled the Senate to send the purple, with other imperial ornaments, to Constantinople, in token of the reunion of the Empire under one head, and the Eastern emperor (Zeno) responded by conferring on Odovacar the title of Patrician.

No one living at the time saw in the event of 476 anything worthy of notice. No one supposed that any part of the Empire had fallen. The continuance of the emperors in the East satisfied in some degree a want which Rome had left in the hearts of the barbarians as well as of her native citizens—a longing for a central power which, in the midst of chaos, should stand for law and order throughout the world. Accordingly, most men even in the West thought of the Eastern emperor as their own. In theory, the event of the year was the reunion of the East and West under one head; at the same time it pointed to an accomplished fact, the dissolution of the Empire in the West. The happenings of 476 had this important result, that as Italy ceased to be the home

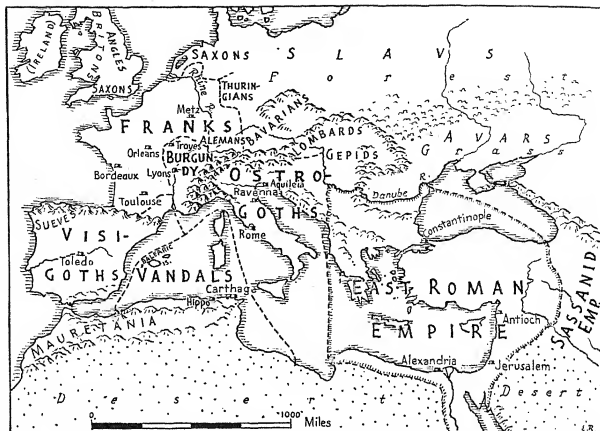
of the emperors, the Bishop of Rome became the most respected and most influential person in the West—the Pope succeeded to the vacant throne of the Augusti.

2. THE GERMANIC KINGDOMS OF THE WEST (476–526 A.D.)

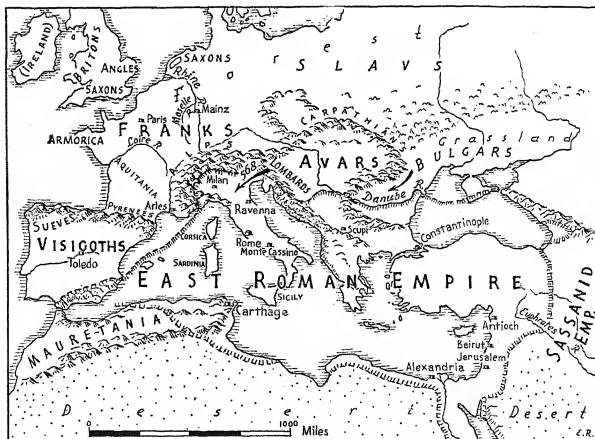
With the accession of Odovacar (476–493) the entire Western Empire was in the hands of the barbarians. In Gaul and Spain the Romans and Visigoths lived together on good terms, though naturally the Romans, who had been compelled to surrender two-thirds of their land (and all that went with it—coloni, cattle, etc.), were in an inferior position. Intermarriage between the two peoples was forbidden and, in general, they each had their own laws. The capital of the Visigothic kingdom was at Toulouse. In Africa, on the other hand, the Vandals persecuted and oppressed their Roman subjects, while in Italy Odovacar continued the Roman system of government (see the map, p. 664).

THE OSTROGOTHIC KING, THEODORIC THE GREAT (493–526). Odovacar was destined, however, to be overthrown by the Ostrogoths. These people had been conquered by the Huns, but on Attila's death they had settled in Pannonia as *foederati* of the Eastern emperor. Zeno, fearing and suspecting his allies, saw that they were anxious to move against Odovacar and gladly bade them farewell. Under their king, Theodoric the Great, the Ostrogoths crossed the Alps, defeated Odovacar in two battles and killed him. With remarkable tact Theodoric adapted himself to his new position as king of Italy (493–526). Though he could neither read nor write, he encouraged education; a barbarian, he yet appreciated the value of Roman law and civilization; an Arian, he tolerated the orthodox Catholics. He settled his men on the land by setting aside one-third of the imperial estates rather than by confiscating private property. Theodoric, moreover, issued a law code, borrowed from the Roman, which applied equally to Goths and Romans; the administration of government was patterned after the Roman, and Romans filled many of the civil posts and even some of the military. His Master of Offices was the scholar and senator, Cassiodorus. In fact, Theodoric considered himself the colleague of the Eastern emperor and received from him the purple and other imperial ornaments which Odovacar had sent to Constantinople. Theodoric's capital was at Ravenna, and here he built a palace and churches (p. 674), though he was also careful to repair the ravages of war in Rome and other cities.

THE KINGDOM OF THE FRANKS. In order to make Italy as secure as possible, Theodoric connected himself by marriages with most of the German kings of the West. He himself married a sister of Clovis, king of the Franks, and his own sister married the Vandal king; one daughter married the Burgundian king; another, the king of the Visigoths. Of all these people, the most important



The Roman Empire and the Germanic Kingdoms at the death of Theodoric, 526 A.D.



The Roman Empire at the death of Justinian, 565 A.D.

for the history of Europe was Clovis. His life work was to be the founding of a united Frankish kingdom, embracing most of Gaul, together with a part of western Germany; for nearly two and a half centuries after his death his descendants—known as Merovingians, from Merowig, grandfather of Clovis—continued to rule. In the beginning of his reign Clovis and his subjects were pagan. But he married the Burgundian princess Clotilda, who chanced to belong to the Roman Church; and when, somewhat later, he convinced himself that her God had helped him to win a battle, he and three thousand of his warriors were baptized into the faith. To appreciate the importance of this event, we must emphasize the fact that while the Romans in what had been the Western Empire were of the orthodox persuasion, the invading Germans, with the exception of a few families like that of Clotilda, were heterodox Arians. The faith of Clovis recommended him both to the Romans and the Eastern emperor, and the Roman Church encouraged him in his conquest of the heretical Germans. It was this alliance between the Roman Church and the Frankish throne which, under Charlemagne three centuries later, was to refound the Empire in the West and give a new character to mediaeval history. The Frankish kingdom and that of the West Saxons in England were the only two States to survive from the many that succeeded to the Western Roman Empire.

Not long after the death of Clovis in 511, the Eastern emperor, Justin, began a persecution of Arians. Theodoric, accordingly, planned to retaliate by persecuting the Catholics—the renowned philosopher, Boëthius, and others were put to death at this time—but Theodoric himself died before he was able to carry out his plans in detail (526). No great figure remained in the West; in the East, however, a new and remarkable man sat on the imperial throne, and it was his fortune to reconquer for the Empire much that had been lost in the West.

3. THE EASTERN EMPIRE (395-527 A.D.)

When Arcadius and Honorius, the sons of Theodosius, divided the Empire in 395—roughly, by drawing a line from north to south, just east of the heel of Italy (map, pp. 646, 647)—imperial edicts were published in the names of the two emperors, and in other ways the fiction of a united state was preserved. But, as we have seen, the division was a very real one, and in the issue the Western Empire disappeared. The Eastern Roman Empire, on the other hand, lasted more than a thousand years, with but a brief interruption in the thirteenth century. The survival of the imperial government, especially during the chaos of the fifth century, was primarily due to its capacity, despite many faults, to accomplish two great tasks. In the first place, the Eastern emperors were extraordinarily clever in dealing with the barbarians; they pur-

chased their friendship, or played off one tribe, or one chief, against another; and, if necessary, they deflected them westward. Secondly, the high military command was divided among several Masters of the Soldiers, so that there was less domestic upheaval, though much intrigue and strife.

ARCADIUS (395–408). These generalizations help to explain the survival of the Eastern Empire; they also describe the main activity of government. For example, Arcadius (395–408) was never strong enough to free himself wholly of powerful personalities—first of the praetorian prefect and general Rufinus and then of the eunuch Eutropius. At the end of his career Eutropius was forced to seek sanctuary under the high altar of the cathedral when the Bishop of Constantinople, St. John Chrysostom, the Golden-mouth, was preaching on the text, “Vanity of vanities, all is vanity.” The degenerate court life was an especial object of the bishop’s eloquence, and needless to say, the inhabitants of the Empire groaned under the heavy taxation necessary for the maintenance of an Oriental court, a corrupt and complex bureaucracy, and large armed forces. But when Arcadius reached the end of his life, he could look back on an Empire which had remained intact, and had survived the invasions of Huns in Syria and Asia Minor and of Alaric and his Visigoths in Thrace, Macedonia, and Thessaly. Doubtless the vitality of Hellenism in the East was the strongest ally in the possession of the Empire.

THEODOSIUS II (408–450). Arcadius was succeeded by his son, Theodosius II (408–450, p. 642). Since the new ruler was eight years old, his sister Pulcheria, an austere Christian, acted as regent with the title of Augusta. Some years later she chose as the wife of Theodosius the daughter of a pagan philosopher at Athens, who on her conversion to Christianity took the name of Eudocia. The reign of Theodosius is probably most notable for the issuance in 438 of the Theodosian Code, a collection of imperial laws which was used not only in the East but in the West as well, especially by the Visigoths and Burgundians. At this time, too, there began a religious controversy which did not end in certain areas until the Arab conquest of the seventh century. Arianism had been replaced, as a subject of theological debate, by a new question, the nature, or natures, of Christ. Was Christ human and divine, or exclusively divine? The orthodox view accepted the two natures of Christ and was vigorously upheld at Antioch. But Cyril, the Patriarch of Alexandria, maintained that the nature of Christ was solely divine, and accordingly those who agreed with him were known as Monophysites. It required three oecumenical Councils of the Church—at Ephesus in 431 and 449, and at Chalcedon in 451—to settle the question in favor of the orthodox position, which had been supported by the Bishops of Rome and Constantinople. These religious controversies, more often than not, provided the various bishops with an opportunity to extend their authority, and at the same time they were seized upon by depressed

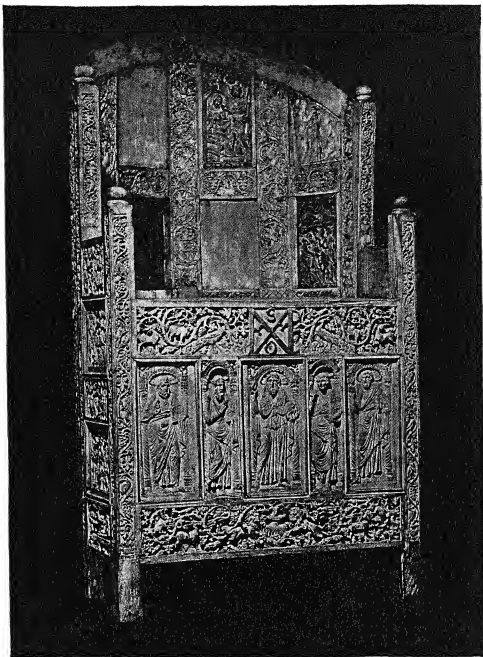
people as a means of attacking the government. Thus the Monophysite heresy continued to be popular in Egypt, Palestine, and Syria, where a national reaction against the Greeks was taking place; and indeed the doctrine is held to this day by the Copts.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE EASTERN EMPIRE. Though he was a weak and incompetent emperor, Theodosius defended the eastern frontiers against the Persians; and by vast payments of gold to the Huns, who looked on the Empire as a perpetual source of revenue, he kept Attila quiet after he had ravaged the Balkan provinces (441–443). The death of Theodosius II ended the dynasty of Theodosius the Great in the East. With the reign of Leo I (457–474) we discover another, and very important, reason for the endurance of the Eastern Empire, namely, the reservoir of fine soldiers still available to the government in certain areas. Leo had been chosen emperor by a Master of the Soldiers, an Alan named Aspar, who was supported by the Gothic *foederati*. But in the mountains of southern Asia Minor there dwelled a brave and lawless people known as Isaurians, and by hiring them as mercenaries Leo was able to weaken Aspar's authority. The Gothic *foederati* lived on to plague Leo's son-in-law and successor, Zeno (474–491), who was an Isaurian, and indeed the Isaurian mercenaries were troublesome until the emperor Anastasius (491–518) broke their power. In addition, Anastasius had to fight a war against Persia and to contend with the Slavic Getae and Bulgars who devastated the Balkans; to safeguard Constantinople and its suburbs he built a magnificent wall more than forty miles in length.

Anastasius was a strong and wise ruler. On the one hand, he took effective steps against the mercenaries and barbarians; and on the other, he tried for religious peace within the Empire by adopting a tolerant attitude toward the Monophysites, a policy that was unpopular in Constantinople. With the middle classes he gained great popularity by lessening the financial responsibilities of the *curiales*, who were, however, rapidly becoming extinct. His successor was Justin (518–527), a rude Illyrian peasant of the orthodox faith, who made his way to the throne by soldierly ability. Illiterate himself, he gave his nephew Justinian a thorough education and in the year of his death crowned him emperor.

4. JUSTINIAN (527–565 A.D.)

ABSOLUTISM. Justinian was a simple Latin peasant from Scupi (Uskub) in Moesia. His wife, Theodora, was a prostitute in her early days, but she became the worthy and imperious partner of a man who loved power and strove to dominate every phase of society. Justinian was so successful in his ambition, and his reign proved so long, that the Empire was stamped with its own peculiar character by his genius. Believing in imperial absolutism, Justinian dedi-



Photograph by Alinari

The cathedra (throne) of Maximianus, Bishop of Ravenna, 6th century A.D. In the Archiepiscopal Palace, Ravenna. Ivory plaques over a frame of wood. Above: nativity scenes. Below: St. John the Baptist flanked by the four Evangelists. Around the sides and back are scenes from the life of Joseph in Egypt. The task facing the artist of this period was that of infusing an "other-worldly" spirit into the Graeco-Roman art of his own tradition (cf. the stance of Sophocles, p. 291, with some of these figures). In a negative sense this meant the denial of matter and the elimination of natural space and time. In a positive sense it meant creating a human figure moved not by his own will but by that of God; a story, moreover, is preferred to composition. Thus ivory carvings and mosaics replaced monumental sculpture in stone which put too heavy an emphasis on the body. These ivories were probably carved in Alexandria; the denial of the body doubtless reflects the monastic movement in Egypt

cated himself to restoring unity within the Mediterranean world and the Christian Church (p. 642).

RELIGIOUS POLICY. As a student of Church history, Justinian wrote on theological subjects, and as an autocrat he determined ecclesiastical policy. In keeping with this, he closed those reminders of paganism, the philosophical schools of Athens (529), and sent Christian missionaries as far afield as southern Russia, Arabia, and the Sudan. Justinian's desire to bring about unity within the Church was due, in the first place, to his autocratic nature, and, secondly, to his ambition to conquer for the Empire the lost provinces of the West, for he saw clearly that conquest would be easier with the support of the Pope. For this reason he persecuted the Arians and tried to reconcile the Monophysites to orthodox doctrine, but both policies ultimately failed because of the growing national bitterness, on the one hand, between Greek and Roman, and, on the other, between Greek and Oriental. Justinian did, however, officially control the Eastern Church.

RECOVERY OF THE WEST. The military ambitions of Justinian met similarly with limited success. In 533, when political conditions were unsettled in the West, he sent Belisarius on an expedition against the Vandals in Africa. Belisarius was a commander of considerable genius, but the Empire had been so depopulated by wars and invasions that he was able to transport only 10,000 infantry and 5,000 cavalry. Nor were these soldiers of the ancient type; rather, they were mercenaries raised by individual officers (*condottieri*) who hired themselves out to the government, and the best among them were the mailed mounted archers (cataphracts). Belisarius, however, won a speedy victory over the Vandals and captured Carthage, though the prosperity of the country was ruined in the process. In 535 he attacked the Ostrogoths, first in Sicily and then in Italy, and took Rome. There the Ostrogothic king, Witiges, besieged him for a year and cut off his water supply by destroying the aqueducts; a thousand years were to pass before these were restored, though at the moment people spoke of the depopulation of the city and of the fact that it contained more statues than living men. Belisarius continued in his conquest of the peninsula and after capturing Ravenna in 540 made Italy a Roman province, under a prefect or exarch at Ravenna. At this juncture he had to return to the East for a war with Persia, and the Goths in Italy, finding the Roman rule oppressive, revolted. Justinian then sent a eunuch, by the name of Narses, to Italy with an army of 30,000 men, chiefly Lombard *foederati*. Narses was an even better general than Belisarius, and after a long, fierce struggle the Goths were driven from Italy (554). Still later, Justinian gained a foothold along the Spanish coast, and the Frankish king acknowledged his leadership.

The most that can be said for these conquests (map, p. 664) is that they brought the Western nations into closer contact with Roman civilization, and

further impressed upon the minds of the Germans the idea that they, too, were included in the Empire. On the other hand, the wars devastated Italy, the imperial rule was financially burdensome, and by destroying the Ostrogothic kingdom Justinian left Italy without a government strong enough to withstand the next, and last, tribal invasion, that of the Lombards (568).

EASTERN WARS. During the struggle for Italy, Justinian had to contend with Slavs, Avars, and Bulgars, who laid waste the Balkans, and at the same time carry on a war with Persia. In 540 the Persian king, Chosroes I, took the great city of Antioch and transplanted its population. But by war and the payment of subsidies Justinian maintained his frontiers.

CODIFICATION OF ROMAN LAW. A united Empire and a universal Church should be accompanied, so Justinian believed, by a common law. The complete codification of the Roman Civil Law—the *Corpus Juris Civilis* (written in Latin, the language of Roman law)—was finally accomplished, and this, Rome's most precious gift to posterity, is doubtless Justinian's greatest achievement. For a thousand years Rome's legal system had been developing along two closely connected lines—statutes and decisions. The statutes consisted of the laws of the Republic, the edicts of the praetors during the early Empire, and the direct legislation of the later emperors. Thus there came to be a great, confused mass of imperial enactments, sorely in need of revision. The second branch of Roman law comprised the decisions of jurists—called *Responsa*, because they were given in reply to questions—as to how the statutes should apply to particular cases which had arisen or which might arise. These decisions, filling many volumes, had become hopelessly contradictory and inconsistent. Accordingly under Justinian's authority, between 528 and 535, Tribonian, an eminent jurist, aided by several associates, drew up the so-called *Corpus Juris Civilis*. It had three parts. The *Codex* (Code) contained a sifted and revised selection of imperial "constitutions"—decisions, decrees, edicts of the emperors—between the time of Hadrian and that of Justinian. The *Digest* or *Pandects*—much the largest part—contained, in fifty books, selected material from the writings of jurists between 90 B.C. and about 270 A.D. The *Institutes* was an elementary textbook, a treatise on the principles of jurisprudence for the use of students in the law schools of Constantinople, Berytus (Beirut), and Rome. The purpose of the *Novels*, or *New Constitutions*, which they also issued, was to contain the new statutes enacted after the publication of the Code.

The entire legislation remained the law of the Eastern Roman Empire till its downfall in 1453. In the West, the barbarian invasions almost—but not quite—caused it to disappear, but in the twelfth century its study was revived in Bologna. Indeed it was this revival that gave rise to the modern university. From that time on, it became the "imperial law," the "common law of Europe,"

rapidly crowding out most of the customary local laws, and this process was immensely furthered by the Renaissance of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Even in England, where the local feudal law which became our "common law" opposed the most effective resistance of any encountered by this legal invasion, the influence of the legislation of Justinian was lasting and far-reaching.

The general character of the Roman law as we meet it in the *Corpus* is clear enough. The process of testing law by its equitable result had gone on between Celsus (first century) and the *Corpus*, and "equity" became much more like "humanitarianism" than it had been before. But parallel with this process and to some extent counteracting it, was the increasing reliance on severity of administration. The process by *formula* gave way to the "libellary process," which ceased to be oral and became written and documentary, and a whole series of official judges, ranging from lower to higher, intervened between litigants and the final decision of their cause. The most important and most favored of litigants was the imperial treasury—the financial arm of the state—and the *bonum et aequum* was rarely heard when it was the question of a claim of the treasury against a citizen. (Cf. above, p. 576 ff.)

IMPERIAL ADMINISTRATION. Justinian's close attention to administration had the wholesome effect of bridling corruption, and his willingness to experiment led, on the one hand, to the abolition of the consulship—an unimportant, though dramatic, detail, for the office had been in use a millennium—and, on the other, to the combination, after a long lapse, of military and civil authority; the administrative units were smaller than in the past. Like the earlier Roman emperors Justinian was a great builder of roads, fortifications, aqueducts, and other public works. The most splendid of his many churches was the cathedral of the Holy Wisdom (St. Sophia) at Constantinople (p. 674). In his reign agriculture, commerce, and skilled industry still flourished throughout the Empire, but the produce went to support the oppressive Church, government, and armed forces. Justinian did little to encourage the laborer, and yet, under his patronage, two Christian missionaries smuggled out of China in hollow canes the eggs of the silkworm; this made the Empire independent of the trade routes to the Far East, now growing increasingly uncertain, and provided a welcome stimulus, especially in Asia Minor and Greece, to the raising of silkworms and the manufacture of silk goods.

THE NIKA RIOT (532). The large expenses of Justinian's regime—particularly those necessary for war and construction—required ruinous taxation. The praetorian prefect, John of Cappadocia, had the duty of providing the funds, and was famous for his ability to multiply taxes and extort money by fair means or foul. In 532 the disorderly and criminal elements of Constantinople found the opportunity to give voice to their feelings about taxation and

government in general. It had long been the custom for the population of the capital to divide itself into two factions, the Greens and the Blues, which carried on a bitter rivalry at the time of the horse races in the Hippodrome; in this way the people spent much of the excitement they had once vented in political strife and were still ready to use a riot as a cloak of their real attitude toward the government. Justinian himself favored the Blues, but on this occasion the rivalry developed into a riot and then into an insurrection. Another emperor was set up, and cries of *Nika*, "Conquer," filled the streets. Justinian, who held only the palace, was eager to flee the city, but his wife, the Augusta Theodora, rallied him with a fiery speech, and the rebellion was mercilessly suppressed.

Justinian died on November 14, 565. Three years later his Italian conquests were overthrown by the Lombard invasion, and the Papacy gradually succeeded to power there. Justinian's reign had been so remarkable, however, that the Eastern Roman Empire entered a new and wonderful phase, which was Greek rather than Latin, though blended with Oriental elements. This was the mediaeval Byzantine Empire, so called from the ancient name of its capital.

XXXV

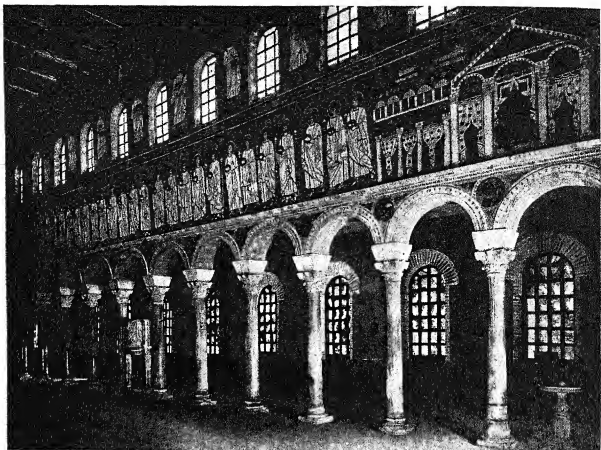
THE CIVILIZATION OF THE LATE EMPIRE

1. ART

The cultural decline which had settled over the Graeco-Roman world during the second century was accelerated by the years of military anarchy and the ensuing economic chaos. Imitation of the past had already destroyed originality and the creative spirit, and now there was little opportunity to pursue an artist's life and still less money to support it. The vitalizing force of Christianity, however, was to produce ultimately a great art, deeply rooted in the past, and yet at the same time embodying the hopes and ideals of the new religion.

PUBLIC WORKS. This is not to suggest that art and architecture altogether ceased, only to be revived at a later time, but such as there was amounted to little and consisted chiefly of public works, for which money was still available. The temple of Jupiter at Baalbek, the baths of Caracalla at Rome, the baths of Diocletian and Constantine at Rome, the basilica at Rome which Maxentius began and Constantine finished, the palace of Diocletian at Salona in Dalmatia, all are examples of public architecture during the late Empire, and all are of stupendous size. Other buildings were erected in Ravenna, Milan, and Constantinople at great cost, but less work was done in the provinces. A vivid proof of the rapid deterioration in skill and taste is to compare the Arch of Septimius Severus in the Roman Forum—which is not so very different from earlier triumphal arches—with that of Constantine near the Colosseum; indeed, one need do no more than look at the sculptures on Constantine's Arch. Those that are relatively magnificent have been lifted from monuments of the first and second centuries, whereas the contemporary sculptures abandon respect for the conventions of classic art; this leaves the expressionism of the new art free for a naïve but very effective vivacity in the narration of the imperial deeds, which are the subject of the friezes. In their own way the long lines of single uniform figures point forward to the wonderful mediaeval art of Ravenna, but in themselves they are not beautiful, and they fascinate the beholder chiefly because they contain the striving and impulses, the genesis, of the greatest religious art in history.

EASTERN INFLUENCES. Realistic portraiture lingered on in the late imperial coinage and statuary; and the mosaics, particularly those of Africa, continued



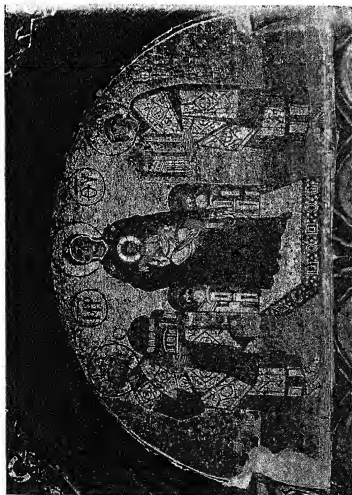
Photograph by Alinari

Sant' Apollinare Nuovo at Ravenna, with its fine mosaic decoration. Dedicated by the Ostrogothic Emperor Theodoric, this basilica served as the Arian cathedral until Justinian transferred it to the jurisdiction of the Orthodox bishop; it combines in its fabric Arian Gothic, Byzantine, and Latin elements, the major forces at work in Italy in the 6th century



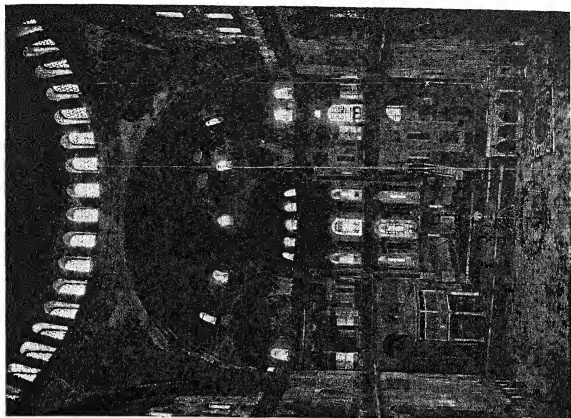
Photograph by Robert L. Van Nice

St. Sophia, Constantinople. Built by Justinian's architects, Anthemius and Isodorus, 532-537 A.D. The minarets are Turkish additions



Mosaic over the entrance into St. Sophia, portraying the Mother and Child symbolically accepting the gift of the Church from Justinian and of the City from Constantine, 10th century A.D.

The interior of St. Sophia, since the uncovering of the Byzantine mosaics. This rare photograph shows the interior without the large Turkish disks, which were rehung in 1947



Photograph by Robert L. Van Nice

to picture daily life, but the important artistic contribution of the period was in church architecture. The Roman basilica, with its broad nave and side aisles, had already been adopted as the model for churches, but now a hall or transept was frequently added at right angles between the main building and the apse, thus giving the entire structure a crosslike appearance. The interior was decorated with frescoes and mosaics, which were full of symbolism. The figures in late antique art—or early Christian art—have left behind the old Graeco-Roman notion of nature; the draperies do not seem to contain bodies, and they cast no shadows. The figures are flat, the background has lost its depth, unrelated narrative and description have replaced the Greek understanding of spatial relation in the representation of an event or object. The colors are subtler than hitherto and strive for decorative harmony. The new style can be seen in the Gospel Books that were illustrated in Asia Minor during the sixth century and in the decoration of the churches of Syria and Asia Minor of that period. As eastern influence in art became stronger, mysticism was translated into symbolism, and narrative into direct, simple action. The East did not like the illusion of depth; it stressed balance and design. Ornament and decoration took the place of restless action and elaborate folds. There were, accordingly, differences in style between East and West, and even within the individual regions, but they tended to coalesce with time, and the greater achievements inspired the artists and architects of later days. For example, Justinian's Church of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople was the source for the eleventh-century Saint-Front at Perigueux, and the sixth-century Church of San Vitale at Ravenna became the model of Charlemagne's imperial chapel at Aachen. (See also pp. 642, 668.)

ST. SOPHIA (532–537). The Church of St. Sophia (Holy Wisdom) at Constantinople is the greatest achievement of the late Roman Empire; indeed, it is one of the greatest buildings in the world. It was built by Justinian's architects, Anthemius of Tralles and Isidorus of Miletus, between 532 and 537 on the site of a basilica previously erected by Constantine. The outside of the Church is majestically impressive with its masses of vaults and buttresses. The entrance is at the west end through the forecourt, or atrium, and thence through two vestibules (exonarthex and narthex) into the vast interior, 265 feet long by 107 feet wide. This area is crowned by apparently weightless domical vaults and a main dome (supported on pendentives), which is 180 feet high and 107 feet in diameter, with forty small windows. Half domes cover semicircular spaces at the east and west ends; along the north and south are side aisles, two stories high. The domes and half domes enclose an emptiness which appears to be the reality of the building; the impression is given that the interior has been united with all out-of-doors, and thus the Christian ideal of the union of the finite and infinite seems to be realized. The brick core of St. Sophia is

decorated on the inside with beautiful glass mosaics against a golden ground; these cover the vaults and domes, while alabasters, marbles, and other stones decorate the walls. After the Turkish conquest of Constantinople in 1453, St. Sophia became a mosque, and the mosaics were whitewashed to hide their Christian symbols and inscriptions. Recently, however, the Turkish Government proclaimed the structure a museum, and today American scholars are returning the mosaics to their pristine glory; those uncovered thus far date chiefly from the tenth century.

2. LITERATURE

So long as the Roman Empire held firmly together, both Greek and Latin continued to be written in East and West, but the divisive influences in the political field affected the literature, not only by hastening its decline, but also by ultimately restricting the two languages to their original spheres. The decay of pagan letters was accompanied by the rise of a Christian literature, which was based, as were art and architecture, on ancient models.

PAGAN GREEK LITERATURE. For a decade after the opening of the third century a Bithynian, Cassius Dio by name, collected materials for an annalistic *History of Rome*, the composition of which he completed during the next years. Written in Greek, the *History* consisted of eighty books and described the story of Rome from the time of Aeneas to 229, when Dio served as consul with Severus Alexander. Much of this work is preserved and is very useful, though it lacks vigor and imagination. We are able to supplement Dio's *History* with that of Herodian, a third-century Syrian Greek, who wrote a rhetorical, dramatic account of the years 180-238.

REVIVAL OF PAGAN RELIGIONS. It was inevitable, however, that during the disordered third century men's minds and pens should turn chiefly to religion. There was, for example, a revival of paganism. The Oriental cults, the worship of Isis and the Great Mother, and the Mysteries of Eleusis attracted increasingly large numbers of people, as did Mithraism and the Syrian Sun God. On the other hand, the ancient religion of the Olympian gods still appealed to many, particularly to the aristocratic members of the Roman Senate, to whom the symbols of the past meant Rome and greatness and salvation. Stoicism remained the traditional philosophy of the educated classes.

NEOPLATONISM. Paganism prospered until Gratian and Theodosius deliberately persecuted it, and indeed it continued until Justinian closed the schools of philosophy at Athens (529). Meanwhile, philosophy became, for most people, a religion, for it abandoned reason and embraced belief. This was due primarily to Plotinus, a Hellenized Egyptian, who was one of the founders of Neoplatonism in the third century. With Neoplatonism Greek thought made

its last stand against the rising tide of Christianity. It purported to explain the works of Plato, but actually the Platonic doctrine became a religion, a wonderful pantheism, full of mysticism. Neoplatonism held that it is possible, with the aid of the gods, to free oneself from this world and to commune with the supernatural, because the soul of man is merely a part of the divine soul, and through the help of philosophy one can return to the divine soul. Plotinus taught at Rome between 253 and 270, and one of his pupils, Porphyry of Tyre, published his doctrines in groups of nine treatises each—hence their name of *Enneads*.

PROCOPIUS. The next truly important figure in pagan Greek literature does not appear until the sixth century, though, strictly speaking, Procopius of Caesarea in Palestine was neither a pagan nor a Christian, but a skeptic. Procopius held important offices under Justinian and accompanied Belisarius on his Italian campaigns. His *History of the Wars of Justinian* is very valuable and is full of praise of the emperor and court life, but he also composed a *Secret History*, which was published after his death and exposed the corruption of imperial society.

PAGAN LATIN LITERATURE. Pagan Latin literature, like the Greek, contains few notable names. Repetition of age-old themes, unawareness of contemporary life, insistence on form rather than substance, artificial and archaistic language, each conspired in its own way against creative work. This is the more regrettable, because it has left us with relatively few historical accounts of the late Roman Empire, and these are, in general, poor. The *Historia Augusta*, or *Augustan History*, is a collection of lives of emperors and pretenders from Hadrian to Numerian (117–284), though the biographies from 244 to 253 are missing. The *Historia Augusta* occasionally touches a good source, but on the whole it is exasperating, for the great opportunity of providing posterity with a sound narrative has been missed. The style lacks literary force, many statements are demonstrably false, and there is an abundance of petty personal details. The work is ostensibly by six authors and was composed in the late fourth century. Another history of limited value is the *Caesares* of Aurelius Victor, an African who wrote about 360; it is a short history of Rome from Augustus to Constantius. In the reign of Valens (364–378) Eutropius wrote a brief history of Rome—entitled *Breviarium ab urbe condita*—from the beginning to the year 365. It, too, has little value, but its pure Latinity and simple style give it a certain charm. The last true historian of the ancient world, and in fact one of the very best of the historians of Rome, was Ammianus Marcellinus, a Greek of Antioch, who served in the imperial army as a high officer during the late fourth century. He wrote in Rome and in Latin, which however was not a foreign tongue for him; his work was a continuation of Tacitus, and covered the history of Rome from Nerva to the death of Valens (96–378).

The only extant books deal with the years 353–378, but they show Ammianus to have been a sound, impartial historian who possessed personal knowledge of the Roman world.

AUSONIUS AND CLAUDIAN. Throughout the late Empire, but especially in Alexandria and Gaul, schools and institutions of higher education flourished. Classical literature, some medicine and law, and, above all, rhetoric were studied; the teachers were relieved of *munera* and received high pay. One of the most famous of these teachers was the Latin poet and professor of rhetoric and oratory, Ausonius, whose life spanned almost the entire fourth century. Ausonius was the tutor of the future emperor Gratian, who in 379 raised his teacher to the consulate. After the emperor's death, Ausonius retired to Burdigala (Bordeaux), where he composed poems on Roman cities and emperors, on his professional colleagues at Bordeaux, and other subjects, which shed light on the life of the period. A true lover of nature, Ausonius wrote a deservedly famous poem, the *Mosella*, which gives a charming picture of a journey he once made down the placid Moselle, a river full of fish and flanked on either side by meadows and villas, vineyards and hills. A young contemporary of Ausonius was the Egyptian Greek, Claudius Claudianus, who may be described as the last important Roman poet. Claudian spent his life in Alexandria, Milan, and Rome. A protégé of Stilicho, he wrote epic poems on such important events as the Gothic war. His verse is pure, classical, and correct—steeped in the antiquarian learning which had characterized the Alexandrian school of poetry for centuries—but the Empire was too old to produce a really great pagan poet.

BOËTHIUS. One of the most important facts in the history of Europe is that the Christians of the fourth century were able to accept the culture of antiquity—their heritage—without its pagan gods. Had they decided that it was not possible to separate pagan literature from pagan faith, it is highly doubtful that classical civilization would have survived. It was this deliberate acceptance of pagan culture, no less than the triumph of Christianity as the religion of the Empire, which spelled the end of pagan literature during the fifth century. Henceforth the authors are Christians; they composed, however, not only sacred writings but also history and the other forms of literature long known. The greatest representative of this profane literature, as it is called, is Boëthius. Boëthius was a Roman, born about 480; he held various high offices and received the title of Patrician from the Ostrogothic king, Theodoric, but in 524 he was suspected of disloyalty and put to death. While he was in prison awaiting the end, he wrote his treatise *On the Consolation of Philosophy*, the work of a cultivated, intellectual Christian who turned for consolation in his trouble not to faith, but to reason. He is the last writer who can be described as belonging to antiquity.

CHRISTIAN GREEK LITERATURE. Since Christianity had been born in the eastern part of the Roman Empire, it was natural that the first literature concerning the new religion should have been written in Greek. The latter half of the first century witnessed the completion of the *New Testament*. In the next century, when Christianity had aroused the antagonism of the pagans, there arose a group of defenders, or apologists as they were called. The greatest of these early apologists was Irenaeus, Bishop of Lyons at the end of the second century. Irenaeus had been born in Asia Minor, and though a resident of Gaul he wrote in Greek. With him Christian ideas about God and man received the general impress which they have since enjoyed.

CLEMENT AND ORIGEN. By the third century Alexandria and Caesarea in Palestine had become the centers of Greek Christianity. Clement of Alexandria, one of the first of the Alexandrian Fathers, employed Greek philosophical arguments to defend Christianity; in his *Address to the Greeks* and other writings he sought to persuade cultivated pagans that, in the enlightened realm of culture, paganism and Christianity were not incompatible. Clement left Alexandria for Palestine at the time of Septimius Severus' persecution of the Christians, and was succeeded as a teacher at Alexandria by his pupil, Origen (203). Origen was the son of Christian parents and became the greatest apologist for the Christian religion. His *Against Celsus* is a reply to arguments which had been advanced against Christianity in the previous century. Thoroughly educated in Greek philosophy, he was able to coordinate philosophical thought with the faith of the Church. Origen was a prolific author and composed many *Commentaries* on the Bible, but a quarrel with his bishop caused him to move to Caesarea. He was cruelly tortured during the persecution of Decius and died three years later at Tyre (253).

EUSEBIUS. It was strife—both political and theological—which accounted in large part for the vigor of Christian literature. The Christian writer had a vital message; he was not thinking exclusively of scholars—of that narrow, cultured circle beloved by the pagan author—but primarily of common folk. The duty of defending orthodoxy, in a period of heresies and sectarian differences, called forth eloquent orators, such as Athanasius, the bitter opponent of Arianism, who became Bishop of Alexandria in 328; Basil of Caesarea in Cappadocia, who was chiefly instrumental in the development of Greek monasticism; Gregory of Nazianzus in Cappadocia, a learned orator and poet; and, above all, St. John Chrysostom (the Golden-mouth), who was born at Antioch in the middle of the fourth century and became the Patriarch of Constantinople. On the other hand, for the history of the Church, the *Church History* of Eusebius is of fundamental importance. Eusebius was a fourth-century Bishop of Caesarea in Palestine and, in addition to his *History* which brought the story of Christianity down to the year 323, wrote a brief history

of the world, known as *Chronicles*; St. Jerome later translated this into Latin. Eusebius' *Martyrs of Palestine* describes Diocletian's persecution of the Christians in Palestine and is the only detailed account of provincial persecution to have survived.

CHRISTIAN LATIN LITERATURE. Christian Latin literature began in the second century with Minucius Felix, a Roman convert who defended the faith with all the elegance of classical Latinity. It was in Africa, however, that a real center of Christian Latin literature developed. The first representative of this school, Tertullian (ca. 160–230), wrote in a robust style with little regard for classical traditions. Born at Carthage, Tertullian became a follower of Montanus, a native of Asia Minor who claimed prophetic powers and taught that the Heavenly Jerusalem was shortly to descend upon the earth. This heresy involved Tertullian in endless controversy with the Church, but nevertheless his passionate defense of Christianity marked him as the founder of western theology; it was his achievement to adapt the Latin language to new speculative ideas which had hitherto been expressed in Greek. The task of continuing the defense of Christianity was carried on by Tertullian's friend, St. Cyprian, who was chosen Bishop of Carthage in the middle of the third century. Cyprian's doctrines were orthodox, and his letters are a valuable source, on the one hand, for the developing authority of the Bishop of Rome and, on the other, for the State's attack upon the Church. The rather harsh style of the African school of Christian writing was refined by Lactantius, a philosophical and cultured student of Cicero, into something approaching the elegance of Minucius Felix, a vigorous combination of the classical and Christian styles which was to reach its height in St. Jerome and St. Augustine. Lactantius was called by Diocletian to Nicomedia in Bithynia to teach Latin rhetoric, and after his conversion to Christianity wrote two important treatises that have survived. One of these, the *Divine Institutes*, is a philosophical work in defense of Christianity against paganism; the other, *On the Deaths of the Persecutors*, is an impassioned presentation of the divine government of the world.

AMBROSE AND JEROME. It is abundantly clear that the necessity of defending orthodoxy from the attacks of heretics, pagans, and State was partly responsible for the vitality of Christian literature. St. Ambrose, the courageous fourth-century Bishop of Milan in the days of Theodosius I, is another example of this necessity, for the threat of the Arian heresy was repelled from Italy by the vigor of his sermons and writings. Ambrose also composed many hymns which, like those of his contemporary, the Spaniard Prudentius, influenced the music and poetry of the Church. Another controversial writer, and the most learned man of his day, was St. Jerome (Hieronymus, 335–420), who came from the Pannonian border. It was Jerome's letters, commentaries on the Bible, and other works that helped settle the doctrines of the Christian

Church, while his translation of the Bible into Latin (made on the order of Pope Damasus) is the basis of the *Vulgate*, which is still used by the Catholic Church.

AUGUSTINE. With St. Augustine (354–430) the style of Latin still employed by the Catholic Church was set. Augustine was born at Tagaste in Africa of a pagan father and a Christian mother. In his youth he followed a strange Christian heresy known as Manichaeism; founded by a Babylonian priest, named Mani, this doctrine emphasized the eternal conflict between the Light and the Dark, between Good and Bad, and God and Man. Augustine was converted to orthodoxy by Ambrose and then became Bishop of Hippo in Africa, where he died during the siege of the city by the Vandals. A theologian and a philosopher, a mystic and a reasoner, Augustine was one of the most influential writers of the Christian Church. His *Confessions* give many details about his personal life, his youth, and conversion. His *City of God* comforts Christians for Alaric's sack of Rome and refutes the pagan charge that Rome had been destroyed because of neglect of the ancient religion. The City of God, Augustine tells us, is bound to triumph ultimately over earthly government. With these thoughts we have moved from the ancient into the mediaeval world.

3. THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH

The decline of the Roman Empire, as we have seen, was accompanied by the rise of Christianity, and this, in turn, led to strife with the government, with pagans, and with heretics; at the same time, as we have also seen, there developed a regular Church organization and a Christian art and literature. Moreover, the difference in civilization between the East and the West exercised a profound influence on Christianity. In the East there continued to be much free thought and discussion in the Greek spirit, which in itself invited heresy, whereas Western theologians devoted themselves to matters of doctrine and organization; they felt more deeply the influence of law, impressed upon them by Rome. Their doctrine, as it came to differ from that of the East, was less subtle, more simple, systematic, and reasonable. In the East, furthermore, the government exercised greater authority over the Church, for Constantinople was both the seat of the emperor and of a Patriarch; at the same time the nearby rival patriarchates of Antioch and Alexandria could be closely watched by the State (cf. map, pp. 646, 647). There was also rivalry between Constantinople and Rome, but Rome had the advantage of being far removed, and when at last the Western Empire disappeared, the people were left without a government to protect them. The priests and bishops, who had long been accustomed to intervene with the government on behalf of the people, were now compelled to stand alone against the barbarians.

THE PAPACY. These were some of the reasons why the Papal office developed an independent role. Its greatness was also due to the ability and wisdom of several early Popes—notably Innocent I (402–417) and Leo I (440–461)—who, among other things, were active in charitable work and in sending out missionaries to convert pagans and heretics. The supremacy of the Papacy, at least in the West, was due fundamentally to the belief that God had aided the growth of the Roman Empire as a preparation for Christianity and that on this political basis should be founded a spiritual empire which in time should embrace the whole world. To Western theologians it seemed natural that Rome should be the center of this universal Christian empire, not only because it had so long been the political capital of the world, but more particularly because of the reputed origin of the Christian Church of that city. They believed that St. Paul and St. Peter had founded it, and that St. Peter was its first Bishop. The Roman Bishop, accordingly, enjoyed special reverence, for it was understood that Christ had appointed St. Peter to be head of the Church, on one occasion declaring to him, “And I say unto thee, That thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church” (*Matthew*, XVI, 18; the word “Peter” means rock). The idea was that as the successors of Peter the Bishops, or Popes, of Rome also held the headship, and that, receiving the truth by tradition in an unbroken line from the chief apostle, the Popes were better able than any others to teach it in its purity.

SAINTS. The spread of Christianity was most rapid in the cities; indeed, since pagan beliefs remained longest among the rural population, the word *paganus* (“rural”) came to be applied to non-Christians. A reason for the rapid growth of Christianity, and one of its greatest merits, was its adaptability to the needs of mankind. For instance, pagan festivals were absorbed into the Christian calendar, Christmas replacing the midwinter feast, Easter the celebration in honor of the spring equinox, and so on. To take a more important example, in accepting the new faith many converted pagans felt that the infinite God was too great and too distant to pray to directly. There grew up, accordingly, the practice of praying for the intercession of the saints—certain great and good Christians who, having lived especially pure lives, were now with God. It was through the help of the saints that men hoped to receive an answer to their prayers. Statues of the saints and of Christ and the Virgin were set up in the churches, and to them the faithful prayed. By the use of such simple means the Church was able to get and retain a hold on those people to whom some outward symbol seemed essential.

MONASTICISM. In an effort to attain a life of holiness many Christians thought it necessary to renounce the world. The desire for an ascetic life first appeared in the East, which had always been given to contemplation, and received a certain impulse from the third-century persecutions. In Egypt such

persons often lived as hermits alone in the desert, and in Syria they spent their lives atop pillars. During the fourth century St. Anthony and St. Pachomius organized many of these people in Egypt into communities, with their own sets of rules; the members lived together in a large building and possessed land and all other property in common. Men who passed their lives in this way were monks—a word derived from the Greek *monos* meaning “single”—and their community was a monastery; women who adopted the same form of life were called nuns, and their institution was a nunnery or convent. The idea of monasticism spread, first to Palestine, Syria, and Asia Minor. The founder of Greek monasticism was St. Basil (ca. 360), the Bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia; and then when the custom reached the West, the great organizer of monasteries there was St. Benedict, who founded Monte Cassino in 520. It was Benedict who laid down for the monks the three rules of poverty, chastity, and obedience. Although the society to which they belonged might acquire great wealth, the individual monks had to continue poor; the command of chastity required them to remain unmarried; and that of obedience compelled them to submit to the will of their abbot. Members of the Order were expected not only to pray, but also to labor on the common estate and to read. It was this last injunction that led to the collection of important libraries, for which monks were famous during the Middle Ages. While affording a refuge from the barbarism of the age, monasticism preserved the little learning which remained in the West, taught by example the dignity of labor, and held up a standard of moral and religious life, which was superior to that of the outside world.

Many monasteries of the Benedictine rule were established throughout western Europe. Had it not been for Cassiodorus (ca. 480–575)—the writer who served under Theodoric the Great and subsequently founded a Benedictine monastery in southern Italy which became noted for preserving ancient literature—or for the Celtic refugees who, fleeing from Germanic invaders in Gaul, brought manuscripts with them to Ireland, our knowledge of ancient civilization would be far less than it is.

4. EPILOGUE

In considering further (see especially p. 608 ff.) the decline of antiquity, we must emphasize the apparently contradictory facts that the amazing second century, when mankind was seemingly never more secure in peace, prosperity, and sound government, produced few great books, few constructive political ideas, no new principle in art or science, no significant advance in technology. Clearly, the manifestations of cultural decline reached the surface before any others, but economic collapse was hastened by the growth of bureaucracy under Hadrian and an increase in overhead expenses which the primitive

economy could not meet. In order to help the municipalities with their finances, Trajan, at an even earlier date, had sent them financial procurators, a well-intentioned move that was to lead to ever greater centralized control. After the Roman world had emerged from the crisis of the third century, during which the cities fought the peasants, and the peasants the army, and the army both of them and the barbarian invaders as well, Diocletian was able to maintain the State only by increasing still further the imperial bureaucracy and centralization. The high taxes and rents necessary to support great numbers of people who were not producers—the members of the army and bureaucracy, and the large landowners—so crushed the peasants that they were unable to raise the large families needed to meet the urgent call for new man power.

So complicated is the subject of the fall of Rome that it is little wonder that there are almost as many theories as there are writers. The truth is that all the factors we have mentioned, and others which spring to mind, were mere aspects of Rome's decline, and not one of them goes to the roots of the problem. It will be helpful, however, to recall that at the very moment when pagan literature of the late Empire suffered eclipse—because it was interested in form rather than substance and appealed to a narrow, educated audience—Christian literature was full of vitality and was addressed to common folk as well as scholars. Christian literature did this because it had to, if it was to survive; it was engaged in strife, strife with pagans, heretics and, for a long time, government. Strife, as we use it here, is but another word for faith in one's cause, and it might be well to inquire briefly whether faith, especially if it is faith in something bigger than oneself, or the lack of it, may not be the answer we are seeking.

Internationalism culminated during antiquity in the Roman Empire. There had been attempts at this earlier, notably by Alexander the Great, the Persians, and the Assyrians, but none succeeded so well or for so long as the Romans. There had also been wonderful adventures in culture, and here the people of Sumer, Egypt, and Babylon, of Crete and Mycenae and Greece equaled or surpassed the Romans. But none of these early people had hold of an eternal idea, except the Jews, whose monotheism in its Christian form was to capture the Roman world, and the Greeks. The sheer intellectualism of the contentious Greeks challenged everything on earth and in heaven. The Peloponnesian War went far to undermine Greek confidence, and it remained for Alexander the Great, with his insistence on coöperation between peoples, to revive it. The Romans, however, conquered the Hellenistic world, and though they brought many and great blessings to the East, as to the West, they assimilated neither. In fact, they embarked on imperialism before they had assimilated their own culture. The civilization of the Roman Empire at its height—in the days of Augustus—did not belong to the masses. It was aristocratic, and only the

unusual individual could pierce the inner circle. Moreover, the government operated primarily in the interests of the privileged few; political power was in their hands; taxation was not graduated; the rich were able to shirk their responsibilities. The great masses of men doubtless enjoyed the boundless majesty of the Roman peace and its prosperity, but they had no reason to be what we might call patriotic, or, as we might better describe it, they had no faith in a high ideal, for their activities revolved around themselves; nor were there competitive influences from outside to stimulate them.

The profound significance of the battle of Actium, which gave the Roman throne to Octavian and eventually enmeshed the world in a despotic state socialism, is not that it deprived man of freedom, as if he had lived in a Utopia until that time; its significance, rather, is that forever afterward it prevented ancient man from solving his problems on his own initiative.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES

I. PREHISTORY

All dates are approximate

Evidence for eoliths	preglacial
First (Günz) glaciation	1,000,000 years ago
Second (Mindel) glaciation	700,000 years ago
Java man	500,000 years ago
Peking man	500,000 years ago
Fossilized human remains and stone tools	500,000–100,000 years ago
Third (Riss) glaciation	300,000 years ago
Neanderthal man	120,000–70,000 years ago
Fourth (Würm) glaciation	100,000 years ago
Aurignacian man	70,000 years ago
Great period of Paleolithic art (the so-called Magdalenian)	30,000–17,000 years ago
Recession of the fourth glacier	25,000–20,000 years ago
The Forest folk	after 20,000 B.C.
Paleolithic Period ends	before 8000 B.C.
The food-producing revolution	8000 B.C.
Neolithic Period begins	8000 B.C.
The first villages	6000 B.C.
Use of metals	after 5000 B.C.
The Swiss lake villages	4500–2500 B.C.
Civilization begins	after 3500 B.C.
Writing	before 3000 B.C.
Iron Age begins	before 1000 B.C.

II. SYNCHRONISTIC TABLE

All dates are B.C.

ASIA	EGYPT	GREECE	ROME
Sumerian settlement, before 3000			
Eannatum, ca. 2500	Old Kingdom, 2780-2280		
Sargon of Akkad, ca. 2350			
Ur's supremacy, ca. 2150-2050	Middle Kingdom, 2000-1785	Height of Minoan civilization, 1600	
Hammurabi, ca. 1800		Height of Mycenaean civilization, 1400	Terremare civilization, ca. 1500
Hittite expansion, after 1400	New Kingdom, 1580-1085	Dorian Invasion, ca. 1100	
Hittite empire destroyed, after 1200		Middle Age, 1100-750	Etruscan settlement, 9th and 8th centuries
Rise of Tyre, after 1000			
David, ca. 1010-970		Colonization, 750-550	Etruscan expansion, 7th and 6th centuries
Tiglath-pileser III, 745-727	Conquered by Assyria, 671		
	Saite Period, 663-525		
Ashurbanipal; height of Assyrian civilization, 669-626			
Destruction of Nineveh, 612			
Nebuchadrezzar II, 604-562		Solon, 594	
Destruction of Jerusalem, 586			
Cyrus the Great, king of Persia, 550-529		Peisistratus, 560-527	
Fall of Babylon, 539	Conquered by Persia, 525		

III. EARLY MESOPOTAMIA

All dates are B.C. and approximate

Sumerian settlement	before 3000
Writing	before 3000
Royal cemetery, First Dynasty of Ur	early 3rd millennium
Eannatum	2500
Urukagina	after 2500
Lugal Zaggisi	2350
Sargon of Akkad	2350
Naram Sin	2300
The Guti	after 2300
Gudea	after 2300
Ur's supremacy	2150-2050
Amorite invasion	2000
Hammurabi	1800
Height of Babylonian civilization	1800
Kassite invasion	before 1600

IV. EGYPT

All dates are B.C.

Dynasties I-II	3200-2780
Writing	before 3000
Civil calendar of 365 days	ca. 2850
Old Kingdom (Dynasties III-VI)	2780-2280
Capital moved from Thinis to Memphis	after 2780
Pyramids of Khufu, Khafre, Menkaure (Fourth Dynasty)	2680-2560
Period of disorder (Dynasties VII-X)	2280-2000
Middle Kingdom (Dynasties XI-XII)	2000-1785
Thebes made the capital	ca. 2000
Hyksos invasion	after 1700
New Kingdom or Empire (Dynasties XVIII-XX)	1580-1085
Ahmose I	1580-1557
Thutmose III defeats the King of Kadesh at Megiddo	1479
Amenhotep III	1411-1375
Akhnaton	1375-1358
Ramses II	1292-1225
Battle between Ramses II and Hattushil, the Hittite king, at Kadesh	1288
Ramses III	1198-1167
Egypt conquered by Esarhaddon, king of Assyria	671
Saïte Period (Dynasty XXVI)	663-525
Egypt conquered by Cambyses, king of Persia	525
Egypt conquered by Alexander the Great	332
Egypt annexed by Rome	30

V. THE HITTITES, SYRIA AND PALESTINE

All dates are B.C.

Hittite settlement in Asia Minor	before 2000
Expansion under King Shubbiluliuma	after 1400
Battle between Hattushil and Ramses II, king of Egypt, at Kadesh	1288

Treaty between Hattushil and Ramses II	1272
Hittite Empire destroyed	<i>after</i> 1200
Developed Phoenician alphabet	11th century
Rise of Tyre	<i>after</i> 1000
Phoenician colonization	early first millennium
David, King of Israel and Judah	ca. 1010-970
Solomon	ca. 970-930
Tiglath-pileser III, king of Assyria, takes Damascus	732
Sargon II, king of Assyria, captures Samaria; the Ten Lost Tribes transplanted	722
Nebuchadrezzar, king of Babylon, destroys Jerusalem and carries the population into captivity	586

VI. ASSYRIA AND PERSIA

All dates are B.C.

Assyrian expansion under Ashurnasirpal II	884-859
Tiglath-pileser III	745-727
Capture of Damascus	732
Sargon II	722-705
Capture of Samaria; the Ten Lost Tribes transplanted	722
Sargon's defeat of the Egyptians at Raphia	720
Sennacherib	705-681
Esarhaddon	681-669
Conquest of Egypt	671
Ashurbanipal; height of Assyrian civilization	669-626
Saïte Egypt (Dynasty XXVI)	663-525
Destruction of Nineveh	612
Nebuchadrezzar II, king of the Chaldaean Empire	604-562
Destruction of Jerusalem; its population carried into captivity	586
Treaty between Lydia and Media, setting the Halys as a boundary	585
Croesus, king of Lydia	ca. 560-546
Cyrus the Great, king of Persia	550-529
Cyrus defeats Croesus	546
Conquest of Asiatic Greeks	545
Fall of Babylon	539
Cambyses	529-522
Conquest of Egypt	525
Darius I	522-486
Scythian expedition	512
Revolt of the Ionian Greeks	499-493
Mardonius' expedition; wreck off Mt. Athos	492
Expedition of Datis and Artaphernes; battle of Marathon	490
Xerxes	486-464
Battles of Thermopylae and Salamis	480
Battles of Plataea and Mycale	479
Cimon's victory at the Eurymedon River	466
Artaxerxes I	464-424
Peace of Callias	449
Darius II	423-404
Artaxerxes II	404-359
Expedition of Cyrus and the Ten Thousand	401
The King's Peace	387

VI. ASSYRIA AND PERSIA (*Continued*)

Artaxerxes Ochus	359-338
Darius III	336-330
Battle of Issus	333
Battle of Gaugamela	331
Persepolis captured by Alexander the Great	330

VII. GREECE

All dates are B.C.

Neolithic Age ends	ca. 3000 B.C.
Bronze Age civilization	3rd and 2nd millennia
Height of Minoan civilization	1600
Height of Mycenaean civilization	1400
Fall of Troy	ca. 1184
Dorian Invasion	ca. 1100
The Greek Middle Age	ca. 1100-750
Homer	ca. 800
First Olympic Games (traditional)	776
Hesiod	ca. 750
Colonization	ca. 750-550
Archaic Greek civilization	ca. 750-479
Spartan conquest of Messenia	ca. 730
Synokismos at Athens	before 700
Tyranny	7th and 6th cents.
Draco	ca. 621
Reform of Lycurgus at Sparta	ca. 600
Solon's archonship at Athens	594
Peisistratus	560-527
Croesus of Lydia	ca. 560-546
Beginning of Peloponnesian League	ca. 550
Persian conquest of Asiatic Greeks	545
Aeschylus	ca. 524-456
Pindar	ca. 522-441
Hippias exiled	510
Cleisthenes	508
Ionian Revolt	499-493
Themistocles archon	493-492
Expedition of Mardonius	492
Battle of Marathon	490
Battles of Thermopylae, Artemisium, Salamis	480
Battle of Himera	480
Battles of Plataea and Mycale	479
Delian League established	477
Battle of the Eurymedon	466
Ephialtes' reform of the Areopagus	462
Ostracism of Cimon	461
Temple of Zeus at Olympia	ca. 460
Height of Athenian power on land	456
Treasury of Delian League transferred to Athens	454
Athenian naval expedition to Egypt destroyed	453
Death of Cimon	450

Peace of Callias	449
Athenian Empire established	448
Collapse of Athenian land empire	446
The Thirty Years' Peace	445
Ostracism of Thucydides, son of Melesias	443
Megarian decree	432
Peloponnesian War	431-404
Archidamian War	431-421
Death of Pericles	429
Athens captures Pylos	425
Peace of Nicias	421
Athenian expedition to Melos	416
Athenian expedition to Sicily	415-413
Decelea occupied by Sparta	413
The Four Hundred at Athens	411
Recall of Alcibiades	411
Battle of Arginusae	406
Battle of Aegospotami	405
Fall of Athens	404
The Thirty Tyrants at Athens	404
Construction of temples on Athenian Acropolis	2nd half of 5th cent.
Period of Athenian dramatists, historians, Socrates	2nd half of 5th cent.
Dionysius of Syracuse	405-367
Expedition of Cyrus and the Ten Thousand	401
Death of Socrates	399
King Agesilaus of Sparta in Asia Minor	396
Battle of Cnidus	394
The King's Peace	387
Second Athenian Confederacy	377
Battle of Leuctra	371
Battle of Mantinea	362
Philip II of Macedon	359-336
Fall of Chalcidian League	348
Peace of Philocrates	346
Battle of Chaeronea	338
Alexander the Great	336-323
Battle of the Granicus	334
Battle of Issus	333
Siege of Tyre	332
Battle of Gaugamela	331
Death of Darius	330
Alexander's invasion of Bactria-Sogdiana	329
Alexander's invasion of India	327
Battle of the Hydaspes	326
Alexander's departure from Indus delta	325
Alexander's return to Babylon	323
Lamian War	323
Period of Praxiteles, Demosthenes, Plato, Aristotle	4th cent.
Hellenistic Age	323-31
Wars of the Successors	323-276
Agathocles of Syracuse	316-289
The Successors take the title of King	306-305
Ptolemy I	305-283

VII. GREECE (*Continued*)

Seleucus I	305-281
Battle of Ipsus	301
Zeno founds the Stoa	301
Menander and Euclid	ca. 300
Theocritus, Callimachus, Aristarchus, Archimedes, Eratosthenes	3rd cent.
Ptolemy II Philadelphus	285-246
Battle of Corupedium	281
Antiochus I	281-261
Pyrrhus in Italy and Sicily	281-275
Invasion of Gauls (Galatians)	279
Antigonos Gonatas	279-239
Chremonidean War	267
Hiero II of Syracuse	264-215
Kingdom of Pergamum established	263
Eumenes I of Pergamum	263-241
Antiochus II	261-247
Seleucus II	247-226
Arsacids of Parthia	247
Ptolemy III Euergetes	246-221
Reform of Agis IV of Sparta	245
Attalus I of Pergamum	241-197
Demetrius II	238-229
Aetolian and Achaean Leagues at height	230
Antigonos Doson	229-221
Reforms of Cleomenes at Sparta	226
Seleucus III	226-223
Antiochus III the Great	223-187
Battle of Sellasia. Capture of Sparta	222
Philip V of Macedon	221-179
Ptolemy IV Philopator	221-203
Battle of Raphia	217
First Macedonian War	215-205
Ptolemy V Epiphanes	203-181
Euthydemus, Demetrius, Menander of Bactria	1st half of 2nd cent.
Second Macedonian War	200-197
Battle of Cynoscephalae	197
Eumenes II of Pergamum	197-159
Battle of Magnesia	190
Perseus of Macedon	179-168
Antiochus IV Epiphanes	175-163
Mithradates I of Parthia	171-138
Third Macedonian War	171-168
Battle of Pydna	168
Attalus II of Pergamum	159-138
Macedonia becomes a Roman province	148
Destruction of Corinth	146
Attalus III of Pergamum	138-133
Pergamum becomes the Roman province of Asia	129
Mithradates VI of Pontus	121-63
Syria becomes a Roman province	63

Battle of Actium. Rome wins Egypt	31
Peloponnesus becomes the Roman province of Achaëa	27

VIII. ROME¹

Neolithic Age begins	ca. 5000 B.C.
Bronze Age begins	ca. 2000
Terremare civilization	ca. 1500
Iron Age begins	ca. 1000
The Etruscan settlement	9th and 8th cents.
Foundation of Carthage	ca. 825
Greek colonization of southern Italy and Sicily	8th and 7th cents.
Foundation of Rome (traditional)	753
Expansion of the Etruscans	7th and 6th cents.
Overthrow of the Roman monarchy	ca. 509
Codification of Roman law	ca. 449
<i>Lex Canuleia</i>	445
Capture of Veii	392
The Gauls take Rome	390
Licinian-Sextian Laws	367
Alliance of Rome and Capua	ca. 343
First Samnite War	343-341
The Latin War	340-338
Second Samnite War	326-304
Caudine Forks	321
Appius Claudius censor	312
War with Samnites, Etruscans, Gauls	298-290
Battle of Sentinum	295
Secession of the plebs. <i>Lex Hortensia</i>	287
War with Tarentum and Pyrrhus	281-272
Hiero II of Syracuse	264-215
First Punic War	264-241
Battle of Mylae	260
Rome invades Africa	256
First Illyrian War	229-228
Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica organized as provinces ..	227
Second Illyrian War	220-219
Hannibal attacks Saguntum	219
Second Punic War	218-201
Battle of Lake Trasimene	217
Fabius dictator	217
Battle of Cannae	216
Revolt of Capua	216
First Macedonian War	215-206
Revolt of Syracuse	214
Syracuse taken	212
Capua taken	211
Cornelius Scipio in Spain	210
Battle of the Metaurus	207
Scipio invades Africa	204
Battle of Zama	202

¹ List of Roman emperors, p. 700.

VIII. ROME (*Continued*)

Period of Plautus, Ennius, Terence	
Second Macedonian War	200-196
Battle of Cynoscephalae	197
Hither and Farther Spain organized as provinces	197
War with Antiochus the Great	192-190
Battle of Magnesia	190
Cato censor	184
<i>Lex Villia</i>	180
Third Macedonian War	171-167
Battle of Pydna	168
<i>Lex Calpurnia</i>	149
Macedonia organized as a Roman province	146
Sack of Corinth and Carthage	146
Fall of Numantia	133
Tribunate of Tiberius Gracchus	133
Kingdom of Pergamum bequeathed to Rome	133
Asia organized as a province	129
Tribunate of Gaius Gracchus	123-122
Gallia Narbonensis organized as a province	121
War with Jugurtha	111-105
Consulships of Marius	104-100
Victory over Teutons at Aquae Sextiae	102
Victory over Cimbri at Vercellae	101
Tribunate of Livius Drusus	91
The Social War	90-88
First Mithradatic War	89-85
Capture of Athens	86
Marius' seventh consulship	86
Sulla returns to Rome	83
Sulla's dictatorship	82-79
Bithynia organized as a province	75
Second Mithradatic War	74-63
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Claudius	41—54
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Nero	54—68
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Claudius Gothicus	268-270
Aurelian	270-275
Dacia abandoned	270
Palmyra revolts	271
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Gaul and Britain reconquered	274
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Maximian	286-305
Galerius and Constantius become Caesars	293
Edict of Prices	301
Persecution of the Christians	302
Diocletian and Maximian abdicate	305
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Constantius	337-360
Julian the Apostate	360-363
Valentinian I	364-375
Valens	364-378
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Theodosius I	378-395
Division of the Empire	395
Honorius, western emperor	395-423
Arcadius, eastern emperor	395-408
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Alaric sacks Rome	410
Visigoths settle in Gaul and Spain	412-418
Valentinian III, western emperor	425-455
Aëtius Master of the Soldiers	427-454
Vandals invade Africa	429
Theodosian Code	438
Attila and the Huns defeated near Chalons	451
Death of Attila	453
The Vandals sack Rome	455
Ricimer Master of the Soldiers in the West	456-472
Leo I, eastern emperor	457-474
Zeno, eastern emperor	474-491
Romulus Augustulus, western emperor	475-476
End of the Western Empire	476
Odoacar king in Italy	476-493
Clovis king of the Franks	486-511
Ostrogoths invade Italy	488
Anastasius, eastern emperor	491-518
Theodoric the Great	493-526
Justin, eastern emperor	518-527
Justinian, eastern emperor	527-565
The <i>Corpus Juris Civilis</i> published	528-535
Philosophical Schools at Athens closed	529
St. Sophia built	532-537
Nika riot	532
Africa reconquered	533
Italy and Spain reconquered	535-555
Persians destroy Antioch	540
Justinian's death	565

LIST OF ROMAN EMPERORS

I. FROM AUGUSTUS TO 395 A.D.

Augustus	27 B.C.—14 A.D.
Tiberius	14 A.D.—37
Gaius (Caligula)	37—41
Claudius	41—54
Nero	54—68
Galba	68—69
Otho	69
Vitellius	69
Vespasian	69—79
Titus	79—81
Domitian	81—96
Nerva	96—98
Trajan	98—117
Hadrian	117—138
Antoninus Pius	138—161
Marcus Aurelius	161—180
Lucius Verus	161—169
Commodus	177—192
Pertinax	193
Didius Julianus	193
Septimius Severus	193—211
Caracalla	211—217
Geta	211—212
Macrinus	217—218
Diadumenianus	218
Elagabalus	218—222
Severus Alexander	222—235
Maximinus	235—238
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Balbinus and Pupienus	238
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Philip the Arabian	243—249
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Decius	249—251
Gallus and Volusianus	251—253
Aemilianus	253
Valerian	253—260
Gallienus	253—268
Claudius Gothicus	268—270
Quintillus	270
Aurelian	270—275
Tacitus	275—276
Florianus	276
Probus	276—282
Carus	282—283
Carinus and Numerianus	283—284
Diocletian	285—305
Maximian	286—305

Galerius and Constantius I	305-306
Galerius, Severus, Constantine I	306-307
Galerius, Licinius, Constantine I	307-310
Galerius, Licinius, Constantine I, Maximinus Daia	310-311
Constantine I and Licinius	311-324
Constantine I, sole emperor	324-337
Constantine II	337-340
Constans	337-350
Constantius II	337-361
Julian	361-363
Jovian	363-364
Valentinian I	364-375
Valens	364-378
Gratian	367-383
Valentinian II	375-392
Theodosius I	378-395
Arcadius	383-395
Honorius	393-395

II. WESTERN EMPIRE

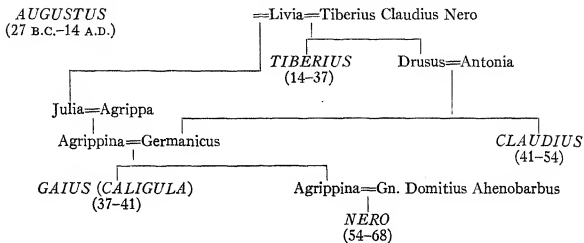
Honorius	395-423
Constantius III	421
Valentinian III	423-455
Petronius Maximus	455
Avitus	455-456
Majorian	457-461
Libius Severus	461-465
No emperor	465-467
Anthemius	467-472
Olybrius	472
Glycerius	473-474
Julius Nepos	474-475
Romulus Augustulus	475-476

III. EASTERN EMPIRE

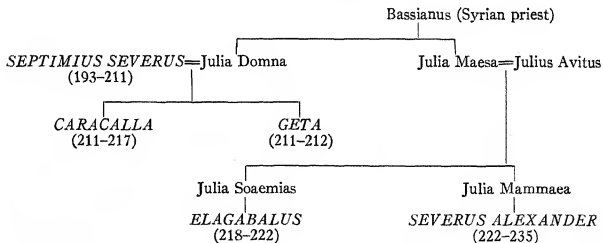
Arcadius	395-408
Theodosius II	408-450
Marcian	450-457
Leo I	457-474
Leo II	474
Zeno	474-491
Anastasius	491-518
Justin	518-527
Justinian	527-565

GENEALOGICAL TABLES

I. THE JULIO-CLAUDIAN LINE OF EMPERORS



II. THE SEVERI



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Literature, no less than art, reflects the soul of a people. Some of the great literary monuments, rather than short extracts, should be read in their entirety in connection with the study of ancient history. Good translations of most of the Greek and Latin authors may be found in the *Loeb Classical Library* (Cambridge, Mass.), in progress. The best book containing translations of documents from the ancient Near East (including Sumerian, Babylonian, Assyrian, Hittite, and Egyptian) is *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*, edited by J. B. Pritchard (Princeton, 1950).

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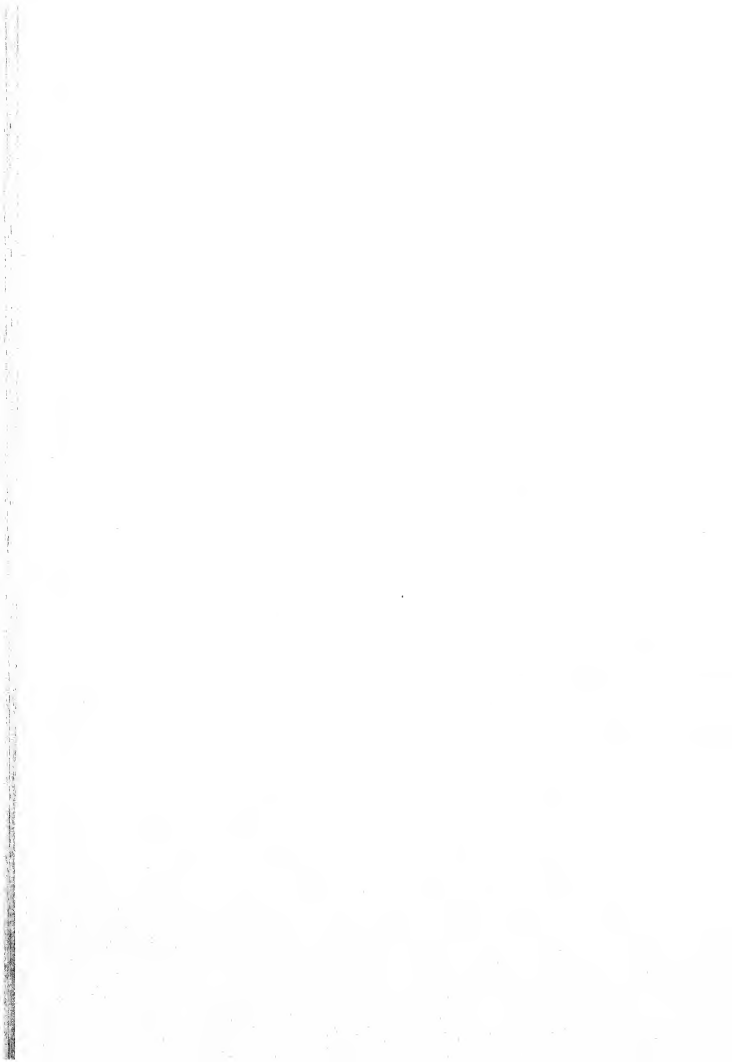
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